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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

1897–1900;

TOGETHER WITH

ADDRESSES AT ANNUAL MEETINGS, MEMORIALS, AND MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

ALSO,
A CATALOG OF KANSAS CONSTITUTIONS, AND TERRITORIAL AND STATE DOCUMENTS IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY.

EDITED BY GEO. W. MARTIN, SECRETARY.

VOL. VI.

OLATHE PUBLIC LI
OLATHE, KANSAS

TOPEKA:
W. Y. MORGAN, STATE PRINTER.
1900.

AD ASTRA PER ASPERA

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS.

Officers for the year 1897.

HARRISON KELLEY, Burlington	PRESIDENT.
JOHN SPEER, Garden City	PRESIDENT.
WILLIAM H. SMITH, Marysville	VICE-PRESIDENT.
STEPHEN McLALLIN, Topeka	VICE-PRESIDENT.
WM. A. PEFFER, Topeka	VICE-PRESIDENT.
FRANKLIN G. ADAMS, Topeka	SECRETARY.
JCHN GUTHRIE, Topeka	TREASURER.

NOTE.—Hon. John Speer was elected the 22d day of November, 1897, by the executive committee of the Society to fill the unexpired term caused by the death of Pres. Harrison Kelley. At a meeting of the committee November 12, 1897, Hon. Wm. A. Peffer was chosen to fill the vacancy arising from the death of Vice-pres. Stephen McLallin.

Officers for the year 1898.

JOHN SPEER, Wichita	PRESIDENT.
EUGENE F. WARE, Topeka	VICE-PRESIDENT.
WM. A. PEFFER, Topeka	VICE-PRESIDENT.
FRANKLIN G. ADAMS, Topeka	SECRETARY.
JOHN GUTHRIE, Topeka	TREASURER.

Officers for the year 1899.

EUGENE F. WARE, Topeka	PRESIDENT.
GEO. W. MARTIN, Kansas City	VICE-PRESIDENT
GRANT W. HARRINGTON, Hiawatha	VICE-PRESIDENT.
FRANKLIN G. ADAMS, Topeka	SECRETARY.
GEO. W. MARTIN, Kansas City	SECRETARY.
JOHN GUTHRIE, Topeka	TREASURER.

NOTE.—At a meeting of the executive committee of the Society December 6, 1899, Geo. W. Martin was chosen to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Sec. Franklin G. Adams, for that portion of the unexpired term ending January 16, 1900, the date of the annual meeting, when he was elected for the remainder of the term.

Officers for the year 1900.

JOHN G. HASKELL, Lawrence	PRESIDENT.
E. B. COWGILL, Topeka	VICE-PRESIDENT.
JOHN FRANCIS, Colony	VICE-PRESIDENT.
GEO. W. MARTIN, Kansas City	SECRETARY.
JOHN GUTHRIE, Topeka	TREASURER.

DIRECTORS.

For three years ending January 15, 1901.

Adams, Miss Zu	Topeka.
Blackmar, Frank W	Lawrence.
Caldwell, Alex	Leavenworth.
Chase, Harold T	Topeka.
Connelley, W. E	Topeka.
Dallas, E. J	Topeka.
Gleed, Chas. S	Topeka.
Graham, I. D	Topeka.
Guthrie, John	Topeka.
Hackbusch, H. C. F	Leavenworth.
Harrington, Grant W	Hiawatha.
Haskell, John G	Lawrence.
Holliday, C. K*	Topeka.
Hopkins, Scott	Horton.
Horton, A. H	Topeka.
Johnson, A. S	Topeka.
Johnson, Mrs. Elizabeth A	White Rock.
Kuhn, Henry†	Marion.
Lane, N. J	Kansas City.
Legate, Jas. F	Leavenworth.
Lowe, P. G	Leavenworth.
Martin, Geo. W	Kansas City.
Moore, Horace L	Lawrence.
Morrill, E. N	Hiawatha.
Murdock, T. B	El Dorado.
Popenoe, F. O	Topeka.
Reynolds, Adrian	Sedan.
Sims, William	Topeka.
Smith, W. H	Marysville.
True, A. E	Vera.
Vandegrift, Fred L	Kansas City.
Wellhouse, Fred	Topeka.
Williams, A. L	Topeka.

*Died March 29, 1900. †Died June 11, 1900.

DIRECTORS.

For three years ending January 21, 1902.

Adams, J. B.	El Dorado.
Anderson, T. J	Topeka.
Brown, W. L.	Kingman.
Clark, Geo. A.	Junction City.
Cowgill, E. B	Topeka.
Dodge, S. H.	Beloit.
Francis, John	Colony.
Gilmore, John S	Fredonia.
Grimes, Frank E	Leoti.
Hoch, E. W.	Marion.
Houston, D. W	Garnett.
Hudson, J. K.	Topeka.
Lewelling, L. D	Wichita.
McKeever, E. D.	Topeka.
Martin, John	Topeka.
Mulvane, John R	Topeka.
Murdock, M. M.	Wichita.
Nelson, Frank	Lindsborg.
Padgett, W. W.	Fort Scott.
Peffer, Wm. A	Topeka.
Remington, J. B	Osawatomie.
Rice, Harvey D.	Topeka.
Rockwell, Bertrand	Junction City.
Scott, Chas. F	Iola.
Semple, R. H	Ottawa.
Stanley, W. E.	Wichita.
Taylor, Edwin	Edwardsville.
Troutman, James A	Topeka.
Valentine, D. A.	Clay Center.
Whiting, A. B.	Topeka.
Whittemore, L. D	Topeka.
Wilkinson, West E	Seneca.
Woodward, B. W	Lawrence.

For three years ending January 20, 1903.

Anthony, D. R	Leavenworth.
Baker, F. P	Topeka.
Barnes, Chas. W	Topeka.
Bush, W. E	Fort Scott.
Bigger, L. A	Hutchinson.
Capper, Arthur	Topeka.
Carruth, W. H	Lawrence.
Coburn, F. D	Kansas City.
Conway, John W	Norton.
Doster, Frank	Topeka.
Greene, A. R	Lecompton.
Herbert, Ewing	Hiawatha.
Harris, Edward P	Lecompton.
Hamilton, Clad	Topeka.
Hodder, Frank H	Lawrence.
Howe, E. W.	Atchison.
Junkin, J. E	Sterling.
Kingman, Miss Lucy D	Topeka.
Leis, Geo	Lawrence.
McVicar, P	Topeka.
Mac Lennan, F. P	Topeka.
Meridith, Fletcher	Hutchinson.
Montgomery, F. C	Topeka.
Morphy, J. W	Smith Center.
Madden, John	Emporia.
Nelson, W. H.	Smith Center.
Riddle, A. P	Minneapolis.
Seaton, John	Atchison.
Speer, John	Wichita.
Ware, E F	Topeka.
White, W. A	Emporia.
Wilder, D. W	Hiawatha.
Wright, John K	Junction City.

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Archæology.—F. W. Blackmar, J. W. Conway, E. B. Cowgill, J. K. Wright, E. N. Morrill, W. H. Smith, R. H. Semple.

Historic Relics.—A. R. Greene, W. E. Bush, W. A. White, E. W. Howe, E. J. Dallas, J. K. Hudson, B. W. Woodward.

Explorations.—E. F. Ware, A. B. Whiting, Alex. Caldwell, L. A. Bigger, P. G. Lowe, A. L. Williams, John Madden.

Indian History.—John Guthrie, V. J. Lane, A. S. Johnson, H. C. F. Hackbusch, W. W. Padgett, A. E. True, W. E. Connelley.

History of the Territory.—D. W. Wilder, M. M. Murdock, John Speer, C. K. Holliday, Jas. F. Legate, J. B. Remington, A. P. Riddle.

History of the State.—F. H. Hodder, D. R. Anthony, W. E. Stanley, F. P. Baker, L. D. Lewelling, E. W. Hoch, B. Rockwell.

Geography (including maps, views of buildings, and scenery).—F. D. Coburn, J. B. Adams, J. W. Conway, W. H. Carruth, F. O. Popenoe, J. W. Morphy, Jas. A. Troutman.

Origin of Local Names.—F. C. Montgomery, E. P. Harris, John S. Gilmore, W. L. Brown, John G. Haskell, Scott Hopkins, F. W. Blackmar.

Journals, Diaries, and Manuscripts.—John Madden, L. D. Whittemore, J. E. Junkin, Frank Doster, Fred. Wellhouse, F. P. Mac Lennan, T. B. Murdock.

Local History, Interviews, and Chronicles.—W. E. Connelley, Harvey D. Rice, D. A. Valentine, Grant W. Harrington, John Seaton, H. Kuhn, J. W. Morphy.

Organization of Local Historical Societies.—A. P. Riddle, Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, Adrian Reynolds, W. H. Nelson, Geo. Leis, Fletcher Meridith, Geo. W. Martin.

Biography.—John Martin, D. W. Houston, T. J. Anderson, J. B. Remington, C. W. Barnes, P. McVicar, West E. Wilkinson.

Portraits.—C. F. Scott, Frank E. Grimes, J. R. Mulvane, William Sims, Clad Hamilton, Zu Adams, T. J. Anderson.

Genealogy and Directories.—H. L. Moore, John Francis, Edwin Taylor, E. D. McKeever, E. B. Cowgill, A. H. Horton, M. M. Murdock.

Newspapers, Periodicals, and Scrap-books.—F. L. Vandegrift, Geo. A. Clark, S. H. Dodge, T. B. Murdock, Arthur Capper, H. T. Chase, J. E. Junkin.

Literature.—W. H. Carruth, Ewing Herbert, Frank Nelson, Lucy D. Kingman, B. W. Woodward, W. A. Peffer, C. S. Gleed.

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS,

WITH TERMS OF SERVICE, FROM 1876 to 1900.

Abbott, Mrs. Elizabeth W., De Soto, 1897-'98.*
Abbott, James B., De Soto, 1885-'97.*
Adams, Franklin George, Topeka, 1878-'99.*
Adams, John B., El Dorado, 1899-'00.
Adams, Nathaniel A., Manhattan, 1887-'92.*
Adams, Miss Zu, Topeka, 1899-'00.
Admire, Jacob V., Osage City, 1886-'88.
Ady, John W., Newton, 1884-'85.
Amos, J. Wayne, Gypsum City, 1887-'89.
Anderson, James W. D., Baldwin, 1891-'92.*
Anderson, T. J., Topeka, 1899-'00.
Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth, 1875-'76; 1879-'00.
Anthony, Geo. T., Ottawa, 1885-'87; 1890-'92.*
Arnold, Andrew J., Topeka, 1896-'99.*
Atkinson, R., Ottawa, 1885-'86.*
Bailey, Lawrence D., Garden City, 1888-'91.*
Baine, James S., ———, 1884.
Baker, Floyd P., Topeka, 1875-'00.
Baker, Lucien, Leavenworth, 1893-'95.
Ball, Volney, Lincoln, 1888-'90.
Ballard, David E., Ballard's Falls, 1879-'80.
Barnes, Chas. W., Topeka, 1900.
Barnes, W. H., Stockton, 1885-'86.
Barnes, William H., Topeka, 1897-'99.
Barrett, Albert G., Barrett, 1879.*
Berry, Ed. A., Waterville, 1891-'93.
Bigger, L. A., Hutchinson, 1900.
Billingsly, James, Axtell, 1885-'87.
Bissell, John, Phillipsburg, 1885-'86.
Blackmar, F. W., Lawrence, 1890-'92; 1899-'00.
Blair, Charles W., Fort Scott, 1882-'88.*
Bliss, John A., Atwood, 1885.*
Blood, James, Lawrence, 1879-'80.*
Blue, Richard W., Pleasanton, 1884-'88.
Bonebrake, P. I., Topeka, 1879-'88.
Booth, Henry, Larned, 1880; 1889-'91.*
Brown, A. Z., Guilford, 1891-'93.
Brown, W. L., Kingman, 1893-'00.
Buchan, William J., Kansas City, 1886-'88.
Burton, J. R., Abilene, 1886; 1887-'89.
Bush, William E., Mankato, 1897-'00.
Butterfield, J. Ware, Topeka, 1895-'97.
Caldwell, Alexander, Leavenworth, 1892-'00.
Caldwell, John C., Topeka, 1894-'96.
Canfield, James H., Lawrence, 1890-'91.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka, 1894-'00.
Carr, Erasmus T., Leavenworth, 1886-'91.
Carroll, Ed., Leavenworth, 1884-'94.
Carruth, W. H., Lawrence, 1894-'00.
Case, Geo. H., Mankato, 1881-'82.
Cavanaugh, Thomas H., Salina, 1877.
Chapman, J. B., Topeka, 1893-'95.
Chase, Harold T., Topeka, 1898-'00.
Christian, James, Arkansas City, 1889-'91.*
Clark, George A., Junction City, 1899-'00.
Clark, J. R., La Cygne, 1895-'1898.
Clarke, W. B., Junction City, 1884-'86.
Clogston, J. B., Eureka, 1886-'89.
Cobun, M. W., Great Bend, 1891-'93.
Coburn, F. D., Kansas City, 1894-'00.
Coleman, Albert L., Centralia, 1887-'89.
Collins, Ira F., Sabetha, 1881-'82.
Collins, James S., Topeka, 1892-'93.*
Connelley, Wm. E., Topeka, 1899-'00.
Conway, John W., Norton, 1900.
Cordley, Richard, Lawrence, 1890-'92.
Cowgill, E. B., Topeka, 1893-'00.
Crawford, George A., Fort Scott, 1875-'81.*
Crew, E. B., Delphos, 1887-'89.
Crozier, Robert, Leavenworth, 1879.*
Dallas, Everett J., Topeka, 1886-'00.
Davis, Chas. S., Junction City, 1893-'95.
Davis, J. W., Greensburg, 1894-'96.
Diggs, Mrs. Annie L., Lawrence, 1893-'95.
Dodge, S. H., Beloit, 1899-'00.
Doster, Frank, Marion, 1897-'00.
Doty, Geo. W., Burlingame, 1887-'99; 1891-'93.
Downing, Jack H., Hays City, 1885-'86; 1889-'90; 1892.
Drinkwater, Orlo H., Cedar Point, 1885-'86.
Drought, E. S. W., Wyandotte, 1885.
Dumbauld, Levi, Hartford, 1893-'95.*
Eckert, T. W., Arkansas City, 1892-'93.
Edwards, Wm. C., Larned, 1886-'91; 1896-'98.
Elder, P. P., Ottawa, 1883-'87; 1891-'93.
Elliott, L. R., Manhattan, 1886-'99.*
Elliott, Robert G., Lawrence, 1890-'92.
Elliston, Henry, Atchison, 1890-'92.
Emery, James S., Lawrence, 1880-'99.*
English, A. N., Wichita, 1888-'90.*
Eskridge, Chas. V., Emporia, 1886-'93.
Everest, Aaron S., Atchison, 1884-'87.*
Fairchild, Geo. T., Manhattan, 1890-'92.
Faulkner, Charles E., Salina, 1886-'89.
Felt, Andrew J., Atchison, 1896-'98.
Fenlon, Thomas P., Leavenworth, 1887.
Finch, Lucius E., Burlingame, 1886-'88.*
Forney, A. G., Belle Plaine, 1893-'98.
Foster, Warren, Hutchinson, 1893-'94.
Francis, John, Colony, 1877-'90; 1899-'00.
Gaines, Henry N., Salina, 1893-'95.
Gillett, Almerin, Emporia, 1886-'88.*
Gilmore, John S., Fredonia, 1880-'81; 1899-'00.
Gleed, Chas. S., Topeka, 1892-'00.
Glick, Geo. W., Atchison, 1883-'93.
Goodnow, Isaac T., Manhattan, 1885-'94.*
Goss, Nath'l Stickney, Neosho Falls, 1882-'91.*
Graham, George, Seneca, 1879-'81.*
Graham, Isaac D., Topeka, 1898-'00.
Green, Chas. R., Lyndon, 1894-'96.
Green, Henry T., Leavenworth, 1883-'84.*
Greene, Albert R., Lecompton, 1884-'00.
Green, Nehemiah, Stockdale, 1881-'82.*
Greer, Ed. P., Winfield, 1885-'87; 1888-'90.
Griffin, Albert, Manhattan, 1885-'86.
Grimes, Frank E., Leoti, 1899-'00.
Guthrie, John, Topeka, 1892-'00.
Guthrie, Warren W., Atchison, 1879.
Hackbusch, H. C. F., Leavenworth, 1895-'00.
Hackney, William P., Winfield, 1884-'85.
Hagaman, James M., Concordia, 1892-'95.
Halderman, John A., Leavenworth, 1880-'81.
Hale, George D., Topeka, 1890-'92.
Hamilton, Clad, Topeka, 1900.
Hamilton, James W., Wellington, 1888-'90.
Hanna, Benjamin J. F., Salina, 1889-'91.*
Hardesty, R. G., Dodge City, 1885.
Harding, Benjamin, Wathena, 1897-'98.
Harrington, Grant W., Hiawatha, 1898-'00.
Harris, Edward P., Lecompton, 1900.
Harris, William A., Linwood, 1894-'98.
Harvey, James M., Topeka, 1879-'85.*
Haskell, John G., Lawrence, 1895-'00.
Haun, T. S., Jetmore, 1887-'89.
Hays, R. R., Osborne, 1889-'97.
Hebbard, Joseph C., Seneca, 1879-'93.*
Heizer, David N., Great Bend, 1889-'91, 1894-'97.
Herbert, Ewing, Hiawatha, 1894-'00.
Higgins, William, Topeka, 1890-'92.
Hiller, Chas. A., Salina, 1888-'90.
Hills, F. M., Cedar Vale, 1889-'91.
Hoch, Edward W., Marion, 1890-'00.
Hodder, Fk. H., Lawrence, 1900.
Hodgdon, D. P., Lyons, 1894-'99.
Holliday, Cyrus K., Topeka, 1878-'00.*
Holt, Joel, Beloit, 1884-'85; 1888-'90.*
Hopkins, Scott, Horton, 1889-'00.
Horton, Albert H., Topeka, 1879-'82; 1892-'00.
Houk, L., Hutchinson, 1896-'97.*
Houston, D. W., Garnett, 1899-'00.
Howe, Edgar W., Atchison, 1890-'92; 1900.
Hudson, Joseph K., Topeka, 1885-'00.
Hudson, T. J., Fredonia, 1885-'86.
Humphrey, James, Junction City, 1889-'94.
Humphrey, Lyman U., Independence, 1885-'93.
Hunt, McCown, Leavenworth, 1893-'98.
Hurd, Thomas A., Leavenworth, 1887.*
Ingalls, John J., Atchison, 1879.
Inman, Henry, Larned, 1881-'87.*
Ives, John N., 1891-'93.
Jaquins, Edward, Winfield, 1897-'99.
Johns, Mrs. Laura M., Salina, 1893-'98.
Johnson, Alexander S., Topeka, 1885-'00.
Johnson, Mrs. E. A., White Rock, 1898-'00.
Johnson, John B., Topeka, 1886; 1892-'94.*
Jones, C. J., Garden City, 1885-'91.

Jones, John P., Coldwater, 1888-'90.
Junkin, John E., Sterling, 1894-'00.
Kelley, Harrison, Burlington, 1894-'97.*
Kellogg, L. B., Emporia, 1886-'92.
Kelly, H. B., McPherson, 1887-'92.
Kimball, Charles H., Parsons, 1886-'92.
Kingman, Lucy D., Topeka, 1896-'00.
Kingman, S. A., Topeka, 1875-'76; 1879-'80; 1884-'95.
Knapp, Geo. W., Clyde, 1887-'89.
Knox, John D., Topeka, 1886.
Kuhn, Henry, Marion, 1898-'00.*
Lane, Vincent J., Wyandotte, 1886-'00.
Leedy, John W., Lawrence, 1897-'99.
Legate, J. F., Leavenworth, 1879-96; 1898-'00.
Leis, George, Lawrence, 1897-'00.
Lemmon, Allen B., Winfield, 1881-'82.
Leonhardt, Charles W., Paola, 1879.*
Lester, H. N., Syracuse, 1888-'90.
Lewelling, L. D., Wichita, 1893-'00.
Lippincott, J. A., Topeka, 1890-'92.
Little, Edward C., Abilene, 1894-'99.
Little, John T., Olathe, 1893-'95.
Lowe, Joseph G., Washington, 1885-'86.
Lowe, Percival G., Leavenworth, 1885-'00.
McAfee, Josiah B., Topeka, 1887-'89.
McBride, W. H., Kirwin, 1885-'93.
McCarthy, Timothy, Larned, 1890-'92.*
McCoy, John C., Kansas City, 1882-'85.*
McCoy, Joseph G., Wichita, 1897-'99.
McDowell, J. L., Manhattan, 1879.
McHenry, J., Minneapolis, 1885-'86.*
McIntire, Timothy, Arkansas City, 1888-'96.
McKeever, Edwin D., Topeka, 1899-'00.
McLallin, Stephen, Topeka, 1893-'97.*
Mac Lennan, Frank P., Topeka, 1894-'00.
McNall, Webb, Gaylord, 1895-'96.
McNeal, T. A., Medicine Lodge, Topeka, 1885-'92.
McTaggart, Dan, Liberty, 1889-'91.*
McVicar, Peter, Topeka, 1890-'00.
Madden, John, Emporia, 1900.
Maloy, John, Council Grove, 1892-'97.
Martin, George W., Kansas City, 1880-'00.
Martin, John, Topeka, 1892-'94; 1899-'00.
Martin, John A., Atchison, 1875-'90.*
Maxson, Perry B., Emporia, 1893-'98.
Mead, James R., Wichita, 1889-'94.
Meridith, Fletcher, Hutchinson, 1894-'00.
Miller, Sol., Troy, 1875-'77; 1879-'82; 1884-'88; 1890-'97.
Mohler, Martin, Osborne, 1884-'88.
Montgomery, Frank C., Topeka, 1894-'00.
Moody, Joel, Mound City, 1889-'94.
Moore, H. Miles, Leavenworth, 1885-'90.
Moore, Horace L., Lawrence, 1897-'00.
Morphy, James W., Smith Center, 1897-'00.
Morrill, E. N., Hiawatha, 1879-'82; 1892-'00.
Mulvane, John R., Topeka, 1896-'00.
Murdock, M. M., Wichita, 1880-'88; 1890-'00.
Murdock, T. B., El Dorado, 1885-'92; 1898-'00.
Nelson, Frank, Lindsborg, 1899-'00.
Nelson, W. H., Smith Center, 1900.
Osborn, R. S., Stockton, 1894-'96.
Osborn, Thomas A., Topeka, 1886-'89; 1891-'93.*
Otis, Mrs. Bina A., Topeka, 1896-'98.
Padgett, W. W., Fort Scott, 1900.
Paine, Albert B., Fort Scott, 1894-'96.
Patton, W. G., Cottonwood Falls, 1885-'87.*
Peck, George R., Topeka, 1886-'94.
Peffer, William A., Topeka, 1897-'00.
Phillips, William A., Salina, 1879-'80; 1888-'93.*
Pilkenton, Wm. H., Wa Keeney, 1885-'86.*
Plumb, Preston B., Emporia, 1879.*
Popenoe, Frederick O., Topeka, 1898-'00.
Pratt, John G., Piper, 1887-'89.*
Prentis, Noble L., Atchison, 1886-'98.
Price, John M., Atchison, 1892-'97.*
Purcell, Edward B., Manhattan, 1885-'89.
Quayle, W. A., Baldwin, 1890-'92.
Remington, J. B., Osawatomie, 1893-'00.
Reynolds, Adrian, Sedan, 1889-'00.
Reynolds, Milton W., Parsons, 1879; 1885-'90.*
Rice, Harvey, D. Topeka, 1896-'00.
Rice, John H., Fort Scott, 1886-'89.
Rice, William M., Fort Scott, 1890-'92.
Richardson, John Benton, Hiawatha, 1886-'88.*
Riddle, Alex. P., Minneapolis, 1881-'00.
Robinson, Charles, Lawrence, 1878-'94.*
Robinson, Mrs. Sara T. L., Lawrence, 1895-'99.
Robison, J. W., El Dorado, 1896-'98.
Rockwell, Bertrand, Junction City, 1900.
Rogers, William, Barnes, 1893-'95.
Root, Joseph P., Wyandotte, 1880-'81; 1885.*
Ross, E. G., Lawrence, 1882-'83.
Russell, Edward, Lawrence, 1881-'96.*
St. John, John P., Olathe, 1879-'87.
Schilling, John, Hiawatha, 1889-'91.
Scott, Chas. F., Iola, 1890-'00.
Scott, John W., Iola, 1885-'89.*
Seaton, John, Atchison, 1897-'00.
Semple, Robert H., Ottawa, 1893-'00.
Shean, Woodman M., Gardner, 1885-'88.*
Simpson, Benjamin F., Paola, 1879-'82; 1884-'97.
Sims, William, Topeka, 1892-'00.
Slavens, W. H., Yates Center, 1885-'88.*
Sluss, H. C., Wichita, 1884-'85.
Smith, A. W., McPherson, 1887-'92.
Smith, Ed. R., La Cygne, 1879-'80.
Smith, James, Marysville, 1882-'88.
Smith, William H., Marysville, 1892-'00.
Smith, William W., Waterville, 1885-'88.
Snow, E. H., Ottawa, 1894-'96.
Snow, Francis H., Lawrence, 1892.
Speer, John, Wichita, 1879-'80; 1883-'00.
Spicknall, W. R., Wellington, 1895-'97.
Sponsler, A. L., Hutchinson, 1895.
Spring, Leverett W., Lawrence, 1885-'86.
Stanley, Edmund, Lawrence, 1895-'97.
Stanley, Wm. E., Wichita, 1899-'00.
Steele, James W., Topeka, 1886-'88.
Stewart, A. A., Olathe, 1893-'98.
Stewart, Samuel J., Humboldt, 1891-'93.
Stotler, Jacob, Emporia, 1879; 1882-'94.
Street, W. D., Oberlin, 1889-'91; 1897-'99.
Stringfellow, Benj. F., Atchison, 1880-'83.*
Stryker, William, Great Bend, 1897-'99.
Sutton, William B., Russell, 1895-'97.
Swensson, Chas. A., Lindsborg, 1889-'94.
Taylor, Albert R., Emporia, 1890-'92.
Taylor, Edwin, Edwardsville, 1896-'00.
Taylor, J. E., Seneca, 1885-'86.
Taylor, Thomas T., Hutchinson, 1885-'89.
Thacher, Solon O., Lawrence, 1883-'87; 1893-'95.*
Thacher, T. D., Lawrence, 1877; 1879-'93.*
Tilton, W. S., Wa Keeney, 1885-'89.
Troutman, James A., Topeka, 1896-'00.
True, A. E., Vera, 1895-'00.
Trueblood, W. P., Barclay, 1897-'99.
Valentine, Daniel Mulford, Topeka, 1890-'92.
Valentine, D. A., Clay Center, 1899-'00.
Vandegrift, Fred L., Kansas City, 1898-'00.
Veale, Geo. W., Topeka, 1887-'89.
Waggener, Bailie P., Atchison, 1894-'96.
Wagstaff, William Ross, Paola, 1885-'86.*
Wakefield, W. H. T., Lawrence, 1893-'95.
Walrond, Z. T., Osborne, 1889-'91.
Walters, J. D., Manhattan, 1894-'96.
Walton, Wirt W., Clay Center, 1883-'86.*
Ware, Eugene F., Fort Scott, Topeka, 1883-'00.
Warner, Alexander, Baxter Springs, 1896-'98.
Wasson, L. C., Ottawa, 1885.
Waters, J. S., Oswego, 1882-'83.*
Waterson, Thomas W., Marysville, 1880-'81.*
Weightman, Matthew, Topeka, 1891-'96.*
Wellhouse, Fred, Topeka, 1889-'00.
Wheeler, S. C., Concordia, 1891-'93.
White, Wm. A., Emporia, 1900.
Whiting, Alva B., Topeka, 1893-'00.
Whittemore, L. D., Topeka, 1896-'00.
Whittington, A. N., Lincoln, 1891-'93.
Wilder, Daniel Webster, Fort Scott and Hiawatha, 1875-'76; 1879-'80; 1883-'00.
Wilkinson, West E., Seneca, 1899-'00.
Williams, Archie L., Topeka, 1895-'00.
Williams, Henry H., Osawatomie, 1887.
Williamson, Charles, Washington, 1887-'89.
Wood, Mrs. M. L., Strong City, 1892-'99.
Wood, Samuel N., Topeka, 1879-'88; 1891.*
Woodward, Brinton W., Lawrence, 1896-'00.
Wright, John K., Junction City, 1892-'97; 1900.
Wright, R. M., Dodge City, 1884-'90.

* Deceased.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

NOVEMBER 17, 1896.

The board of directors met in the west room of the Historical Society, at three P. M., November 17, 1896, Pres. Edmund N. Morrill in the chair. The following members were present: E. N. Morrill, John Guthrie, William Sims, S. McLallin, H. D. Rice, Mrs. B. A. Otis, James B. Abbott, A. J. Arnold, A. P. Riddle, Fred. Wellhouse, John Speer, F. D. Coburn, E. B. Cowgill, Miss Lucy D. Kingman, J. E. Junkin, A. B. Whiting, L. D. Whittemore, J. Ware Butterfield, Brinton W. Woodward, W. H. Carruth, L. R. Elliott, James F. Legate, W. H. Smith, W. C. Edwards, F. G. Adams, Arthur Capper, R. H. Semple, E. F. Ware, John R. Mulvane, Scott Hopkins.

Letters of regret were received from Chas. F. Scott, P. G. Lowe, D. R. Anthony, and P. B. Maxson.

The secretary submitted the annual report for the consideration of the board, which, on motion, was adopted.

The financial report submitted by the executive committee, of which the following is an abstract, was read and approved. The finances of the Society for the year ending November 1, 1896, are as follows:

	RECEIPTS.	
1895.		
Nov. 1....	Balance of apppropriation to June 30, 1896	$3,431 96
1896.	Balance in hands of treasurer of Society—fees	130 15
July 1....	Appropriation to June 30, 1897	5,680 00
	Receipts from membership fees	60 00
	Total receipts	$9,302 11

EXPENDITURES.		
Salaries and clerk hire	$4,609 03	
Purchase of books	358 62	
Postage, freight, and contingent	621 40	
Treasurer's account, membership fees	171 04	
		5,760 09
Unexpended balance		$3,542 02

On motion of W. H. Smith, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the legislative committee of this Society be and is hereby instructed to prepare a bill and endeavor to procure its passage by the incoming legislature to secure the action contemplated in the report of the committee on

the subject of the transfer of the miscellaneous department of the state law library to the library of the State Historical Society: also, to secure a provision by law by which the governor and one or more of the executive officers of the state, together with the chief justice of the supreme court, be added to and made members of the board of directors of the State Historical Society.

On motion of John Guthrie, the president and secretary were directed to select a committee on legislation for the ensuing year, to consist of twelve members.

On motion of John Guthrie, the following resolution was adopted, and the president requested to appoint the committee:

Resolved, That the legislative committee (to consist of the secretary and twelve members to be appointed) confer and advise with the incoming executive council concerning the completion and furnishing of the rooms for the Society in the east wing, as contemplated by concurrent resolution No. 22 of the legislature of 1895.

On motion, the legislative committee was instructed to ask the incoming legislature for an addition to the contingent fund for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1897.

The following committees were then appointed to secure the preparation of memorials on deceased members:

On CHARLES ROBINSON: V. J. Lane, D. R. Anthony, and John Guthrie.

On GEORGE T. ANTHONY: A. P. Riddle, J. R. Mulvane, and W. H. Smith.

On JAMES M. HARVEY: L. R. Elliott, E. B. Cowgill, and J. E. Junkin.

On SOLON O. and T. DWIGHT THACHER: B. W. Woodward, W. H. Carruth, and E. F. Ware.

The committees were instructed to prepare such memorials without regard to length, and to be delivered as addresses at special or stated meetings of the Society or to be published in the collections of the Society, as the committees may deem best.

On motion, the board adjourned to meet at three P. M., Tuesday, the 19th of January, 1897.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

JANUARY 19, 1897.

The twenty-first annual meeting of the board of directors of the Kansas State Historical Society was held in the Society's west rooms, Tuesday afternoon, January 19, 1897, and was called to order by Vice-Pres. Harrison Kelley, the president, Governor Morrill, being absent. The following members of the board participated in the meeting: Harrison Kelley, James S. Emery, John Speer, L. R. Elliott, James B. Abbott, John G. Haskell, Mrs. M. L. Wood, A. E. True, A. R. Greene, John Guthrie, B. W. Woodward, Matthew Weightman, W.

H. Carruth, Samuel A. Kingman, C. R. Green, Mrs. Bina G. Otis, Fred. Wellhouse, P. G. Lowe, F. G. Adams, F. D. Coburn, A. B. Whiting, Arthur Capper, E. B. Cowgill, J. Ware Butterfield, L. D. Whittemore, J. E. Junkin, P. B. Maxson, and H. D. Rice.

Secretary Adams read the proceedings of the meeting of the board of directors held November 17, 1896, which is included in the tenth biennial report of the board, since published.

The bill to consolidate the two miscellaneous libraries of the state in the library of the Historical Society was read, and the following resolution and accompanying declaration of the Society adopted:

Resolved, That the Kansas State Historical Society has built up its library and collections for the people of the state, and that it has always been the intention and purpose of the Society that such library and collections should be held as the property of the state.

Resolved, That to remove all doubts which may hereafter exist as to the legal ownership of said library and collections, the president and secretary of the Society be and they are hereby authorized by the Society to execute and file with the constituted authorities of the state a written declaration signed by them under the seal of the Society, granting and relinquishing to the state all right and title to the property of the Society, its library, and its present and future collections of every description, to be and to remain the sole property of the state forever, in form as follows:

Declaration: In pursuance of authority vested in the president and secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, by formal action taken by said Society at its annual meeting, January 19, 1897, we, the undersigned, such president and secretary, do hereby, in the name of the Society, grant and relinquish to the state all right and title to the property of the Society, its library, and its present and future collections of every description, to be held and to remain the sole property of the state forever.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto affixed the seal of said Society, this —
[SEAL.] day of —, 1897.

A. B. Whiting presented the report of the nominating committee, giving the names of thirty-three members of the board of directors, for action at the evening meeting of the Society; also, the names proposed for officers of the Society and committees to be elected at the evening meeting of the board.

Names proposed for honorary, active and corresponding membership were then read by the secretary, and additional names were added by members of the board present, for action at the evening meeting of the board.

A resolution, suggested by Edward Russell, of Lawrence, was presented by the secretary, and finally adopted, as follows:

Resolved, That a committee of six be appointed by the president of the Society to cooperate with its secretary, to consider the propriety of holding a general state memorial convention under the auspices of the Society, for the object of commemorating the public events in the history of the state; said committee to determine the time and place of holding such meeting, and to report

within sixty days at a called meeting of the board of directors; state and judiciary officers and members of the legislature especially, from the beginning of the territory to the present time, to be invited to attend and participate.

The president appointed Edward Russell, John G. Haskell, John Guthrie, P. G. Lowe, Henry Booth and Mrs. M. L. Wood members of such committee.

Samuel A. Kingman then presented to the Society, in the name of G. G. Gage, of Topeka, a handsomely bound copy of the volume entitled "The Battle of the Blue." On motion of John Guthrie, the thanks of the board of directors were extended to G. G. Gage. Adjourned.

MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

JANUARY 19, 1897.

The twenty-first annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society was called to order in Representative hall, Tuesday evening January 19, 1897, at 7:30 P. M., by Harrison Kelley, vice-president.

An abstract of the report of the board of directors, including the financial report of the executive committee, was read by the secretary, and on motion was adopted.

The further proceedings of the meeting were in accordance with the following program:

Music by the Washburn glee club.

Address by Col. Horace L. Moore, of Lawrence, on the subject "The Campaign of the Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer Regiment against the Indians of the Plains, 1868–'69."

Memorial address by L. R. Elliott, of Manhattan, on Gov. James M. Harvey.

Paper by Prof. W. H. Carruth, of the state university, on "The New England Emigrant Aid Society as an Investment Company."

Paper by Prof. E. B. Cowgill, Topeka, on the subject "The Kansas Descendants of the Emigrant Passengers of the Ship 'Welcome,' 1682."

At the close of the program, John Guthrie offered the following:

Resolved, That the appreciative thanks of the Historical Society are extended Horace L. Moore, L. R. Elliott, W. H. Carruth and E. B. Cowgill for their interesting addresses, and the Washburn glee club for its charming music.

The following members of the board nominated at the afternoon meeting were then elected for the three years ending January 16, 1900: D. R. Anthony, F. P. Baker, W. H. Barnes, W. E. Bush, Arthur Capper, W. H. Carruth, F. D. Coburn, Frank Doster, A. R. Greene, Ewing Herbert, D. P. Hodgdon, Edward Jaquins, J. E. Junkin, Harrison Kelley, Miss Lucy D. Kingman, J. W. Leedy, George Leis, E. C. Little, P. McVicar, F. P. Mac Lennan, Fletcher Meridith, Frank C. Montgomery, J. W. Morphy, A. P. Riddle, Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson, John Seaton, John Speer, W. D. Street, William Stryker, W. P. Trueblood, E. F. Ware, D. W. Wilder, Mrs. M. L. Wood, and Horace L. Moore. The meeting adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

JANUARY 19, 1897.

At the close of the annual meeting of the Society a meeting of the board of directors was called, P. G. Lowe taking the chair. The following officers were then elected by ballot:

President, Harrison Kelley, Burlington; vice-presidents, W. H. Smith, Marysville, S. McLallin, Topeka; secretary, F. G. Adams, Topeka; treasurer, John Guthrie, Topeka.

The new president, Harrison Kelley, then took the chair, and the following committees and members of the Society, nominated at the afternoon meeting of the board, were appointed and elected:

Legislative committee: S. McLallin, A. B. Whiting, E. J. Dallas, J. R. Mulvane, J. W. Morphy, E. B. Cowgill, W. J. Costigan, Arthur Capper, E. F. Ware, W. L. Brown, Fred. Wellhouse, and Geo. M. Munger.

Executive committee: John W. Leedy, W. E. Bush, C. K. Holliday, A. J. Arnold, and William Sims.

Honorary members: John Sherman, Mansfield, Ohio; Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Washington, D. C., suggested by P. G. Lowe; Gen. William Brindle, suggested by A. R. Greene.

Corresponding members: Adoniram Judson Patterson, D. D., Roxbury, Mass., suggested by Rev. C. D. Bradlee; John P. Jones, San Diego, Cal.; George M. Herrick, Washburn College; Henry B. Blackwell, Boston, Mass.; James W. Steele, Chicago, Ill.; Henry King, St. Louis, Mo.; George T. Pierce, Goodrich, Kan.; Rev. H. D. Fisher, Topeka; J. V. Brower, St. Paul, Minn., by L. R. Elliott; Andrew T. Still, Kirksville, Mo., by John Speer; Rev. Richard Cordley, Lawrence.

Active members: J. F. Todd, Topeka; C. A. Lewis, Weir City; Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, White Rock; George Johnson, White Rock; D. S. Alford, Lawrence; F. W. Blackmar, F. H. Hodder, and E. D. Adams, of the state university, Lawrence, suggested by W. H. Carruth.

The board then adjourned.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

NOVEMBER 12, 1897.

The executive committee of the State Historical Society met in the Society's south rooms, November 12, 1897, at three P. M., for the object of filling vacancies in the board of directors and officers of the Society. There were present: J. W. Leedy, C. K. Holliday, W. E. Bush, and William Sims. A. J. Arnold being unavoidably absent.

Vacancies in the board of directors were filled as follows: J. G. McCoy, of Sedgwick county, in the place of Harrison Kelley; Wm.

A. Peffer in the place of S. McLallin; Mrs. Elizabeth W. Abbott, of De Soto, in place of James B. Abbott; Benjamin Harding, of Wathena, in the place of Sol. Miller.

Vacancies in the officers of the Society were filled as follows: For president, Peter McVicar, of Topeka, in the place of Harrison Kelley, deceased; Wm. A. Peffer, in the place of S. McLallin, deceased.

The meeting then adjourned.

APPOINTMENT OF JOHN SPEER TO BE PRESIDENT.

Peter McVicar having declined the appointment of president tendered to him by the executive committee, the committee, under date of November 22, 1897, by the following writing, signed by all the members, appointed John Speer to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Pres. Harrison Kelley, July 24, 1897:

The undersigned, members of the executive committee of the Kansas State Historical Society, in view of the fact that Peter McVicar has, owing to ill health, declined the office of president of the Society, to which he was appointed by us to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Harrison Kelley, we, and each of us, favor the appointment of John Speer to the place, and authorize the secretary to enter such record of appointment upon the books of the Society.

(Signed) WILLIAM SIMS.
CYRUS K. HOLLIDAY.
W. E. BUSH.
A. J. ARNOLD.
J. W. LEEDY.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

JANUARY 18, 1898.

The twenty-second annual meeting of the board of directors was held in the west rooms of the Society, January 18, 1898, John Speer, president of the Society, presiding.

The following members of the board were present: J. W. Leedy, L. R. Elliott, E. B. Cowgill, F. C. Montgomery, Peter McVicar, A. B. Whiting, F. P. Baker, Fred. Wellhouse, Mrs. Bina A. Otis, L. D. Whittemore, J. E. Junkin, Geo. W. Martin, Miss Lucy D. Kingman, John Guthrie, J. Ware Butterfield, Horace L. Moore, Brinton W. Woodward, Frank W. Blackmar, Robert H. Semple, William Sims, Cyrus K. Holliday, William A. Peffer, Chas. S. Gleed, John G. Haskell, William Stryker, W. H. Carruth, Fletcher Meridith, William E. Bush, Harvey D. Rice, and F. G. Adams.

The annual report was read by the secretary, and approved by the board, on motion of John Guthrie.

The report of the executive committee on the finances of the Society was read by C. K. Holliday, and approved.

The committee on nominations then made its report. The report was adopted. Honorary and corresponding members were then nominated. John Guthrie reported for the committee on the memorial

of Charles Robinson, and upon his motion, F. W. Blackmar, of the state university, was appointed to prepare the memorial for publication in the Society's collections.

B. W. Woodward reported that the memorial on T. Dwight Thacher had been prepared by Rev. Richard Cordley, and would be presented at the evening meeting of the Society, and that the memorial of S. O. Thacher was being prepared by Stuart Henry.

Secretary Adams stated that L. F. Green, of Woden, Tex., had been chosen by Mrs. Abbott and the friends of her husband to prepare a memorial on James B. Abbott, and the paper had been received by the Society. The secretary also stated that a memorial of George T. Anthony had been prepared by P. I. Bonebrake, at the request of the committee, and had been printed by the family, and a copy furnished the Society.

On motion of F. C. Montgomery, it was voted that the memorials prepared and on file, of George T. Anthony, James B. Abbott, and T. Dwight Thacher, be printed in the sixth volume of the Society's collections.

The secretary then reported the following names of deceased members of the board for whom memorials should be prepared, and on motion the executive committee was requested to obtain suitable memorialists: George A. Crawford, Matthew Weightman, Sol. Miller, Harrison Kelley, and S. McLallin.

The secretary then made a statement regarding a collection of manuscripts made by William E. Connelley, of Beatrice, Neb., relating to the Wyandotte and other tribes of Indians in Kansas, and to the earliest steps which had been taken towards opening Kansas territory to settlement. At the secretary's request, Mr. Connelley had brought the manuscripts to Topeka in order that the board of directors at this meeting might take such action as might be thought best in reference to securing the manuscripts for the Society's use. Charles S. Gleed, who had seen the manuscripts, also made a statement testifying to their value.

The following resolution, offered by the secretary, and seconded by Charles S. Gleed, was then adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of five, consisting of Wm. A. Peffer, W. H. Carruth, L. D. Whittemore, John Speer, and F. W. Blackmar, be appointed to examine the manuscripts of William E. Connelley, and report the results of their investigations to the executive committee and that the executive committee be authorized to act.

L. R. Elliott offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

WHEREAS, We deem that it will be a matter of interest to future residents of Kansas to be able to associate the faces of the directors of this Society with their recorded names: therefore, be it

Resolved, That the secretary of the Society be requested to solicit from each

of the several persons who have served as directors a photograph, of such size and style as he may designate; and we hereby instruct the secretary to procure a proper receptacle for said photographs, and place them therein, with suitable statements of the dates of service of each; and we further request the secretary to obtain, if possible, from friends of deceased directors, the photographs of those who have passed away.

On motion of E. B. Cowgill, the following resolutions were adopted:

WHEREAS, This Society has received from J. V. Brower, of St. Paul, Minn., a copy of his memoir of his investigations in Kansas concerning the prehistoric occupants of this region, and especially concerning the semi-historic Quivera, mentioned by the Spanish explorers in 1541; and

WHEREAS, The developments made by J. V. Brower in his examinations in the central portion of the state have been of a unique and interesting character; and

WHEREAS, The information obtained by the author and recorded in the interesting memoir he has prepared leads us to believe that the subject of the earliest occupancy of Kansas has not by any means been thoroughly investigated; and

WHEREAS, The chief purpose of the existence of this Society is to secure and record the history of Kansas from its beginnings: therefore,

Resolved, That we do hereby appoint a committee, consisting of Vice-pres. Eugene F. Ware, Treas. John Guthrie, and L. R. Elliott, who may in their discretion, and in the name of the Society, and under its auspices, arrange for the continuance of the investigations begun by J. V. Brower, and for the publication of the results thereof in a volume which shall be of a style creditable to this Society and to the state of Kansas, or in the regular series of volumes of the collections of the Society. And that we may avail ourselves of the valuable services and ripe knowledge of J. V. Brower, who also is a corresponding member of the Society, we hereby cordially invite him to act with the above-named committee. Also,

Resolved, That the committee herein named be requested to procure from J. V. Brower the use of the illustrative cuts and maps now in his possession, to the end that the new volume to be prepared may contain the important matter presented in the memoir this day dedicated to this Society, as well as all such additional information as the contemplated investigations of the committee may develop.

The following resolution, offered by W. H. Carruth, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this Society views with concern the absence throughout the state of adequate records of births and deaths, and advocates the enactment of measures requiring the keeping of such records; that a committee of five be appointed to draft a bill to this effect, and to advocate its adoption by the next legislature.

The committee was appointed by the president, consisting of H. L. Moore, John Guthrie, George W. Martin, W. H. Carruth, and L. R. Elliott.

The meeting then adjourned.

MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

JANUARY 18, 1898.

The twenty-second annual meeting of the Historical Society convened in Representative hall, Tuesday, January 18, 1898, at 7:30 P. M. The meeting was called to order by John Speer, president. The annual report of the board of directors was then presented by the secretary, and adopted.

Thirty-three members of the board of directors were then elected for the term of three years, ending January 15, 1901, as follows: F. G. Adams, Topeka; Alexander Caldwell, Leavenworth; Harold T. Chase, Topeka; J. R. Clark, La Cygne; E. J. Dallas, Topeka; L. R. Elliott, Manhattan; J. S. Emery, Lawrence; Charles S. Gleed, Topeka; I. D. Graham, Manhattan; John Guthrie, Topeka; H. C. F. Hackbusch, Leavenworth; Grant W. Harrington, Hiawatha; John G. Haskell, Lawrence; C. K. Holliday, Topeka; Scott Hopkins, Horton; A. H. Horton, Topeka; A. S. Johnson, Topeka; Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, White Rock; Henry Kuhn, Marion; V. J. Lane, Kansas City; P. G. Lowe, Leavenworth; Geo. W. Martin, Kansas City; Horace L. Moore, Lawrence; E. N. Morrill, Hiawatha; T. B. Murdock, El Dorado; F. O. Popenoe, Topeka; Adrian Reynolds, Sedan; William Sims, Topeka; W. H. Smith, Marysville; A. E. True, Vera; Fred L. Vandegrift, Kansas City; Fred. Wellhouse, Topeka; A. L. Williams, Topeka.

Geo. W. Martin offered the following resolution, which was adopted on the second of the secretary of the Society:

Resolved, That in the judgment of the State Historical Society all controversy concerning the state library should end, and the committee is hereby discharged from further consideration of the subject.

The president then read the annual address, on the subject "The Importance of Accuracy in Historical Statements."

L. R. Elliott made a few remarks explanatory of the work of J. V. Brower in tracing Coronado's route in Kansas, and his antiquarian researches near Manhattan.

Francis H. Snow read a paper entitled "Beginnings of the State University."

Charles S. Gleed then formally presented to the Society, in behalf of Eugene F. Ware, a bronze bust of D. W. Wilder, executed by R. B. Bringhurst, of St. Louis. Charles S. Gleed read a paper communicated by Eugene F. Ware, relating to the gift, and containing the following limitation:

I retain my proprietary interest in the bust until it can be determined whether or not the state will give the Society proper rooms and necessary facilities in the state-house. If not, I will remove the bust elsewhere. E. F. WARE.

Samuel A. Kingman offered the following resolution, which was adopted on motion of President Speer:

Resolved, That hearty thanks be offered to Eugene F. Ware for his generous gift, valuable as a work of art, but precious to us as a perfect representation of an early and tried friend and former president of the Historical Society and doubly prized as linking the name of the munificent donor with that of D. W. Wilder in a perpetual memorial of these two esteemed members of our Society.

Alexander S. Johnson, of Topeka, who was born in Kansas in 1832, then presented to the Society a gavel made from the wood of an English Golden Russet apple tree, one of the trees in an orchard planted by his father, the Rev. Thomas Johnson, on the farm of the Shawnee Indian manual labor school (now in Johnson county, Kansas), in the year 1837. Colonel Johnson said the gavel had been prepared by E. P. Diehl, a prominent horticulturist of Johnson county, who was somewhat familiar with the history of this orchard, and took this mode of preserving, in the Historical Society of Kansas, a relic of the first orchard planted in Kansas. Mr. Diehl, in his letter accompanying the gift, had referred to Colonel Johnson's association with that orchard in his childhood, and had brought to his mind many reminiscences of those early days when Kansas was a wilderness, its inhabitants the red men, a few missionaries and teachers who were seeking to teach them the ways of civilization, and a few Indian traders; and, besides these, only the occupants of the military posts at Fort Leavenworth. In this manual labor school was instituted, it is said, the first effort to teach industrial pursuits to Indian children. It was the initiatory step in Indian education, which, followed by other societies and by the government of the United States, embraces so prominent a feature in the work of Indian civilization at the present time.

On motion of H. D. Fisher, a vote of thanks was given A. S. Johnson and E. P. Diehl for the gift of the valuable memento of the Rev. Thomas Johnson.

B. W. Woodward then read a paper on "Reminiscences of September 14, 1856; Invasion of the 2700."

Rev. Richard Cordley read a memorial address on T. Dwight Thacher.

On motion of the secretary, a vote of thanks was extended Frank Weightman for his entertaining solos, and to Oscar, Thomas, Grace and Marion Darlow for their well-rendered orchestra music.

The meeting then adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

JANUARY 18, 1898.

The board of directors was called to order by the president, on adjournment of the annual meeting. Officers were elected for the following year, as follows: President, John Speer, Garden City; vice-presidents, E. F. Ware, Topeka, and W. A. Peffer, Topeka.

The following honorary and corresponding members were also elected:

Honorary member: Aldace F. Walker, New York city, nominated by C. K. Holliday.

Corresponding members: Angus McDonald, M. D., Ph. D., nominated by Rev. C. D. Bradlee; Julius T. Clark, Topeka; William E. Connelley, Beatrice, Neb.; Bradford Kingman, Brookline, Mass., nominated by Samuel A. Kingman; Sidney Clarke, Oklahoma City, O. T.; W. R. Brown, El Reno, O. T.; Addison Danford, Canon City, Colo.; Edmund G. Ross, Albuquerque, N. M.; Elias S. Stover, Albuquerque, N. M.; Allen B. Lemmon, Santa Rosa, Cal.; Henry C. Speer, Chicago; W. H. H. Lawrence, Plainesville, Ohio; William Higgins, Kansas City, Mo.; E. P. McCabe, Guthrie, O. T.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

NOVEMBER 15, 1898.

The November meeting of the board of directors of the Kansas State Historical Society was held in the west rooms, November 15, 1898, to consider the eleventh biennial report.

In the absence of the president, John Speer, detained at his home through illness, Eugene F. Ware, first vice-president, presided.

There were present the following members of the board: Horace L. Moore, George Leis, John G. Haskell, J. S. Emery, Geo. W. Martin, John Guthrie, W. H. Barnes, F. P. Baker, William Sims, Peter McVicar, L. D. Whittemore, E. F. Ware, Harold T. Chase, L. R. Elliott, Miss Lucy D. Kingman, Fred. Wellhouse, Fred O. Popenoe, E. B. Cowgill, E. J. Dallas, F. D. Coburn, and F. G. Adams.

The secretary read letters from the daughters of John Speer and V. J. Lane, stating the serious illness of their fathers, and expressing regret that they were unable to attend the meeting; a telephone message from A. B. Whiting mentioned that he would be necessarily absent on account of the celebration of his fortieth wedding anniversary.

A letter from D. W. Wilder was read, explaining the reasons for his absence. The letter also contained the following suggestion, the subject of which, on motion, was referred to a committee of three to be appointed by the president, for action at the January meeting of the board:

I have a proposition to make: The Centennial managers at Philadelphia, about 1874, called upon states, counties and towns to signalize 1876 by publishing histories. A good response was made in the states, and especially in Kansas, with new county histories. I found time to compile the "Annals."

Now we are near the end of the century. I want our Society to father a movement for new local histories all over the state. The editors, all of whom are members of the Society, are the men who will make the most numerous responses. But city councils and county commissioners will also take up the patriotic work. Frank Montgomery will complete the "Annals." The State Historical Society can greatly aid in the work.

The secretary then read the eleventh biennial report, which, including the financial report of the executive committee, on motion of John Guthrie, was adopted and ordered to be printed.

Vice-president Ware stated that urgent business compelled him to retire. He called E. J. Dallas to the chair.

H. L. Moore, from the committee on the subject of proposed legislation to secure the recording of vital statistics, stated that he had examined the laws of Eastern states on this subject, and had selected that of Massachusetts as most applicable to the needs of our state. He had secured from John Guthrie the promise to draw up a bill, patterned after this law, to be submitted to the coming legislature. He thought the records of marriages as now preserved by the probate courts were adequate, and that the new law should have special reference to the preservation of records of births and deaths.

John Guthrie called the attention of the board to the Society's lack of room. He also said that an effort should be made with the coming legislature to restore the appropriations in salaries and clerk hire which were reduced by the legislature of 1897. On his motion, the president was instructed to appoint a committee of seven to cooperate with the president and secretary for the purpose of securing through the executive council the rooms accorded the Society by the legislative resolution of 1895. The president was also instructed to appoint a new committee on legislation.

L. Vernon Briggs, secretary of the Old Colony Commission, Boston, was elected an honorary member of the Society, by nomination of Secretary Adams.

James S. Emery, on motion of Geo. Leis, was invited to prepare a paper of reminiscences relating to the early history of Kansas for filing among the manuscripts of the Society.

E. B. Cowgill spoke of the importance of securing the cooperation of local historical societies throughout the state, and suggested that this might be done by giving some officer or other member of such societies representation on the board of directors of the state Society. On motion, he was requested to formulate a resolution to that effect for presentation to the annual meeting of the board.

The following resolution offered by H. L. Moore, at the suggestion of Dr. H. Z. Gill, secretary of the state board of health, was then adopted:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of the board of directors of the State Historical Society, at its meeting, November 15, 1898, the vital statistics of the state, being of so great importance, should be carefully collected and preserved in such manner as shall secure them for future use; that the state health authorities, as now organized, should be strengthened, and collection of said vital statistics be facilitated by additional legislation.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

JANUARY 17, 1899.

The twenty-third annual meeting of the board of directors of the Kansas State Historical Society was held in the west rooms of the Society, Tuesday afternoon, January 17, 1899, commencing at two o'clock.

In the absence of the president, John Speer, who was unable through illness to attend the meeting, Geo. W. Martin was called to the chair. Franklin G. Adams also being ill, the assistant secretary was requested to act in his place.

The following members of the board were present: Geo. W. Martin, D. W. Wilder, Mrs. Bina A. Otis, Peter McVicar, Eugene F. Ware, John Guthrie, A. B. Whiting, John G. Haskell, William Sims, C. K. Holliday, F. P. Baker, Frank C. Montgomery, Harvey D. Rice, William H. Barnes, W. L. Brown, E. B. Cowgill, Miss Lucy D. Kingman, J. B. Remington, A. R. Taylor, Fred. Wellhouse, L. D. Whittemore.

D. W. Wilder, for the committee on nominations, reported a list of thirty-three members of the board of directors for election at the annual meeting of the Society in the evening, and officers and honorary and corresponding members for election at the evening meeting of the board. The report of the committee was accepted.

On motion of D. W. Wilder, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the secretary of this Society be requested to prepare a circular and send it to every editor in the state, suggesting the timeliness of preparing histories of every town, city and county in the state as a fitting patriotic memorial of the end of this century. A request similar to this was made to the nation by the Centennial commissioners in 1874, and was appropriately responded to in 1876 by people in all parts of the union, Kansas being a generous and distinguished contributor.

John Guthrie reported that he had prepared a bill for submission to the legislature, providing for the collection and preservation of vital statistics by the state. After a brief synopsis of the bill by John Guthrie, and remarks upon the subject by members of the board, the matter was withdrawn by consent, and referred again to the committee for consideration.

E. B. Cowgill then made the following report, which, on motion, was adopted:

Your committee on cooperation of local historical societies with the State Historical Society begs leave to recommend that each county or other local historical society be entitled to one delegate to the State Historical Society, who shall have all the rights and privileges of membership in the State Historical

Society, including the right to be elected a director or officer of said society, the right to take part in the discussions, and the right to vote. It is further recommended that every such county or other local historical society be invited to deposit in the library of the State Historical Society such historical collections as it shall make.

The following resolution was then offered by Geo. W. Martin, and seconded by S. A. Kingman with appropriate and forceful remarks:

Resolved, That the executive council is respectfully memorialized to comply with concurrent resolution No. 22, adopted by the legislature of 1895, granting to the Historical Society for its library and museum the two floors of the east wing below the senate chamber, upon the removal of the state library.

After a lengthy discussion upon the subject of additional rooms, the resolution was adopted.

S. W. Williston, of the state university, then read his paper on "An Ancient Sod House in Western Kansas."

On motion of Samuel A. Kingman, the thanks of the Society were accorded Doctor Williston for his very interesting paper, and a copy was requested for publication in the collections of the Society.

J. C. Price, of Republic City, was then invited by the chair to make some remarks explanatory of the objects of the Pawnee Republic Historical Society, and of the proposed purchase by the state of the village site. He responded at some length, and presented, in the name of Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, of White Rock, a fine crayon portrait of Capt. Zebulon M. Pike.

At the close of J. C. Price's remarks, a copy of a bill prepared for presentation to the legislature, by F. M. Woodward, member from Republic county, was read for the consideration of the board, and on motion of Peter McVicar was referred to the legislative committee.

On motion of D. W. Wilder, the thanks of the board were extended to J. C. Price, and he was requested to put his remarks in writing for publication in the minutes of the meeting.

E. F. Ware made a brief verbal report for the committee on J. V. Brower's Coronado investigation, stating that the committee, composed of John Guthrie, L. R. Elliott, and himself, had examined the proposition to continue the investigations of J. V. Brower, and believing that the investigation and publication of the result by the Society would require an outlay which the Society could not afford, the committee decided adversely to the proposition. The report of the committee was accepted.

The following report of the committee on the Connelley collection of Wyandotte Indian manuscripts was approved, and the committee discharged:

The committee appointed by the State Historical Society, composed of Wm. A. Peffer, L. D. Whittemore, John Speer, F. W. Blackmar, and W. H. Carruth,

agree that the Connelley collection is well worthy of deposit in the files of the Kansas State Historical Society, and are of the opinion that the legislature, upon proper information, will appropriate funds sufficient to make reasonable compensation for the collection, and they would be pleased if W. E. Connelley should find it convenient to place the collection in the care of the Society for preservation, and for submission to the proper committee of the legislature, at its next meeting, and in case Mr. Connelley does so place the collection, the Society will undertake to make proper representation as to their value as materials of history.

W. E. Connelley, of Beatrice, Neb., being detained at home through illness, Geo. W. Martin, of Kansas City, the former home of Mr. Connelley, stated the subject of his address to be "The First Provisional Government of Kansas," and said that as the paper was lengthy he would not attempt to read it. Mr. Martin said further, that Mr. Connelley probably knew more about the history of the Wyandotte Indians than any one now living; that he was an indefatigable collector of the materials of the history of the tribe, and was an accurate and painstaking historian.

On motion of John Guthrie, the address was ordered to be printed in the collections of the Society.

The meeting then adjourned.

MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

JANUARY 17, 1899.

The Society met in Representative hall at 7:45 Tuesday evening, the 17th of January, 1899, Vice-pres. E. F. Ware presiding. An overture by Wood's orchestra was followed by an invocation, pronounced by Rev. H. D. Fisher, in the absence of Rev. Allen Buckner, who was prevented from attendance on account of illness.

The thirty-three members of the board of directors nominated at the afternoon meeting were formally elected, as follows:

Mrs. J. B. Abbott, De Soto; J. B. Adams, El Dorado; T. J. Anderson, Topeka; A. J. Arnold, Topeka; W. L. Brown, Kingman; Geo. A. Clark, Junction City; E. B. Cowgill, Topeka; S. H. Dodge, Beloit; A. G. Forney, Belle Plaine; John Francis, Colony; John S. Gilmore, Fredonia; Frank E. Grimes, Leoti; Benjamin Harding, Wathena; E. W. Hoch, Marion; D. W. Houston, Garnett; J. K. Hudson, Topeka; L. D. Lewelling, Wichita; E. D. McKeever, Topeka; John R. Mulvane, Topeka; M. M. Murdock, Wichita; Frank Nelson, Lindsborg; W. A. Peffer, Topeka; J. B. Remington, Osawatomie; Harvey D. Rice, Topeka; Chas. F. Scott, Iola; R. H. Semple, Ottawa; W. E. Stanley, Wichita; Edwin Taylor, Edwardsville; James A. Troutman, Topeka; D. A. Valentine, Clay Center; A. B. Whiting, Topeka; L. D. Whittemore, Topeka; B. W. Woodward, Lawrence.

Further proceedings of the meeting were in accordance with the program.

John Guthrie read extracts from President Speer's address entitled "The Burning of Osceola, Mo., September 23, 1861." At the close of the address, the following resolution was adopted, on motion of D. W. Wilder:

Resolved, That the Society greatly regrets to learn that its president, John Speer, the surviving pioneer journalist of our state, is prevented by illness from attending our meeting. With our regrets we send him our heartfelt sympathy, and our hope for his speedy recovery to his usual and Kansas robust health.

The program was then continued, as follows:

Mr. Frank Weightman, of Topeka, sang a solo, and responded to an encore.

Dr. A. R. Taylor, Emporia, read a paper entitled "History of Normal School Work in Kansas."

Orchestra music.

Col. W. F. Cloud, of Kansas City, explained the objects of the Kansas Soldiers' Monument Association, and made a brief address on the subject.

Orchestra music.

Maj. W. L. Brown, of Kingman, read a paper on "Kansas in the War with Spain."

Samuel A. Kingman then offered the following preamble and resolution, which was adopted:

WHEREAS, I have long been a member of this Society, and have known its officers and members from the beginning have seen them come and go—but I never before missed from his place of duty the secretary, who has, since his appointment in 1875, always performed his office at the annual meeting: and be it

Resolved, That we hereby extend to him our sincere sympathy in his illness, and express the hope that he will be restored to health, and enabled to resume his post of duty.

A vote of thanks was then requested by Geo. W. Martin in acknowledgment of the songs of Mr. Weightman and the music by Wood's orchestra, which was unanimously given.

The meeting then adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

JANUARY 17, 1899.

At the close of the annual meeting, a meeting of the board of directors was called to order by John Guthrie. The following officers were elected for the year ending January 16, 1900: President, Eugene F. Ware; vice-presidents, Geo. W. Martin and Grant W. Harrington. For the two years ending January 15, 1901: John Guthrie, treasurer; Franklin G. Adams, secretary.

Eugene F. Ware then took the chair, and the following honorary and corresponding members, nominated at the afternoon meeting of the board, were elected:

Honorary members: Noble L. Prentis, Kansas City, Mo.: Noah Brooks, New York city.

Corresponding members: Robert Tracy, St. Joseph, Mo.; J. W. Baird, Louisville, Ky.; E. E. Ayer, Chicago; Albert Bigelow Paine, New York city; August Bondi, Salina.

The president informed the meeting that he would postpone the appointment of the standing committees for the present.

The meeting then adjourned.

APPOINTMENT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

MAY 13, 1899.

I hereby appoint the following as the executive committee of the Kansas State Historical Society, to serve until the next regular annual meeting: W. E. Stanley, Geo. A. Clark, C. K. Holliday, William Sims, A. B. Whiting.

(Signed) E. F. WARE, *President.*

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

DECEMBER 6, 1899.

A meeting of the executive committee of the Kansas State Historical Society was held in the west rooms of the Society, at two P. M., Wednesday, December 6, 1899. There were present: Geo. A. Clark, William Sims, and A. B. Whiting. Gov. W. E. Stanley was prevented by illness from attending, and C. K. Holliday was absent from the city. Geo. A. Clark acted as chairman.

On motion of William Sims, Geo. W. Martin, of Kansas City, was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death, on the 2d instant, of the secretary, Franklin G. Adams.

Vacancies in the board of directors were filled by the election of the following persons: West E. Wilkinson, Seneca, in place of Mrs. J. B. Abbott, of De Soto; John Martin, Topeka, in place of A. J. Arnold, of North Topeka; Frank W. Blackmar, Lawrence, in place of James S. Emery, of Lawrence; W. W. Padgett, Fort Scott, in place of Benjamin Harding, of Wathena; Wm. E. Connelley, Topeka, in place of L. R. Elliott, of Manhattan; Zu Adams, Topeka, in place of Franklin G. Adams, of Topeka.

President Ware appointed D. W. Wilder, Samuel A. Kingman and F. P. Baker a committee to prepare a memorial on the late secretary, Franklin G. Adams, to be read at the next annual meeting of the Society. Adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

JANUARY 16, 1900.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the board of directors of the Kansas State Historical Society was held in the hall of the house of representatives, Tuesday afternoon, January 16, 1900. The meeting was called to order at 1:30 by Pres. Eugene F. Ware.

The roll of members being called by the secretary, the following were found to be present: A. B. Whiting, F. P. Baker, William Sims,

William E. Connelley, E. F. Ware, James A. Troutman, Mrs. M. L. Wood, B. W. Woodward, Robert H. Semple, Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, Fred. Wellhouse, William H. Smith, L. D. Whittemore, Horace L. Moore, John Francis, F. D. Coburn, W. H. Barnes, Lucy D. Kingman, William A. Peffer, Harold T. Chase, Peter McVicar, John Guthrie, D. A. Valentine, Frank W. Blackmar, John Martin, D. R. Anthony, Frank Doster, E. D. McKeever, Frank Nelson, Harvey D. Rice, West E. Wilkinson, Geo. W. Martin, E. B. Cowgill, John G. Haskell, V. J. Lane, J. E. Junkin, John K. Wright, Zu Adams, L. A. Bigger, E. P. Harris.

Secretary Martin read the annual report of the Society, which was unanimously adopted. (See page 30.)

The report of the nominating committee was read by the secretary, and on motion of John Guthrie was adopted, and referred to the evening meetings of the society and board of directors for action.

On motion of W. H. Smith, the name of E. R. Fulton, of Marysville, was added to the list of nominations for active membership; also the name of John D. Milliken, of McPherson, on nomination of President Ware.

William Sims, for the executive committee, made the following report of the Society's finances for the year ending October 30, 1899, which was accepted:

1898.	RECEIPTS.	
Nov. 1....	Balance of appropriation to June 30, 1899	$3,038 85
1899.	Balance in hands of treasurer of Society—fees	94 44
July 1....	Appropriation to June 30, 1900	5,140 00
	Deficiency in salary, two years	1,200 00
	Receipts from membership fees	54 00
	Total receipts	$9,527 29

EXPENDITURES.		
Salaries and clerk hire	$4,940 00	
Purchase of books	604 55	
Postage, freight, and contingent	500 07	
Treasurer's account, membership fee	85 00	
Total expenditures		6,129 62
Balance		$3,397 67

John Guthrie then offered the following resolution, which, after discussion, was adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Historical Society and other patriotic people of the State of Kansas are due and are hereby tendered to Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, of White Rock, Republic county, for donation to this Society of eleven acres of land, embracing the site of the Pawnee Indian village where Capt. Zebulon M. Pike, in 1806, first raised the American flag on Kansas soil. Mrs. Johnson, in her patriotic zeal, paid $2300 for a quarter-section of land, in order to prevent this interesting spot from passing into careless hands, and to further protect it bought a roadway around it, and it is the judgment of this Society that the legislature should suitably mark the same.

The following resolution, offered by William E. Connelley, led to much discussion, but was adopted without amendment:

Resolved, That a committee of three, of which the secretary of the Society shall be one, be appointed by the president, to consider the propriety of amending the constitution of this Society in relation to the charge of annual fees for membership and the admission of delegates from local historical societies in the state; and that said committee be required to report to a meeting of the Society to be held on Tuesday, the 1st day of May, 1900, and if in the opinion of the committee such amendment or any amendment is desirable, such amendment be formulated by such committee and reported at said meeting.

H. L. Moore then presented the following resolution, prepared by W. H. Carruth, of the state university, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the work of this Society be organized into divisions, as follows: Archæology; historic relics; explorations; Indian history; history of the territory; history of the state; geography (including maps, views of buildings, and scenery); origin of local names; journals, diaries, and manuscripts; local history, interviews, and chronicles; organization of local historical societies; biography; portraits; genealogy and directories; newspapers, periodicals, and scrap-books; literature; and that the directors, according to their own preference and subject to the discretion of the executive committee, be assigned to committees which shall have especial care and supervision of the work comprised under such divisions, subject to the advice and control of the executive committee.

Miss Zu Adams offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to prepare for a suitable observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the organization of the Kansas State Historical Society.

The president announced that the required committees would be appointed by his successor.

H. L. Moore requested that the matter of vital statistics be referred to the members of the committee on genealogy, and that they, in cooperation with the state board of health, be requested to prepare a bill on this subject for submission to the coming session of the legislature.

John G. Haskell then presented to the Society two volumes, entitled "Select Charters and Other Documents Illustrative of American History, 1606-1775," and "Select Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States, 1776-1861," edited by William MacDonald.

B. W. Woodward nominated William MacDonald, who holds the chair of history in Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, as corresponding member of the Society.

The board adjourned, and the Society met in session.

MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

JANUARY 16, 1900.

Richard J. Hinton was invited by the president to make a few remarks. He paid a brief but eloquent tribute to the work of Franklin G. Adams for the State Historical Society.

Col. W. S. Metcalf then delivered an address on "The Twentieth Kansas in the Philippines." At the close of the address, D. R. Anthony moved that the thanks of the Society be extended to Colonel Metcalf for his admirable paper, and that a copy be requested for publication in the collections of the Society.

Maj. A. M. Harvey followed with an address on "The Organization and History of the Twenty-second Kansas regiment." On a motion by John Martin, the thanks of the Society were given Major Harvey for his excellent paper, and a copy was requested for publication.

The secretary then read an address by Lieut.-col. James Beck, who was unable to be present, on "The Organization and Services of the Twenty-third Kansas." Upon conclusion of the paper, D. R. Anthony moved that, in consideration of the historical value of the document and the influence it may have on the future organization of troops, a copy be requested for preservation.

The meeting then adjourned to eight P. M.

The evening meeting was held in Representative hall, and was called to order by President Ware.

Preceding the program of the evening, an informal reception was held in honor of Richard J. and Mrs. Hinton, and was largely participated in by members of the Society and other citizens.

Rev. John S. Glendenning, of the Second Presbyterian Church, Topeka, pronounced the invocation.

The thirty-three members of the board of directors nominated at the afternoon meeting of the board were elected for the three years ending January 20, 1903, as follows:

D. R. Anthony, Leavenworth; F. P. Baker, Topeka; Charles W. Barnes, Topeka; W. E. Bush, Fort Scott; L. A. Bigger, Hutchinson; Arthur Capper, Topeka; W. H. Carruth, Lawrence; F. D. Coburn, Kansas City; John W. Conway, Norton; Frank Doster, Marion; A. R. Greene, Lecompton; Ewing Herbert, Hiawatha; Edward P. Harris, Lecompton; Clad Hamilton, Topeka; E. W. Howe, Atchison; J. E. Junkin, Sterling; Miss Lucy D. Kingman, Topeka; George Leis, Lawrence; E. C. Little, Abilene; P. McVicar, Topeka; F. P. MacLennan, Topeka; Fletcher Meridith, Hutchinson; F. C. Montgomery, Topeka; J. W. Morphy, Smith Center; John Madden, Emporia; W. H. Nelson, Smith Center; A. P. Riddle, Minneapolis; John Seaton,

Atchison; John Speer, Wichita; E. F. Ware, Topeka; W. A. White, Emporia; D. W. Wilder, Hiawatha; John K. Wright, Junction City.

A. G. Forney, in list for 1902, failed to qualify, and Bertrand Rockwell, of Junction City, was elected to fill the vacancy.

E. C. Little having declined to serve, the executive committee appointed F. H. Hodder, of the state university, to fill the vacancy.

President Ware then read his address on the "Neutral Lands."

Mrs. Mary G. Smith sang an original song, "Alone," with violin obligato by Prof. Henry B. Beerman. The words of the song were by Mrs. C. S. Baker.

Secretary Martin read the report of the memorial committee on Franklin G. Adams, which was followed by his favorite hymn, "Lead, Kindly Light," rendered by the St. Cecilia quartette.

Lieut. Jacob R. Whisner and Fred. D. Heisler then presented, in behalf of company B, of the Twentieth Kansas regiment, a flag captured by that company February 7, 1899, at Caloocan, P. I. On motion of John K. Wright, the thanks of the Historical Society were given company B for the flag.

Miss Irma Doster and Professor Beerman then rendered a violin duet.

The address of the evening, by Richard J. Hinton, followed: "The Nationalization of Freedom and the Historical Place of Kansas therein."

The St. Cecilia quartette then sang Schubert's "Serenade."

On motion of Wm. E. Connelley, the thanks of the Society were extended to Mrs. Mary G. Smith, Misses Gertrude, Mary and Lucia Wyatt, Miss Irma Doster, Miss Eleanor Work and Prof. Henry B. Beerman for the excellent music they had given for the entertainment of the annual meeting of the Society.

The meeting then adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD.

JANUARY 16, 1900.

The evening meeting of the board was called immediately after the adjournment of the annual meeting, by President Ware, and the following officers were elected for the term of one year: John G. Haskell, president; E. B. Cowgill, first vice-president; John Francis, second vice-president; Geo. W. Martin, secretary, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Adams.

President Haskell was conducted to the chair.

The following honorary, corresponding and active members, nominated at the previous meetings, were then elected:

Honorary members: Clark Bell, publisher, 39 Broadway, New

York; James Burton Pond, Everett House, Union Square, New York; J. W. Ozias, Lawrence.

Corresponding members: William Henry Wyman, Omaha, Neb., general agent Ætna Insurance Company, Hartford; Warren Upham, secretary Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul; William MacDonald, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me

Active members: Mrs. Susannah Marshall Weymouth, 418 Harrison street, Topeka; J. S. Dawson, Hill City: E. L. Ackley, Concordia; Miss Viola Troutman, Topeka; E. R. Fulton, Marysville; John D. Milliken, McPherson.

President Haskell appointed the following committees:

Executive committee: W. E. Stanley, John Martin, Geo. A. Clark, William Sims, A. B. Whiting.

Legislative committee: R. H. Semple, Arthur Capper. J. W. Morphy, John Seaton, W. A. White.

Committee on program: C. K. Holliday, Charles F. Scott, F. W. Blackmar, W. L. Brown, D. A. Valentine.

Nominating committee: S. A. Kingman, E. B. Cowgill, J. E. Junkin, F. P. Baker, L. D. Whittemore.

Committee on fees and membership: W. E. Connelley, F. W. Blackmar, George W. Martin.

Committee on twenty-fifth anniversary: E. F. Ware, Lucy D. Kingman, D. R. Anthony, J. W. Conway, W. H. Smith.

Adjourned.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

STATEMENT OF THE CONDITION, GROWTH, EXTENT AND USEFULNESS OF THE KANSAS HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

Since the last annual meeting of the State Historical Society, the public service and the duty of historic collection, the precept and example of the good man and good citizen, have suffered by the death of Franklin G. Adams, the secretary of the Society since its organization, twenty-four years ago.

The theory of your organization placed the principal responsibility for the gathering, arranging and preservation of materials illustrative of the history of Kansas upon the secretary, and my first duty is a pleasant one, of testifying to the completeness, the perfect order, scrupulous neatness and surprising exactness of system which characterizes the splendid collection this Society has the honor of bestowing upon the state of Kansas. Judge Adams lost much of individual credit and proper appreciation with the general public because of his exceeding modesty, but this by no means circumscribes a limit to the results of his labors or his delightful example. There may be another man in Kansas who could have shown the same patience and perseverance and self-sacrificing devotion under constant discouragements and apparent lack of appreciation as these shelves testify, but he is beyond my acquaintance or conception. I am not indulging in obituary gush, but testifying to an important public and official fact. If we regard the starting-point of our state's history as worth anything, Franklin G. Adams performed, if not greater, then more interesting public service for less compensation

than any other official. In the early days of the Society his wife assisted for weeks and weeks, at various times, and his children for a long time gave their hours after school, without compensation, in assorting and systematizing the great collection which began to pour in from his solicitation and efforts. An intimate acquaintance with his methods and labors for years justifies me in saying that, from my standpoint, the only criticism possible is that he started this work on a basis bordering upon the penurious, rather than that of extravagance or even liberality, which was due to an intense honesty and the scrupulous care he gave to every dollar the state placed at his disposal.

I am familiar with the criticisms of this Society and its collections for many years. Much has been said about the ability or judgment of a secretary, or a collector of historic material, to discriminate. A notion prevails quite generally, even with public men whose names appear frequently and sometimes constantly in the newspapers and public records of the state, that this Society conducts some sort of a junk-shop: that for some mysterious and inexplicable purpose, to develop away off in the future, you are engaged in piling away "trash." There is a wide-spread absence of any appreciation of the fact that the collection of history is for daily use—a blindness to a constant and uniform demand to-day for practical use of history made and preserved years ago, and which will be repeated in the years to come until the record of our actions will be called for by people just as deeply interested as the current crowds who visit these rooms.

In the face of much of this sentiment, Judge Adams exhibited a heroic persistence but little short of inspiration; and while there is no doubt much of trash here, because human ambitions, tastes and performances are so varied, it is a safe proposition that posterity will justify and admire the foundation he has laid.

Such peculiar ideas held by many concerning a historic collection suggested that a test of some sort be made. This Society has a function of practical everyday value to perform, and if it has not, then all this labor and expense bestowed causes an empty sentiment to come high. The collection gathered by this Society is of indispensable use in the daily administration of affairs—official, political, and general business. The student and the gentleman of leisure who may have but an idle curiosity to gratify constitute but a very small per cent. of those who daily consult the records preserved in these rooms. The public officials (state and county), public men, newspaper men, politicians, lawyers, those engaged in various enterprises or speculations, constantly call for data to them important, and oftentimes essential in their business. Every day the old man appears, searching for something he neglected to care for when he was younger and smarter and engaged in sneering at this "pile of trash." The young man, you all know, is full of hope, with the world in his grasp, the future wide open before him, wholly indifferent to the present, while the old man indulges in regret that he lacked the proper appreciation of the sweet now-and-now when he was on earth, cutting some figure in public or business affairs. A serious difficulty in the way of a proper historic interest in Kansas is this idea that the young or the middle-aged have no interest in it—that the collection and preservation of history is especially the duty of the old people: and hence a preliminary task is to impress present actors in life's drama that what they are doing is history, in which the future will take greater interest than we do in that which has gone by, because events just as interesting constantly occur, and, as many believe, a revival in historic work is near at hand. I have no desire to belittle the abstract idea of preserving history, but to show that this generation is getting something out of this work.

In common with all public libraries, cheerfully maintained for the general

good, the collections of this Society have a wide patronage, with the addition to the usual educational and literary features of a practical business use. It is proper that the legislature should know that the money expended in aiding this Society is not alone for the preservation of the state's history, but that the people and the taxpayers draw liberal returns from the help so extended. I had hoped to have some statistics for thirty days showing the calls upon this Society and the special interest in any particular feature, but our ideas were crude, and with some misunderstandings the results have been clear and satisfactory in but one respect, and that concerning the newspaper files. Such information we thought might aid the executive council in furnishing the rooms designed for the final home of the Society, in the east wing of this building.

From December 21, 1899, to January 13, 1900, 304 persons visited the rooms in the south wing. Of this number, 120 called for 222 books and 8 maps. This was an average of about sixteen visitors per day. This room contains the assortment of Kansas books and general historical works. At the room in the west wing the visitors for the same time averaged ninety-eight per day. This room contains portraits, curios, and relics, in which the public interest seems to center. We had hoped to have some measure of the absorbing desire general among all classes for relics and pictures, but our count is not sufficient. We have a large quantity of museum material, but now sadly piled up.

In view of the criticisms which have been common concerning the newspaper portion of this collection, the figures are gratifying and significant; gratifying because they were accurately kept, and significant because they demonstrate. The newspaper room had 715 visitors from December 12, 1899, to January 13, 1900, who did not call for papers. Those who called for newspaper files numbered 189, and they consulted 918 volumes. In addition, the correspondence of the office during this time required the use of 155 of these newspaper volumes. A great many people believe that this newspaper feature must some day be abandoned or curtailed because of the space required. Some extraordinary stories are told of the value these newspaper files have been to public officers, property owners, and litigants, from which it is apparent that the people have made tenfold more than they have cost the state. I am not saying this with any bias, because I have entertained doubts about the practicability of so large a collection. And as to curtailing or discriminating, it is enough to say that the most insignificant issues have been of the greater use in dollars and cents to those who needed them. Every officer in the building has frequent use for these newspapers in obtaining data that each could not keep for himself, and which is not to be had from any other source. This room is the Mecca of politicians and newspaper writers. In the recent trial of the Hillmon case the file of the Hutchinson *News* for 1879 and the file of the Leavenworth *Times* for 1883 were used; the former to show the Santa Fe time-card governing trains at Kingman, which could not be had at the railroad offices, and the latter for a legal document, the particular number being lost from the files in the *Times* office. Such instances, showing the great value and the wide, varied and constant use of this newspaper collec-

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[From January 1 to 31, 1900, inclusive, 1221 persons visited the Historical rooms; 553 called in the west rooms, looking at pictures, relics, and curios; 211 patrons called for 603 volumes of newspaper files, and there were 110 visitors in this room who did not call for papers; 176 patrons called for 141 Kansas historical books and 221 volumes of general history, and there were 171 who did not desire books. During the month, there were 193 letters written on Kansas historical topics, 247 acknowledgments or receipts mailed, and 47 letters sent after missing copies in the newspaper files.

During the months of January, February, and March, 1900, 3710 people visited the rooms of the Society. Of these, 561 persons called for 1769 newspaper files; 340 Kansas historical books were called for, and 458 books of general history. Two-thirds of the visitors each month call to see the pictures, relics, and curios.—SEC.]

tion, making it the most important public record we have, might be given several times for each week in the year. Great care has always been exercised in having each volume complete; during the past thirty days 220 postals and circulars were mailed calling for missing numbers, and 810 volumes for the year 1899 are now in the hands of the binder.

The correspondence indicates also a general demand upon this collection. Since December 12, 1899, besides ninety-eight formal receipts or acknowledgments, 223 letters have been written in response to requests for information or suggestions concerning every feature of Kansas history or development. Many of the letters required hours of research through books, pamphlets, and manuscripts. Two requests were made during this time—one from Washington and the other from New York—for information of a historical nature, each of which required from a week to two weeks of searching through scores of volumes, which we were compelled to decline because they were too much for our present help.

The original intent of the Society to gather material illustrative of the history of Kansas has expanded until we have here a reference library of widespread proportions. There is but a trifle of a purely literary nature in this collection, and, outside of a few Kansas publications, we have no calls in that line. We have an extensive collection of western travels which is largely used. Our customers call for information in history, or for facts or figures concerning public questions or public administration. The actions of political parties, church associations, educational, philanthropic and reform gatherings, statesmen, authors, men of note, are here on record because of a general demand. Anything in this line not on hand, when called for, we secure by gift or exchange, if possible. To illustrate: The latest received by gift, which we requested because called for, and they were not on hand, was a full set of the police reports of the city of New York. I think this an outgrowth of the newspaper files. Men spend hours and days in these rooms digging after something in this line. Young men are constantly calling and spending much time looking up their fathers' military records. The Sons of the Revolution have desk room with us, and time and work are given by the officers in gathering information for individuals and families in different parts of the state concerning their ancestors in the revolution, or ancestors they hope to find involved in the events of that period. This feature, as well as a like interest from other motives, indicates that a desire for family history, or genealogy, exists to a considerable extent in Kansas, and, as a result, this collection must grow in that direction.

This collection is almost wholly the result of gifts or exchange; hence, there are doubtless many books in it that would not otherwise be here. The small sum appropriated for the purchase of books I find has been conscientiously limited to the line of history. It will please you to know, as it pleases me to state, from correspondence, publications, and gentlemen of distinction who have called, that this Society and its work stand very high in literary, historic and library circles throughout the country.

We have a full collection of books, pamphlets, photos, curios and newspaper clippings concerning the Kansas soldiers in the Spanish-Philippine war. In all features of current events the duty of gathering is closely followed. The Society is under great obligations to J. W. Ozias, of Lawrence, a private in company H, Twentieth Kansas, for his thoughtful consideration every day during the Philippine campaign, in gathering and forwarding relics and curios: and also to A. M. Coville, of Topeka, a private in the Rough Riders in Cuba, for a like service. The museum feature has been wonderfully enhanced by these gentlemen.

On the 6th of July, 1899, Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson conveyed by deed to the

Kansas State Historical Society eleven acres of land in Republic county, a part of section 3, in township 2 south, of range 5 west, being the site of Pike's Pawnee Indian village. This deed has been placed in escrow with the secretary. The conditions of this deed are, that the State Historical Society shall fence and suitably mark said described land to commemorate the first raising of the American flag on Kansas territory, within four years from date, or, if at any time thereafter the land shall not be used for state or national purposes, then the same shall revert to Mrs. Johnson. Capt. Zebulon M. Pike, on his famous expedition of 1806, held a council with the Pawnees on the 29th of September. In his diary for this date he says:

"After the chiefs had replied to various parts of my discourse, but were silent as to the flag, I again reiterated the demand for the flag, adding that it was impossible for the nation to have two fathers; 'that they must either be the children of the Spaniards or acknowledge their American father.' After a silence of some time an old man rose, went to the door, took down the Spanish flag, brought it and laid it at my feet. He then received the American flag and elevated it on the staff which had lately borne the standard of his Catholic majesty."

The location of this Pawnee village, where this interesting and patriotic incident occurred, has been definitely and authoritatively established on the land embraced in Mrs. Johnson's deed, and it would be a handsome and inspiring act for the state of Kansas to suitably mark it forever.

During the year there have been added to the library 951 volumes of books; 4932 unbound volumes and pamphlets; 1545 volumes of newspapers and periodicals; 2000 single newspapers containing matter of historical interest; 69 maps, atlases, and charts; 389 manuscripts; 200 pictures and other works of art; 35 pieces of scrip, currency, and coin; 96 relics and miscellaneous contributions; 166 war relics. Thus to the library proper, of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and periodicals, during the year, have been added 7428 volumes. Of these, 7175 have been procured by gift and exchange and 253 by purchase.

Of newspapers and other periodicals now being published in Kansas, our list shows 807 in all: 51 dailies, 619 weeklies, 3 semiweeklies, 103 monthlies, 10 quarterlies, 12 semimonthlies, 1 bimonthly, and 8 occasionals. The regular issues of all these, with scarcely an exception, are being given the Society by the publishers, and are bound in annual or semiannual volumes.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS DELIVERED AND READ AT ANNUAL MEETINGS.

THE NINETEENTH KANSAS CAVALRY.

An address by HON. HORACE L. MOORE, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-first annual meeting, January 19, 1897.

DURING the summers of 1868 and 1869 the western part of Kansas, the southeastern part of Colorado and the northwestern part of Texas were raided over and over again by war parties of what were called the Plains Indians. The Indians engaged in these forays were Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, Comanches, northern Cheyennes, Brule, Ogalalla Sioux, and the Pawnees.

On the 10th of August, 1868, they struck the settlements on the Saline river. On the 12th they reached the Solomon and wiped out a settlement where the city of Minneapolis is now situated. In this raid fifteen persons were killed, two wounded, and five women carried off. On the same day they attacked Wright's hay camp, near Fort Dodge, raided the Pawnee, and killed two settlers on the Republican. On the 8th of September they captured a train at the Cimarron crossing of the Arkansas river, securing possession of seventeen men, whom they burned; and the day following they murdered six men between Sheridan and Fort Wallace. On the 1st of September, 1868, the Indians killed four men at Spanish Fork, in Texas, and outraged three women. One of these women was outraged by thirteen Indians, and afterwards killed and scalped. They left her with the hatchet still sticking in her head. Before leaving, they murdered her four little children. Of the children carried off by the Indians from Texas in 1868, fourteen were frozen to death in captivity.

The total of losses from September 12, 1868, to February 9, 1869, exclusive of the casualties incident to military operations, was 158 men murdered, sixteen wounded, and forty-one scalped. Three scouts were killed, fourteen women outraged, one man was captured, four women and twenty-four children were carried off. Nearly all these losses occurred in what we then called western Kansas, although the Saline, Solomon and Republican do not seem so very far west now.

In 1867 the Union Pacific railroad was built as far west as Fort Hays, and as the graders were constantly being attacked by Indians, the Eighteenth Kansas cavalry (a battalion of four companies) was mustered into the service of the United States for the purpose of furnishing protection to the laborers on the railroad and to keep the Santa Fe trail clear for the passage of wagon trains and the overland coaches. The battalion was rendezvoused at Fort Harker, near where Ellsworth is situated, on the 15th of July, 1867. I was mustered with the rank of major in command. At that time the Asiatic cholera was epidemic on the plains, and the hospitals at Harker were full of soldiers and laborers sick with cholera.

As soon as the command was mustered into the service and transportation and supplies could be obtained, it marched to the southwest to strike the Arkansas river near Fort Zarah, at the mouth of Walnut creek. The sick were left at

Harker. The afternoon march of the 15th of July developed no new cases of cholera. On the 16th a long march was made, and camp pitched on the left bank of Walnut creek, about ten miles above Zarah (Great Bend now). The day brought no new cases, and everybody felt cheerful, hoping that the future had nothing worse in store than a meeting with hostile Indians. By eight P. M. supper was over, and in another hour the camp became a hospital of screaming cholera patients. Men were seized with cramping of the stomach, bowels, and muscles of the arms and legs. The doctor and his medicine were powerless to resist the disease. One company had been sent away on a scout as soon as the command reached the camp, and of the three companies remaining in camp the morning of the 17th found five dead and thirty-six stretched on the ground in a state of collapse. These men had no pulse at the wrist, their hands were shrunken and purple, with the skin in wrinkles, and their eyes wide open. The doctor pronounced them in a state of hopeless collapse. By sunrise a grave had been dug and the dead buried.

Commissary and quartermaster stores were then thrown away, and two of the sick (most favorable cases) were put into the single ambulance with the command, and the remaining thirty-four were put into the wagons with blankets under them. A government wagon is wide enough for three men to lie side by side, and long enough for two men at the side, so that each wagon would carry six. In this way the sick were all taken along. It was necessary to follow up Walnut Creek three or four miles before a crossing could be effected. While this was being done the sick were examined, and not one was found to have died since the cholera camp was left. On this the doctor took new courage, and during the balance of the day he was unremitting in his attentions. He went from one wagon to another, giving stimulants where it was possible to get the patient to swallow, and details were made to assist him in chafing the hands and feet to restore, if possible, the circulation.

A long march was made on the 17th, and camp was finally made on the Arkansas river above Pawnee Rock. Not a man had died during the day. A buffalo calf was shot, soup made, and the sick taken from the wagons and made as comfortable as possible under the circumstances. The night was spent in the most assiduous care of these sick men, and in the morning a detachment was sent to Fort Larned to notify the commanding officer of the post of the condition of the command. On arriving at the crossing of Pawnee Fork, now Larned, the sick were turned over to United States surgeons who had established a hospital at this place. Although these thirty-six men were in a state of collapse when they were loaded onto the wagons at the camp on Walnut creek, every one of them lived to be turned over to the doctors at Fort Larned at noon on the 18th. Their circulation had been restored and they were able to take nourishment. I think this favorable result is entirely unprecedented in the treatment of Asiatic cholera. The doctor, a young contract surgeon, by the name of Squire, from New Hampshire, was attacked with cholera during the night of the 19th. As the command had to move in the morning, the doctor was given his choice, to move with it or remain in the hospital. He chose the latter, and on the second day his case terminated fatally.

The command moved up Pawnee Fork without a medical attendant, and on the second day after leaving Fort Larned one of the sergeants was attacked, and died of cholera that night. This was the last fatal case in the command. The hospital steward was attacked at the same time but recovered.

The battalion served four months on the plains, marched about 2200 miles, and fought a battle with the Cheyennes on Prairie Dog creek, a branch of the Re-

publican, in which it suffered a loss of fourteen officers and men killed and wounded.

The depredations of the Indians during the fall of the following year (1868) satisfied the war department that something more effective than a summer campaign would have to be resorted to, to protect the frontier settlements and teach the Indians that the army was able to punish any tribe that made a pastime of robbery and murder. General Sheridan, who was then in command of the department of the Missouri, determined on a winter campaign. If there is anything that strikes terror into the heart of the soldier, it is a winter campaign. There is no feed for his horse except what he can haul in the train, and the roads are generally impassable for trains and artillery. His camp equipage must be cut down all that is possible to save transportation. Tents, camp stores and clothing must give place to commissary stores, and, as a general statement, the impediments of the army must be reduced to the lowest point possible.

The battle of Fredericksburg was fought December 13, and the army went into winter quarters, where it remained till May 2 following. On the last of September, Meade retreated across the Rapidan from Mine Run, and did not move again till the 4th of May following, when Grant began the Richmond campaign, and Sherman began the Atlanta campaign at the same time. The final campaign that resulted in the capture of Richmond began on the 29th of March. The battle of Borodino was fought on the 17th of September, and soon after Napoleon was forced to begin a winter campaign that lost him his army. In a winter campaign was the only hope of subduing the Indians. In the summer the plains were covered with grass and buffalo. The Indians' forage and rations were everywhere. In the winter the buffalo were in the cañons and mountains, snow covered the grass, and blizzards swept the plains.

On the 9th of October, 1868, General Sheridan called on Gov. S. J. Crawford, of Kansas, for a twelve-company regiment of cavalry, to be mustered into the United States service for this winter campaign. On the 15th of October General Sherman wrote as follows to General Sheridan:

"As to extermination, it is for the Indians themselves to determine. We don't want to exterminate or even fight them. At best it is an inglorious war, not apt to add much to our fame or personal comfort: and for our soldiers, to whom we owe our first thoughts, it is all danger and extreme labor, without a single compensating advantage. . . . As brave men, and as the soldiers of a government which has exhausted its peace efforts, we, in the performance of a most unpleasant duty, accept the war begun by our enemies, and hereby resolve to make its end final. If it results in the utter annihilation of these Indians, it is but the result of what they have been warned again and again, and for which they seem fully prepared. I will say nothing and do nothing to restrain our troops from doing what they deem proper on the spot, and will allow no mere vague general charges of cruelty and inhumanity to tie their hands, but will use all the powers confided to me to the end that these Indians, the enemies of our race and of our civilization, shall not again be able to begin and carry on their barbarous warfare on any kind of pretext that they may choose to allege. I believe that this winter will afford us the opportunity, and that before the snow falls these Indians will seek some sort of peace, to be broken next year at their option; but we will not accept their peace, or cease our efforts till all the past acts are both punished and avenged. You may now go ahead in your own way, and I will back you with my whole authority, and stand between you and any efforts that may be attempted in your rear to restrain your purpose or check your troops." (See Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 18, XLth Cong., 3d session, p. 5.)

This letter of General Sherman's will be understood when it is remembered that the Indian bureau is a part of the department of the interior. The Indian department appointed Indian agents, bought and issued supplies, and had entire control of Indian affairs, till an outbreak occurred, when the war department

was called upon to force the hostiles into submission. As soon as the army struck the Indians, "the charges of cruelty and inhumanity," mentioned by General Sherman, were made and reiterated from one end of the country to the other, with the result that the army was called off. Now Sherman promised Sheridan to "back him with his whole authority" and stand between him and the querulous and impracticable humanitarians of the East.

The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry was called into the United States service under instructions received by his excellency S. J. Crawford, governor of Kansas, from Maj.-gen. P. H. Sheridan, dated October 9, 1868. The proclamation of the governor calling for volunteers was dated October 10, 1868, and the regiment was mustered, armed and the organization completed at Topeka, Kan, on the 4th of November, by the muster-in of Samuel J. Crawford as colonel. I was mustered in with the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

In obedience to orders from General Sheridan, Captain Norton, D troop, and Captain Lender, G troop, were sent by rail to Fort Hays on the 5th, with their commands, and, under instructions from the same source, the remaining ten companies broke camp at Topeka, and marched *en route* to the mouth of Beaver creek (the north branch of the North Canadian), where a depot of supplies was to be established by General Sully on the 15th inst. Our route was *via* Camp Beecher, now Wichita, at the mouth of the Little Arkansas, distant 150 miles, which distance we were to make with a new organization, supplied with five days' rations, and depend upon procuring forage from the country through which we were to pass, as our limited transportation of fifteen wagons precluded the possibility of carrying any supply with us. The command arrived at Camp Beecher on the 12th inst. This was the first experience of the regiment in making five days' rations do the work of ten, and, like all first efforts, it was not a complete success. General Sheridan says:

"On November 15 I started for Camp Supply to give general supervision and to participate in the operations. I deemed it best to go in person, as the campaign was an experimental one—campaigns at such a season having been deemed impracticable and reckless by old and experienced frontiersmen—and I did not like to expose the troops to great hazard without being present myself to judge of their hardships and privations." (Page 45.)

The regiment marched from Camp Beecher on the 14th of November, with five days' rations, *en route* to Camp Supply; supposed distance, 140 miles. On the night of the 16th the command camped on the Chicaskia, and the last of the forage was fed to the animals. On the night of the 18th the regiment camped on Medicine Lodge creek. A stampede of the animals of B, I and K troops occurred here, and about eighty horses were lost.

The regiment moved out of camp on the morning of the 19th without forage for the animals or subsistence for the men, marching through an unexplored region in search of a camp of supplies supposed to be situated somewhere on the Canadian river, and on the night of the 22d camped on Sand creek, during a heavy fall of snow, in sight of the bluffs of the Cimarron. Buffalo were abundant, and thus far the command had subsisted on them. Captain Pliley, A troop, and Lieutenant Parsons, C troop, with fifty of the best-mounted men of the command, were sent forward from this point to find General Sheridan, if possible, and cause supplies to be sent back to the regiment.

November 23 a blinding snow-storm continued all day. The guides found it impossible to keep the direction, and the command was forced to lie in camp.

November 24. The snow this morning was fifteen inches deep. The horses had subsisted on cottonwood bark and limbs, and were, by this time, so much exhausted that the men walked and led them. The country was so broken that, in

some instances, ten miles were traveled winding around the cañons to make two miles on the line of march. The regiment camped that night at Hackberry Point, on the Cimarron, so named by the men from the abundance of hackberries in the vicinity, which were used for food. The cañons of the Cimarron are not like those of Arizona, which are cut in the solid rock and have perpendicular walls, but are like the cañons of the Llano Estacado, or staked plain. The Cimarron cuts its way through a plateau of clay or loess, and the main stream, together with the innumerable side streams, have cut the whole country into a labyrinth of cañons or deep gulches that are almost impassable. The snow was from a foot to eighteen inches deep everywhere. The guide knew no more about the country than any man of the regiment, and the only course left was to continue the march, keeping a southwest course as nearly as possible, and keep going until the command got out of the cañon country. It happened that about sundown of the 24th a bunch of buffalo bulls were seen among the bluffs. The command was halted while the guides stole up on them and shot the whole number. The train failed to come up at night and the command bivouacked on the snow without the usual small supply of blankets.

November 25. The train got in by morning, and the regiment was divided. Four hundred and fifty men (the best mounted) crossed the Cimarron at one P. M. and marched in a southwest course in search of Camp Supply. Those horses which were most nearly exhausted, together with the train and the sick, were left in camp under command of Major Jenkins, with orders to remain until supplies reached them. The country on the south side of the Cimarron at this point is much broken, and the command was forced to reach the table-land above by following up the dry bed of the stream which had cut its way down through the inaccessible bluffs. The men dismounted, and leading, single file, wound their way around cliffs and over broken banks for several miles, till a little after sunset and just as the full moon came up they emerged from the cañon, and by climbing a precipitous cliff were enabled to overlook the inhospitable table-land covered with snow. To-night we bivouacked in a small ravine with the never-failing buffalo meat for supper, no salt.

November 26. Still southwest over rolling prairie and through deep cañons, horses perishing by the way, but with stout hearts the command moved forward, one company after another taking their place in front to break the road through the deep show. The crust to-day in some places was strong enough to hold up the men. Bivouacked on a nameless stream, fifteen miles north of the Canadian.

November 27. Crossed Captain Pliley's trail at noon and bivouacked at night on the Canadian, at a point supposed to be twenty-five miles below the mouth of Beaver creek. Made supper from wild turkey.

November 28. Moved up the Canadian, and at three P. M. the advance came back to the regiment with the welcome news that Camp Supply was in sight. The advance of the command took up the shout, and it was carried back along the column with a vigor which evinced the fact that each had felt more anxiety for the safety of the command than he cared to express. Made camp at sundown, canvas being furnished from the post by General Sheridan. Captain Pliley had arrived on the 25th instant, and supplies had been sent to the detachment left at Hackberry Point on the 25th. The detachment arrived at Camp Supply on the 1st of December. The camp where the train was left was always known among the men as Camp Starvation.

After leaving Camp Beecher the regiment marched 205 miles on three days' forage and five days' rations, consuming fourteen days in making the trip: seventy-five horses perished from the cold and want of food. The health of the regi-

ment was good and it endured the hardships of the march without a murmur. We did not lose a man.

Touching the loss of the regiment in the Cimarron cañons, General Sheridan says in his "Memoirs":

"Instead of relying on the guides, Crawford had undertaken to strike through the cañons of the Cimarron by what appeared to him a more direct route, and in the deep gorges, filled as they were with snow, he had been floundering about for days without being able to extricate his command. Then, too, the men were out of rations, though they had been able to obtain enough buffalo meat to keep from starving."

This was written in 1888. It is better to quote from the general's official report, made at the time, twenty years before he wrote his "Memoirs":

"On November 25 I was relieved from great anxiety by the arrival of Captain Pliley and about thirty men. The regiment had lost its way, and becoming tangled up in the cañons of the Cimarron, and in the deep snow and out of provisions, it could not make its way out and was in a bad fix. Provisions were immediately sent, and good guides to bring it in. It had been subsisting on buffalo for eight or nine days."

The word "good" is important, as it implies that the one sent to Topeka was "no good," and the statement that Colonel Crawford did not rely on the guide till the guide got lost is entirely without foundation. The report was current in the command that when the guide met Sheridan the said guide picked up considerable information as to the way English was spoken by the British army in Flanders on a certain occasion. The general reported of the regiment: "Officers and men behaved admirably in the trying condition in which they were placed."

When the regiment arrived at Camp Supply it found a camp prepared. The snow had been cleared off the ground, "A" tents pitched for the men, and wall tents for the officers, with hay in every tent for bedding. This was a palace hotel compared with the cañons of the Cimarron, and Sheridan had captured the regiment at one blow.

On the 6th of December Captain Norton, D troop, reported at Camp Supply, and was ordered to the command, Captain Moody, M troop, being detailed for escort duty in his place.

Captain Norton reached Fort Hays on the 4th of November, and escorted a train to Camp Supply, arriving on the 22d inst.; returned to Fort Dodge and escorted a train to Camp Supply, arriving on the 6th. On the same day Maj. Chas. Dimon, with one captain, three lieutenants, and 250 men, were detached from the command and left at Camp Supply; this included the dismounted and the sick. This detachment was employed during the winter in garrisoning the post and escorting supply trains.

On the morning of the 23d Custer had been ordered to follow on the back track a trail that came up from the southwest and crossed the Fort Dodge road between Supply and Dodge. The trail led him to an Indian camp on the Washita, some seventy-five miles south of Supply. Custer attacked the camp at daylight on the morning of the 27th of November, and had a hard fight. He lost nineteen officers and men, killed and wounded, with Major Elliott and fifteen men missing. He killed 103 Indian warriors, and some of the squaws and children were killed and wounded in the excitement. He captured saddles, buffalo robes, provisions, and 875 horses. These were surrounded and shot. General Custer returned to Camp Supply November 30.

On the 7th of December the whole command marched for Fort Cobb. This included the Nineteenth Kansas, Seventh United States cavalry, and a company

of Osage Indian scouts. The first day's march was to the south bank of Wolf creek, a distance of ten miles. The snow was still deep, and, when the command left Supply, the temperature was below zero. The second day's march was a little more than thirty miles, and camp was made on Hackberry creek, with plenty of wood for fires. During the night the wind rose, and by morning a full-fledged norther, or blizzard, was on the boards, billed for two nights and a matinee. The country seemed to be full of blizzards. The first had struck the regiment in the cañons; the second while it was in camp at Supply; this was the third. General Sheridan says of No. 3:

"We camped in excellent shape on the creek (Hackberry), and it was well we did, for a norther, or blizzard, struck us in the night. It would have been well to remain in camp till the gale was over, but the time could not be spared. We therefore resumed the march at an early hour next morning, with the expectation of making the south bank of the main Canadian, and there passing the night, as Clark, the guide, assured me that timber was plentiful on that side of the river. The storm greatly impeded us, however, many of the mules growing discouraged, and some giving out entirely, so we could not get to Clark's 'good camp,' for, with ten hours of utmost effort, only about a half day's distance could be covered, when, at last, finding the struggle useless, we were forced to halt for the night in a bleak bottom on the north bank of the river. But no one could sleep, for the wind swept over us with unobstructed fury, and the only fuel to be had was a few green bushes. As night fell, a decided change of temperature added much to our misery. The mercury, which had risen when the 'norther' began, again falling to zero. It can be easily imagined that, under the circumstances, the condition of the men was one of extreme discomfort; in truth, they had to tramp up and down the camp all night long to keep from freezing. Anything was a relief to this state of things, so, at the first streak of day, we quit the dreadful place and took up the march."

The next morning the command crossed the Canadian, which was about half a mile wide, by first breaking up the ice with axes and then marching the cavalry through. It took till noon to get the command over. Luckily there was timber on the south side of the stream. Fires were built and clothes thawed out and dried. General Sheridan says, in his official report: "We moved due south until we struck the Washita, near Custer's fight of November 27, having crossed the main Canadian with the thermometer about eighteen degrees below zero." The command marched in the afternoon and made camp on the Washita about dark. As wood was abundant, it was determined to lay over here till the storm subsided. The next day, December 11, General Sheridan, with several officers of the Nineteenth and Seventh, visited the battle-field to determine, if possible, the fate of Major Elliott and his men. It took but a few minutes to discover the bodies on the bank of a tributary of the Washita, called Sergeant-major creek (as the sergeant-major of the Seventh was one of the killed), on the south side of the battle-field. They were lying in a circle, feet to the center, and a pile of empty cartridge cases by each man told how dearly he had sold his life. The bodies were stripped of clothing, except the knit undershirt, and the throat of every one of them had the appearance of having been cut. This was caused by the Indians having cut out the thyroid cartilage. None were scalped, and none of the bodies had been molested by wolves. The men all lay with their faces down and the back was shot full of arrows. Wagons were sent for and the dead buried that night in a grave dug on the north bank of the river, opposite the scene of the battle.

On his way back to camp, Doctor Bailey, of Topeka, surgeon of the Nineteenth, discovered the body of a white woman and a little boy two years old. The woman had been shot in the forehead, and the child killed by striking his head against a tree. The mother had a piece of bread concealed in her bosom, as though she had attempted to escape from the camp. The next morning the

woman was laid on a blanket on her side and the boy on her arm, and the men ordered to march by to see if possibly some one might identify her. It was Mrs. Blinn, captured by the Kiowas October 6, with a train going from Lyon to Dodge. Her husband was killed at the time. The body of the woman and child were taken along, and finally buried in the government cemetery at Fort Arbuckle. On the 2d of November a number of Mexican traders had been in the Kiowa camp, and she had taken the opportunity to send out a letter by them. It is dated Saturday, November 7, 1868, and reads as follows:

"Kind friends, whoever you may be: I thank you for your kindness to me and my child. You want me to let you know my wishes. If you could only buy us of the Indians with ponies or anything and let me come and stay with you until I can get word to my friends, they would pay you, and I would work and do all I could for you. If it is not too far to their camp, and you are not afraid to come, I pray that you will try. They tell me, as near as I can understand, they expect traders to come and they will sell us to them. Can you find out by this man and let me know if it is white men? If it is Mexicans, I am afraid they would sell us into slavery in Mexico. If you can do nothing for me, write to W. T. Harrington, Ottawa, Franklin county, Kansas, my father; tell him we are with the Cheyennes, and they say when the white men make peace we can go home. Tell him to write to the governor of Kansas about it, and for them to make peace. Send this to him. We were taken on the 9th of October, on the Arkansas, below Fort Lyon. I cannot tell whether they killed my husband or not. My name is Mrs. Clara Blinn. My little boy, Willie Blinn, is two years old. Do all you can for me. Write to the peace commissioners to make peace this fall. For our sakes do all you can, and God will bless you. If you can, let me hear from you again; let me know what you think about it. Write to my father; send him this. Good-by. MRS. R. F. BLINN.

"I am as well as can be expected, but my baby is very weak."

The command marched on the morning of the 12th, following the Indian trail down the Washita. This was a hard day. It is well to see what so old a campaigner as General Sheridan thought of it:

"At an early hour on December 12 the command pulled out from its cozy camp and pushed down the valley of the Washita, following immediately on the Indian trail which led in the direction of Fort Cobb, but before going far it was found that the many deep ravines and cañons on this trail would delay our train very much, so we moved out of the valley, and took the level prairie on the divide. Here the traveling was good, and a rapid gait was kept up till midday, when, another storm of sleet and snow coming on, it became extremely difficult for the guides to make out the proper course; and, fearing that we might get lost or caught on the open plain without food or water—as we had been on the Canadian—I turned the command back to the valley, resolved to try no more short cuts involving a risk of a disaster to the expedition. But, to get back was no slight task, for a dense fog just now enveloped us, obscuring the landmarks. However, we were headed right when the fog set in, and we had the good luck to reach the valley before nightfall, though there was a great deal of floundering about, and also much disputing among the guides as to where the river would be found. Fortunately we struck the stream right at a large grove of timber, and established ourselves admirably. By dark the ground was covered with twelve or fifteen inches of fresh snow, and, as usual, the temperature rose very sensibly while the storm was on, but after nightfall the snow ceased and the skies cleared up. Daylight having brought zero weather again, our start on the morning of the 13th was painful work, many of the men freezing their fingers while handling the horse equipments, harness, and tents. However, we got off in fairly good season, and kept to the trail along the Washita, notwithstanding the frequent digging and bridging necessary to get the wagons over ravines."

Three days' march brought the command within striking distance of the Kiowa camp. The Indians did not suppose it possible for soldiers to move in such weather, and were taken by surprise. While the command was being got across a bad ravine, some of them appeared with a flag of truce, and delivered a letter from General Hazen saying the Kiowas were friendly. The soldiers repre-

sented the war department and Hazen the Indian department. It was exactly this back-fire and this influence that General Sherman had promised to guard against. There was no way out of it now, however, and Sheridan accepted the promise of the chiefs, Satanta and Lone Wolf, to move their families to Fort Cobb at once, and said the warriors would go with the command. So the march was resumed. In a little while the warriors began to drop out one by one. At last Satanta tried to get away, when he and Lone Wolf were both put under guard. The command reached Fort Cobb on the evening of December 18, and General Sheridan reported only two sick men in the Seventh cavalry and six in the Nineteenth. He said: "The whole command is in shelter tents, as we could not spare transportation for others, but the men now prefer the 'shelter,' even at this season of the year. Everybody is feeling well and enthusiastic."

On the march from Camp Supply to Fort Cobb the command lost 148 horses, perishing from cold and want of food. Brigadier-general Forsythe, assistant inspector-general, department of Missouri, inspected the regiment on the 22d of November, and said in his report:

"The soldierly bearing and military appearance of this regiment has made rapid and marked improvement since my inspection at Camp Supply: for this favorable condition of affairs the field officers are entitled and are deserving of special mention and praise. I have the pleasure, in concluding this report, to mention particularly the military bearing and soldierly appearance of Captain Norton's company D of this regiment. Next to Captain Norton's company, I have the pleasant duty of bringing to your notice Capt. A. J. Pliley's company A. By reference to the table before given, it will be seen that Captain Pliley was the only officer either in the Seventh cavalry or Nineteenth Kansas that made the march through from Camp Supply to this post without losing a single horse."

Perhaps some of you have never made the acquaintance of a "shelter" tent. During the war it was always called a "dog" tent. It is made of ducking, very thin, is about six feet long and five or six feet wide. To pitch his tent the soldier must first hunt up a couple of sticks with a fork or crotch, stick them in the ground with the fork a couple of feet from the ground. Now he hunts another stick that will reach from one fork to the other, and then stretches the cloth over this, pinning the edges as close to the ground as he can. This leaves his tent open at both ends, with an open space of three or four inches between the cloth and the ground on each side. It always seemed to me that in zero weather this tent sacrificed a great deal in the interest of ventilation.

When the command reached Cobb they found no Kiowas, but Sheridan told Satanta and Lone Wolf that he would hang them both on the day following if the tribe did not report by that time. Satanta was put into a Sibley tent with an armed guard around it. He would wrap his blanket around himself and come out and sit down by the side of the tent, then swaying back and forth, chant the most doleful and monotonous death song. Then stooping over he would scoop up sand and dirt and put into his mouth. Then he would go around to the south and west side of the tent and, shading his eyes with his hand, would sweep the horizon to discover if possible the approach of his people. But Satanta's hour had not yet struck. Before sundown the advance of his tribe came in, and before morning the Kiowas were camped around Fort Cobb ready to obey orders. This settled the Kiowas, and the Comanches had all reported except one small band. General Evans struck this band on the western base of the Wichita mountains on Christmas day, killing twenty-five warriors: then what was left reported, some at Fort Cobb and some at Fort Bascom. Messages wese sent to Yellow Bear, of the Arapahoes, and Little Robe, of the Cheyennes, to report, and the former finally got his band in. This left nothing out but the Cheyennes.

The command now moved south to the Wichita mountains, and established Fort Sill, on Caché creek. The Indians were all required to accompany the command. It was impossible to obtain forage for the animals that had survived the severe winter and hard service, and after the arrival of the command on Caché creek the horses of the Nineteenth were turned in to the regimental quartermaster, Capt. L. A. Thrasher, and taken to Fort Arbuckle. While we were in camp at Fort Sill, General Custer took a scout of about fifty picked men and, passing along the southern foot of the Wichita mountains, marched to the west a distance of a hundred miles or more. He got into a desolate country of sage-brush and mesquite, entirely destitute of game and almost without water. As he could discover no signs of the Indians he returned to camp.

On the 12th instant Colonel Crawford received a leave of absence for twenty days, and resigned his commission as colonel, to take effect at the expiration of his leave of absence. He left the command on the 15th of February, carrying with him the best wishes of the regiment, both officers and enlisted men. I assumed command of the regiment by virtue of seniority of rank.

On the 2d of March, 1869, the Nineteenth Kansas and the Seventh cavalry marched from Fort Sill with intention to find Little Robe's band of Cheyennes. The command marched to the west, and on the second day out camped at Old Camp Radziminski, a camp where the Second dragoons, under Colonel Van Dorn, wintered, long before the war. The course was still west, across the North Fork of Red river and across the Salt Fork of Red river, till the command reached Gypsum creek. Here the command was divided. Most of the train, and all the footsore and disabled were sent to the north up the North Fork and along the state line, with orders to procure commissary stores and halt on the Washita till joined by the balance of the command.

The Seventh and Nineteenth then pushed on up the Salt Fork, and on the 6th of March struck the trail of the Indians. It was as broad and easy to follow as an ordinary country road. The scanty rations were now reduced one-half, and the pursuit began in earnest. At the head waters of the Salt Fork the trail turned north and skirted along the foot of the Llano Estacado. The trail led through a sandy mesquite country, entirely without game, although the streams coming out of the staked plain furnished abundance of water. By the 12th of March rations were reduced again. The mules were now dying very fast of starvation, as they had nothing to live on except the buds and bark of cottonwood trees cut down for them to browse on. Every morning the mules and horses that were unable to travel were killed by cutting their throats, and the extra wagons were run together and set on fire. On the 17th the command came onto Indian camp-fires with the embers still smoldering. The rations were all exhausted on the 18th, and the men subsisted, from that on, on mule meat, without bread or salt.

On the afternoon of the 20th the Nineteenth Kansas came in sight of a band of ponies off to the west of the line of march, which was now in a northeast direction. In a few minutes Indians began to cross the line of march in front of the command, going with all haste towards the herd. The regiment quickened its pace, and I directed the line of march to the point from which the Indians were coming. In another mile the head of the column came upon a low bluff overlooking the bottom of the Sweetwater, and saw a group of 250 Cheyenne lodges stretching up and down the stream and not more than 100 yards from the bluff. The men thought of the long marches, the short rations, the cold storms, of Mrs. Blinn and her little boy, of the hundred murders in Kansas, and, when the order "left front into line" was given, the rear companies came over the ground like

athletes. But "there is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip." Lieutenant Cook, Seventh cavalry, rode up to the commanding officer, and, touching his hat, said, "The general sends his compliments, with instructions not to fire on the Indians." It was a wet blanket, saturated with ice-water. In a minute another aide came with orders to march the command a little way up stream and down into the valley to rest. The order was executed and the regiment formed in column of companies, with orders to rest. The men laid down on the ground or sat on the logs, but always with their carbines in hand. Custer was close by, sitting in the center of a circle of Indians chiefs holding a powwow. In two or three minutes an officer of the Seventh came up, and in a low tone asked that a few officers put on their side-arms and drop down one at a time to listen to the talk. While Custer talked he watched the officers as they gathered around, and in a few minutes he got up onto his feet and said, "Take these Indians prisoners." There was a short but pretty sharp struggle, and a guard with loaded guns formed a line around these half-dozen chiefs, and Custer continued the talk. But he had pulled out another stop. The tone was different. He told them they had two white women of Kansas, and they must deliver them up to him. They had denied this before, but now they admitted it, and said the women were at another camp, fifteen miles further down the creek. He told them to instruct the people to pick up this camp and move down to the camp mentioned, and we would come down the next day and get the women.

As soon as the chiefs were taken prisoners, the warriors mounted their ponies, and, armed with guns or bows and arrows, circled around the bivouac of the troops. They looked very brave and warlike. They wore head-dresses of eagle feathers, clean buckskin leggins and moccasins, and buckskin coats trimmed with ample fringe. Lieutenant Johnson, commissary of the Nineteenth, watched them awhile, and then remarked: "This is the fartherest I ever walked to see a circus." In a surprisingly short time after Custer gave them permission, the whole camp was pulled down, loaded onto the ponies, and not an Indian was in sight except the half-dozen held by the guards. Another night of stout hearts but restless stomachs, and in the morning the command began a march of fifteen miles down the Sweetwater to the other camp. The trail was broad and fresh for five miles, and then it began to thin out and get dimmer and dimmer, until at the end of ten miles not a blade of grass was broken. At the end of fifteen miles an old camp was reached, but no Indians had been there for two months. The regiment bivouacked for the night, and General Custer had the head chief taken down to the creek, a riata put around his neck and the other end thrown over the limb of a tree. A couple of soldiers took hold of the other end of the rope, and, by pulling gently, lifted him up onto his toes. He was let down, and Romeo, the interpreter, explained to him that, when he was pulled up clear from the ground and left there, he would be hung.

The grizzly old savage seemed to understand the matter fully, and then Custer told him if they did not bring those women in by the time the sun got within a hand's breadth of the horizon on the next day, he would hang the chiefs on those trees. He let the old chief's son go to carry the mandate to the tribe. It was a long night, but everybody knew the next afternoon would settle the matter in some way. As the afternoon drew on the men climbed the hills around camp, watching the horizon, and about four P. M. a mounted Indian came onto a ridge a mile away. He waited a few minutes, and then beckoning with his hand to some one behind him he came on to the next ridge, and another Indian came on to the ridge he had left. There was another pause, then the two moved up and a third came in sight. They came up slowly in this way till at last a group of a

dozen came in sight, and with a glass it could be seen that there were two persons on one of the ponies. These were the women. The Indians brought them to within about 200 yards of the camp, where they slid off the ponies, and Romeo, the interpreter, who had met the Indians there, told the women to come in. They came down the hill clinging to each other, as though determined not to be separated whatever might occur. I met them at the foot of the hill, and taking the elder lady by the hand asked if she was Mrs. Morgan. She said she was, and introduced the other, Miss White. She then asked, "Are we free now?" I told her they were, and she asked, "Where is my husband?" I told her he was at Hays and recovering from his wounds. Next question: "Where is my brother?" I told her he was in camp, but did not tell her that we had to put him under guard to keep him from marring all by shooting the first Indian he saw. Miss White asked no questions about her people. She knew they were all dead before she was carried away. Custer had an "A" tent, which he brought along for headquarters, and this was turned over to the women.

I forgot to say that on the trip a scouting party had chased an Indian who got away from them, but he lost a bundle, which was thrown into one of the wagons. On examination it proved to be some stuff that he had bought of some of the traders at the fort. It contained calico, needles, thread, beads, and a variety of things. The bundle was given to the women, and in a surprisingly short time they had a new calico dress apiece. The story the women told us of their hardships, the cruelty of the squaws, the slavery to which they were subjected, their suffering during the long flight of the Indians to escape the troops, ought to cure all the humanitarians in the world. The women told us the Indians had been killing their dogs and living on the flesh for the last six weeks.

At the retreat that night, while the women stood in front of their tent to see the guard mounted, the band played "Home, Sweet Home." The command marched the next morning for the rendezvous on the Washita. It was a couple of days' march, but when the end came there was coffee, bacon, hard bread, and canned goods. Any one of them was a feast for a king. From Washita to Supply, Supply to Dodge, Dodge to Hays, where the women were sent home to Minneapolis, and the Nineteenth was mustered out of the service. The Indian prisoners were sent to Sill, and soon after the Cheyennes reported there and went onto their reservation.

The generals had a good word for the Kansas volunteers and the work they had done. General Sheridan:

"I am now able to report that there has been a fulfilment of all the conditions which we had in view when we commenced our winter's campaign last November, namely, punishment was inflicted; property destroyed; the Indians disabused of the idea that winter would bring security; and all the tribes south of the Platte forced on the reservations set apart for them by the government, where they are in tangible shape for the good work of civilization, education, and religious instruction. I cannot speak too highly of the patient and cheerful conduct of the troops under my command: they were many times pinched by hunger and numbed by cold; sometimes living in holes below the surface of the prairie, dug to keep them from freezing: at other times pursuing the savages, and living on the flesh of mules. In all these trying conditions the troops were always cheerful and willing, and the officers full of esprit."

General Custer says in his official report:

"The point at which we found the Cheyenne village was in Texas, on the Sweetwater, about ten miles west of the state line. Before closing my report, I desire to call the attention of the major-general commanding to the unvarying good conduct of this command since it undertook the march. We started with all the rations and forage that could be obtained, neither sufficient for the time for which we have already been out. First, it became necessary to reduce the amount

of rations; afterwards, a still greater reduction was necessary, and to-night most of my men made their suppers from the flesh of mules that had died on the march to-day from starvation. When called upon to move in light marching order, they abandoned tents and blankets without a murmur, although much of the march has been made during the severest winter weather I have experienced in this latitude.

"The horses and mules of this command have subsisted day after day upon nothing but green cottonwood bark. During all these privations the officers and men maintained a most cheerful spirit, and I know not which I admire most, their gallantry in battle, or the patient but unwavering perseverance and energy with which they have withstood the many disagreeable ordeals of this campaign.

"As the term of service of the Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry is approaching its termination, and I may not again have the satisfaction of commanding them during active operations, I desire to commend them—officers and men—to the favorable notice of the commanding general. Serving on foot, they have marched in a manner and at a rate that would put some of the regular regiments of infantry to the blush. Instead of crying out for empty wagons to transport them, each morning every man marched with his troop, and, what might be taken as an example by some of the line officers of the regular infantry, company officers marched regularly on foot at the head of their respective companies; and now, when approaching the termination of a march of over 300 miles, on greatly deficient rations, I have yet to see the first straggler.

"In obtaining the release of the captive white women, and that, too, without ransom or the loss of a single man, the men of my command, and particularly those of the Nineteenth Kansas, who were called into service owing to the murders and depredations of which the capture of these women formed a part, feel more fully repaid for the hardships they have endured than if they had survived an overwhelming victory over the Indians."

The expedition resulted in forcing the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes and Arapahoes onto their reservations, and since then the frontier settlements of Kansas have been practically free from the depredations of Indians.

The campaign was a most arduous one, prosecuted without adequate camp equipage, in the midst of winter, and much of the time with an exhausted commissariat. The regiments of Kansas have glorified our state on a hundred battlefields, but none served her more faithfully or endured more in her cause than the NINETEENTH KANSAS CAVALRY.

See roster of commissioned officers, next page *et seq.*

NINETEENTH REGIMENT, KANSAS VOLUNTEER CAVALRY.

Field and Staff.

Names and rank.	Joined for service and enrolled.		Date of muster.	Remarks.
	When.	Where.		
Colonel:				
Samuel J. Crawford	November 4, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	November 4, 1868	Resigned. Resignation accepted February 12, 1869.
Horace L. Moore	March 23, 1869	In field, Indian Ter.	March 23, 1869	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Lieutenant-colonel:				
Horace L. Moore	October 30, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 30, 1868	Promoted colonel. Date of com., March 8, 1869.
William C. Jones	March 23, 1869	In field, Indian Ter.	March 23, 1869	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Major:				
Wm. C. Jones	October 26, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 26, 1868	Promoted lieutenant-colonel. Date of com., March 8, 1869.
Chas. Dimon	October 30, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 30, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Richard W. Jenkins	November 4, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	November 4, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Milton Stewart	March 23, 1869	In field, Indian Ter.	March 23, 1869	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Surgeon:				
Mahlon Bailey	October 16, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 16, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Assistant Surgeons:				
Ezra P. Russell	October 20, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 20, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Robert Aikman	November 11, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	November 11, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Adjutant:				
James M. Steele	October 20, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 20, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Quartermaster:				
Luther A. Thrasher	October 17, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 17, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Commissary:				
John Johnson	October 20, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 20, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Sergeant-major:				
Geo. G. Gunning	October 14, 1868	Leavenworth, Kan.	October 28, 1868	Reduced to ranks April 4, 1869.
John G. Kay	October 16, 1868	Junction City, Kan.	October 29, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Quartermaster-sergeant:				
Francis M. Brown	October 13, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 20, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.

Commissary-sergeant:				
William Mather	October 16, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 20, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Hospital Steward:				
Gamaliel J. Lund	October 28, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 28, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Chief Bugler:				
William Gruber	October 20, 1868	Leavenworth, Kan	October 28, 1868	Accidentally shot and killed, North Fork of Red river, I. T., March 6, 1869.
Enoch Collett	October 17, 1868	Franklin county, Kansas,	October 27, 1868	Promoted from Co. F, March 6, 1869; mustered out April 18, 1869.
Veterinary Surgeon:				
Geo. Davidson	October 16, 1868	Topeka, Kan	October 20. 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Company A.				
Captain:				
Allison J. Pliley	October 20, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 20, 1868	Mustered out with the regiment April 18, 1869.
First Lieutenant:				
B. D. Wilson	October 20, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 20, 1868	Mustered out with the regiment April 18, 1869.
Second Lieutenant:				
Raleigh C. Powell	October 20, 1868	Topeka, Kan.		Resigned and resignation accepted, January 5, 1869.
Joseph Beacock	October 23, 1868	In the field.	March 23, 1869	Mustered out with the regiment April 18, 1869.
Company B.				
Captain:				
Charles E. Reck	October 23, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 23, 1868	Mustered out with the regiment April 18, 1869.
First Lieutenant:				
Henry H. McCollister	October 28, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 28, 1868	Mustered out with the regiment April 18, 1869.
Second Lieutenant:				
Chas. H. Champney	October 23, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 23, 1868	Mustered out with the regiment April 18, 1869.
Company C.				
Captain:				
Charles P. Twiss	October 26, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 26, 1868	Mustered out with the regiment April 18, 1869.
First Lieutenant:				
Walter J. Dallas	October 26, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 26, 1868	Mustered out with the regiment April 18, 1869.
Second Lieutenant:				
Jesse E. Parsons	October 26, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 26, 1868	Mustered out with the regiment April 18, 1869.

NINETEENTH REGIMENT, KANSAS VOLUNTEER CAVALRY—CONTINUED.

Company D.

Names and rank.	Joined for service and enrolled.		Date of muster.	Remarks.
	When.	Where.		
Captain:				
John Q. A. Norton	October 26, 1868	Topeka, Kan	October 26, 1868	Mustered out with the regiment April 18, 1869.
First Lieutenant:				
John S. Edie	October 26, 1868	Topeka, Kan	October 26, 1868	Mustered out with the regiment April 18, 1869.
Second Lieutenant:				
Chas. H. Hoyt	October 26, 1868	Topeka, Kan	October 26, 1868	Mustered out with the regiment April 18, 1869.

Company E.

Captain:				
Thomas J. Darling	October 26, 1868	Topeka, Kan	October 26, 1868	Mustered out with the regiment April 18, 1869.
First Lieutenant:				
Wm. B. Bidwell	October 26, 1868	Topeka, Kan	October 26, 1868	Mustered out with the regiment April 18, 1869.
Second Lieutenant:				
Chas. T. Brady	November 3, 1868	Topeka, Kan	November 4, 1868	Mustered out with the regiment April 18, 1869.

Company F.

Captain:				
Geo. B. Jenness	November 4, 1868	Topeka, Kan	November 4, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
First Lieutenant:				
DeWitt C. Jenness	October 27, 1868	Topeka, Kan	October 27, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Second Lieutenant:				
John Fellows	October 27, 1868	Topeka, Kan	October 27, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.

Company G.

Captain:				
Chas. Dimon	October 28, 1868	Topeka, Kan	October 28, 1868	Promoted major October 30, 1868.
Richard D. Lender	November 3, 1868	Topeka, Kan	November 4, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.

First Lieutenant:				
Richard D. Lender	October 28, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 28, 1868	Promoted captain.
Myron A. Wood	November 3, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	November 4, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Second Lieutenant:				
Myron A. Wood	October 28, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 28, 1868	Promoted first lieutenant.
Henry C. Litchfield	November 3, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	November 4, 1868	Resigned. Resignation accepted January 22, 1869.
James W. Brown	March 23, 1869	In the field	March 23, 1869	Mustered out April 18, 1869.

Company H.

Captain:				
David L. Payne	October 29, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 29, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
First Lieutenant:				
Mount A. Gordon	October 29, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 29, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Second Lieutenant:				
Robert M. Steele	October 29, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 29, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.

Company I.

Captain:				
Roger A. Elsworth	October 29, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 29, 1868	Mustered out with regiment April 18, 1869.
First Lieutenant:				
James J. Clancy	October 29, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 29, 1868	Mustered out with regiment April 18, 1869.
Second Lieutenant:				
James M. May	October 29, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 29, 1868	Mustered out with regiment April 18, 1869.

Company K.

Captain:				
Milton Stewart	October 29, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 29, 1868	Promoted major. Date of commission March 8, 1869.
Emmet Ryus	March 23, 1869	In the field	March 23, 1869	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
First Lieutenant:				
Emmet Ryus	October 29, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 29, 1868	Promoted captain.
Chas. H. Hallett	March 23, 1869	In the field	March 23, 1869	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Second Lieutenant:				
Chas. H. Hallett	October 29, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 29, 1868	Promoted first lieutenant.
Robert I. Sharp	March 23, 1869	In the field	March 23, 1869	Mustered out April 18, 1869.

NINETEENTH REGIMENT, KANSAS VOLUNTEER CAVALRY—CONCLUDED.

Company L.

Names and rank.	Joined for service and enrolled.		Date of Muster.	Remarks.
	When.	Where.		
Captain:				
Chas. H. Finch	October 29, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 29, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
First Lieutenant:				
Henry E. Stoddard	October 29, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 29, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Second Lieutenant:				
Winfield S. Tilton	October 29, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 29, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Company M.				
Captain:				
Sargent Moody	October 29, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 29, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
First Lieutenant:				
James Graham	October 29, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 29, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.
Second Lieutenant:				
James P. Hurst	October 29, 1868	Topeka, Kan.	October 29, 1868	Mustered out April 18, 1869.

MEMORIAL ON JAMES M. HARVEY.

An address by L. R. ELLIOTT, read before the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-first annual meeting, January 19, 1897.

JAMES MADISON HARVEY was the son of Thomas and Margaret Walker Harvey. He was born in Monroe county, Virginia, September 21, 1833, of Virginia parents, who, when their children were young, removed to the West, first to Bush county, Indiana, thence to Iowa, and thence to Adams county, Illinois, and it was under such conditions that he received his early education amid the stirring scenes of pioneer life, in the public schools of Indiana, Iowa, and Illinois.

He began going to school when very young, and it is said that he always stood at the head of his class. He very soon acquired a great thirst for knowledge; and any history, no matter how large, was none too big for him. Even before he was ten years old, his favorite pasttime was to busy himself with a book of history so big that he could not handle it. He would set it against the wall, and lie down on the floor in front of it, and so completely forget all else that he would hardly stop to eat his meals. His memory was excellent, and he never forgot anything he read, and to the day of his death was always accurate in his references to matters of history. His body and mind were well developed at an early age. At seventeen years he was a match for the brawniest harvest hand in the field, or the most learned historian or politician he met in debate. While he was a strong and logical reasoner face to face on many subjects, he was not an orator, and a man greatly his inferior in knowledge and honesty would excel him in that one particular gift. The cognomen, "Old Honesty," given him in the Kansas legislature, continued through his two terms as governor, and followed him through the United States senate. It was a well-merited designation and far too appropriate to be lost sight of in this sketch.

Very early in life he became an admirer of military heroes, and he never failed to praise a brave or to condemn a cowardly act. He knew no such thing as fear, and was always to be found where duty called him, regardless of consequences. In fact, duty was his guiding star through all his life, and he was never known to swerve an iota from what he conceived to be his duty.

He was married in 1854 to Miss Charlotte Richardson Cutter, of Adams county, Illinois. She, with six children, four daughters and two sons, survives him. In 1859 he removed from Adams county, Illinois, where he had followed his chosen occupation of land surveying, to Kansas, where, with an interval of a few years spent in Virginia, he made his home until his death. In Kansas, he at once began to develop his preemption claim which he had taken in Riley county, and upon which he made his permanent home.

In 1861, at the beginning of the war, he enlisted as soldier in the union army. He organized a company at Ogden, Kan., and was mustered into the service at Fort Leavenworth; and from 1861 to 1864 was captain, successively, of companies in the Fourth and Tenth regiments of Kansas volunteer infantry. He was mustered out in 1864 and returned to his homestead farm, and in 1865 served as representative from Riley county in the Kansas legislature, and was returned in 1866. At this second election there was but one vote cast against him. He was a member of the state senate in 1867–'68, from the then seventh district, composed of

Marshall, Riley and Shirley counties: was elected governor of Kansas in 1868, and reelected in 1870, each time for the usual term of two years.

Prior to the holding of the primaries in 1868, Mr. Harvey canvassed his chances of support for the gubernatorial nomination in perhaps a dozen counties and found a good support; but to make a canvass required money, and this was not at his command, so he had decided to retire from the field. The state convention was about to be held. At this stage, a neighbor of Senator Harvey was informed by a friend in another part of the county that if the senator needed money to conduct his campaign he would supply him. The result of this unexpected offer was that Senator Harvey borrowed $200 of this friend, and that sum paid all the expenses of the campaign. Some years later Governor Harvey said to this friend: "That offer of yours tendering me money was the turning-point of my life. I had decided not to go before the state convention as a candidate, and had given it all up. I would not ask any one to loan me money, but the tender of it unasked was the occasion of my going into the convention, and the result made me governor and, later, United States senator." The prominent candidates before the convention were Geo. A. Crawford and ex-Governor Carney, with the former in the lead, but after the second ballot Carney withdrew and Harvey was nominated. That was before the days of prohibition. Some of Harvey's supporters thought that a little whisky was desirable, but there was not a drink of Harvey whisky to be had; for he had said: "If I can't be elected without paying for whisky votes with drink, I prefer to remain a private citizen." Those most familiar with the campaign say that not a dollar was spent for whisky, nor for anything except personal expenses. He was a plain man and not at all given to display, and his success seems to have come because of his worth as a citizen. His majority in 1868 was about 16,000, and in 1870 about 20,000.

After completing his second term as governor he returned to his old-time business of surveying, and was engaged in a survey of part of western Kansas when he was called to Topeka, and was elected to fill the vacancy in the United States senate caused by the resignation of Alexander Caldwell. This was in 1874, his term beginning February 8 of that year, and expiring March 4, 1877, when he again "went back to his plow and his compass and chain." Between 1881 and 1884 he filled government surveying contracts in New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and Utah.

In 1884, his health being impaired, and hoping to receive benefit from a milder climate, he, with his family, removed to Virginia, living three years in Norfolk and three years in Richmond. In 1890 the family returned to Kansas, to the old home, where, with the exception of the summer and fall of 1891 spent at government surveying in No Man's land, and the winter of 1893 passed in southern Texas, Governor Harvey lived until his death. He died of Bright's disease, at his home near Vinton, Riley county, on Sunday evening, April 15, 1894, aged 61 years. It was such an ending as we love to picture for a life well rounded out. It was like the passing of a glorious sunset into the quiet of a calm summer's evening. His grave was made in Highland cemetery, Junction City, on one of the bluffs overlooking the Republican and Kansas river valleys.

But few men have filled so large a place in so many circles—in the family, the neighborhood, the state, the nation, and in that comradeship born of war—as he of whom I write. It cannot be said of Governor Harvey that he was a towering genius in any particular direction, yet it can and must be said of him that he has filled a place larger, grander and more eminently useful than often fell to the lot of the most transcendent genius to fill. And the place left vacant

behind him is vaster in proportion than that left by many of the loftiest genius, and the result of his living is a monument taller and more gigantic than is sometimes built by the sublimest and most colossal intellects.

Take his part from the records of the civil war, from the legislation of the state and nation, from the executive department of Kansas, from the circle of friendship, and brilliant pages of our history are gone — much that has elevated home and manhood and womanhood, that has broadened the foundations of good government, and that has given prestige and glory to our flag and nation, will be lost.

A writer who knew Governor Harvey and the state of Kansas well, and who will be recognized as Noble L. Prentis, says:

"The period covered by Governor Harvey's administration may be counted, perhaps, as the most interesting for the gubernatorial periods. It is inspiring to see anything grow; and those were growing days for Kansas. It was not so much a 'boom' period, as one of genuine increase. The Union Pacific railroad, the 'Kansas Pacific' of that day, was completed through the state to Denver, the first road to span Kansas in either direction, and other roads gained a great start. Everybody wanted railroads, and then, when they were built, wanted more. The state was also a builder; it was in the first year of Governor Harvey's reign that the state government removed its 'local habitation' from the old 'state row' to the first completed wing of the capitol, and the executive office from the front room of a newspaper office to the apartments now [1897] occupied by the governor.

"It was the era of town building. There were some failures, but the greater number of the towns which were started or which took a fresh start in the years 1869–'73 are still good towns, and some have risen to the dignity of actual cities. It may be said that of the numerous foundations of many kinds laid in those years most have proved enduring.

"The great claim, boast and pride of Kansas, in that period, was agriculture; and it was an appropriate circumstance that the governor of the state was in those years a farmer — not a political or play farmer, but an actual owner and tiller of the soil; a farmer, and, like George Washington in his youth, a land surveyor. He was called from these pursuits to be a soldier and a governor and a United States senator, but when released from these labors he went back to his plow and his compass and chain. It is hard to believe in these days that there was a time, less than twenty-five years ago, when the governor in his messages enlarged upon the garden-like productiveness of the state, recounted with pride the triumphs of the farmer called out to speed the plow, and urged that all means be used to forward immigration; when, moreover, the railroad companies not only proclaimed but demonstrated the fertility of their acres by exhibition in half of the windows of Kansas of great ears of corn and sheaves of wheat (one of which would have been a fortune to the gleaning Ruth), great red apples, and everything that goes to fill Ceres' horn of plenty in the pictures. Kansas, with a farmer governor, was then given bold advertisement as preeminently the farmers' state, and everybody mocked the old geographers and their story of the American desert."

Governor Harvey was a man of sturdy frame, fit in youth to cope with any toil, brave enough to meet any danger: a deliberate, not to say slow, sort of a man, but capable of being roused to a certain heat and glow as of iron in the fire. He had dark, solemn eyes which seldom glittered or flashed, but which looked every man in the face and never quailed. But he was a man quite incapable of making what the Scriptures call a vain show. This inability to show off followed him in all he did. Those who knew him as a soldier could readily conceive that he would stand and die whenever the time came, if those were the orders, but never that he would shine and corruscate in the dispatches. In a state full of orators, he, with a full command of facts and ideas, scarcely ever made speeches — never if he could, with propriety, avoid it. He was a reading man, and especially fond of poetry by the masters of verse, but it is doubtful if this was known outside of his immediate circle of acquaintances. He lived his honorable, brave and simple

life, and when he had done serving his state, either as its chief magistrate or its representative in the senate chamber, he lived apart from the maddening crowd, on his farm, which was miles from any town; traversing weary leagues in New Mexico with his surveying party, seeking restored health in the oldest of old Virginia, at last returning to husband his remaining days and die in the Kansas he loved, which will bear forever on her map his honored name.

On the occasion of the opening of his second campaign for governor, at a mass meeting in Leavenworth, Governor Harvey was expected to make a speech. Major Hudson says of the occasion:

"For hours before the meeting he suffered with nervous fear as to the possible result of his attempting to speak. He endeavored to prepare some heads of subjects for a twenty minutes' speech, and mapped out his points. He was greeted with friendly applause on his appearance, and delivered his first point without a break, and was vociferously cheered. In the second sentence he began to falter, missed his best points, and used his peroration inside of five minutes, and sat down. The crowd accepted it as all right, and generously applauded, but the governor tossed sleeplessly for hours afterward, nervous over what he deemed as entire failure."

But he was elected by a very large majority, for he was always very close to the hearts of the farmers, and that made him strong, even invincible.

As United States senator, though his term was short, he held at its close positions of importance on several committees. He was chairman of the select committee to examine the several branches of the civil service—a committee that numbered in its list Conkling, Allison, Boutwell, Merriman, and Eaton. He was also a member of the committee on public lands and agriculture, on mines and mining, and of the select committee on the levees of the Mississippi.

"Whether driving oxen in breaking the prairie or moving among his distinguished peers in the United States senate chamber, whether offering shelter to the many early settlers who called at his home or conferring with the counselors of state at the capital, he remained a true son of the prairie in mien and mood, heart and soul, and in republican simplicity."

THE PASSENGERS ON THE "WELCOME."

A paper by E. B. Cowgill, read before the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-first annual meeting, January 19, 1897.

SOME time during the second week in November, 1682, there was landed, at the head of Delaware bay, a ship load of people who had sailed from England with the proprietor of the province of Pennsylvania. This proprietor was William Penn. These people were members of the religious society of Friends. The ship was the "Welcome." The entire expedition was called by its projector "The Holy Experiment."

The passengers of the "Welcome" were said to be "people of consequence," "people possessed of property," the servants having come in another vessel. Their appearance, however, was, in some cases, gruesome. A description says that many of them had their ears and their lips slit and that they bore other marks of their experiences in English prisons. Their imprisonment had been inflicted on account of their religious heterodoxy. Even the proprietor had suffered imprisonment and had been renounced by his father, an English admiral, who had relented only when he found that persecution failed to change the young man's convictions on matters of religion.

These pilgrims, like those of the "Mayflower," who had preceded them by

sixty-two years, came to America that they might worship according to the dictates of their own conscience. But the Plymouth colony had already been founded on this principle, and, unless something more than this were to be tried, Penn could scarcely have had excuse for applying to his colony so pretentious an appellation as "The Holy Experiment."

Before the colony left England the essential features of the experiment were determined and reduced to writing. The Massachusetts Pilgrims had been persecuted for conscience's sake, and fled to America rather than submit to the exactions of the established church. In the certainty of conviction that they were right, they, in their new home, required conformity to their own religious views. While languishing in their English prisons, Penn and his followers had ample opportunity to meditate on the fact that the Plymouth Pilgrims had been persecuted for their belief, and had, in turn, become persecutors of those who believed not as they: that the irons from which the Quakers suffered were inflicted for beliefs from which the Plymouth people dissented, and for which punishment was meted out in Massachusetts. It was, therefore, determined to try the unheard-of experiment of allowing every one liberty of belief. This was shown by the first section of the document prepared before the "Welcome" sailed. It reads as follows:

"That all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty God to be the creator, upholder and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peacably and justly in civil society, shall in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent any religious worship, place or ministry whatever."

Thus was laid the foundation of the religious liberty which was afterwards incorporated in the constitution of the United States and has spread throughout the Protestant Christian world.

The prevalent methods of acquiring lands from a people having prior possession had, in all ages, been by conquest of war. The history of the world is chiefly a record of robbery of the weak by the strong; the spoliation of the simple by the crafty. When Columbus had discovered America, the nations vied with each other in their efforts to rob the natives of it. Making a pretense of propagating Christianity, Cortez wrested Mexico from its possessors by the sword, taking a few monks along to sanctify his robbery, treachery, and murder.

Historians have sought to find some merit in Cortez's expedition.

The Virginia settlers sought to crowd themselves into the land for the purpose of establishing colonies. The religious pretense was not extensively used to cloak their violence with the natives. Their motives and their professions, as well as their practices, were improved over the savagery of the Spanish invasion of Mexico.

The New England Pilgrims came to gain the privilege of worshiping as they thought right. They forgot to accord to others the same right of dissent which they themselves prized, and they failed of any general recognition of the right of the possessors of the soil to treatment as owners. They were soon in the midst of wars of conquest, as had been all nations and peoples before them.

The second essential of "The Holy Experiment" was the recognition of the rights of the Indians to be treated as owners of their lands, a right of which they could justly be deprived only by voluntary treaty and in consideration of a fair equivalent.* Penn had, it is true, bought Pennsylvania from King Charles in

*The Indians with whom Penn made his treaty in 1682 were the Delawares and representatives of the Shawnees. The Delawares were afterwards settled in Ohio, in Missouri, and subsequently in northeastern Kansas, with an outlet to the Rocky mountains, and, finally, in the

satisfaction of a claim against the crown inherited from his father for services as admiral. The conscience of any leader hitherto would have been satisfied, without regarding the rights of the weak people who inhabited it, by saying that, having bought and paid for it once, he would not pay for it again. It is to be noted, however, that the example of common honesty—the example of consideration of rights because they were rights, and without regard to the defenseless character of the possessors—was so contagious that since the organization of the government of the United States and to this day [1897] on but one occasion has territory been acquired by conquest.

William Penn and the passengers of the "Welcome" tried successfully the holy experiment of buying property instead of getting it by robbery and murder. The nation adopted the plan. After having lived in Philadelphia, a Boston boy, Benjamin Franklin, when he came to mature years, uttered what is now a national proverb, namely: "Honesty *is* the best policy."

The descendants of the "Welcome's" passengers have scattered into all parts of the country. They have been modest in pushing for public preferment. But it were well for the country, it were well for humanity, if not only the religious zeal and tolerance, but also the Christian honesty of these passengers, the recognition of and respect for the rights of those who are unable to assert their rights, which actuated the course of the pilgrims who came over with Penn could be substituted for selfish greed: if the simplicity and purity of life practiced by these Friends could take the place of the opulent indulgence, the Babylonian revels, which sap the moral as well as the physical vitality of those who should be strongest, and cast over the future the only shadow of menace to perpetuity and advancement.

Nobody knows how many of the descendants of the "Welcome" are living in Kansas to-day. The adults of the present are the sixth and seventh generations born in this country. It has been proposed to form a society of these children of "The Holy Experiment." In these days of high-priced blooded domestic animals, a lineage to the people whose peculiar principles are now among the most cherished provisions of our government should be a valued possession. For the benefit of those interested, there is hereto appended a list of the passengers of the "Welcome," which is believed to be within three or four names of complete. It is copied from a "History of Philadelphia, 1883," in the library of this society, being in pamphlet form; "Specimen Chapters of the History of Philadelphia," now being prepared by J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott. Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co.

NAMES OF PERSONS WHO CAME OVER WITH WILLIAM PENN IN THE "WELCOME."

JOHN BARBER and ELIZABETH, his wife. He was a "first purchaser" and made his will on board the "Welcome."

WILLIAM BRAD ORD, first printer of Philadelphia and earliest government printer of New York.

WILLIAM BUCKMAN and MARY, his wife, with SARAH and MARY, their children, of Billinghurst, Sussex.

JOHN CARVER and MARY, his wife, of Hertfordshire, a first purchaser.

BENJAMIN CHAMBERS, of Rochester, Kent; afterwards sheriff [1683], and otherwise prominent in public affairs.

THOMAS CHROASDALE [Croasdale] and AGNES, his wife, with six children, of Yorkshire.

Indian territory. The Shawnees were removed to Ohio, and from Ohio to Kansas, and a final remnant from Kansas to the Indian territory. The ideas of peace and justice which the Delawares received from Penn have been maintained throughout their history. The Friends' policy at Philadelphia was thus a benediction to Kansas 150 to 200 years later, and the belt of wampum presented to William Penn under the elm has not inaptly been designated as the only treaty "not sworn to and never broken."

ELLEN COWGILL and family. [Certificate from "Settle monthly meeting of Friends, Yorkshire, England," states that she was a widow. Her children's names are believed to have been EZEKIEL, THOMAS, JOHN, JANE, and RALPH.]

JOHN DUTTON and wife.

JOHN FISHER, MARGARET, his wife, and son JOHN.

THOMAS FITZWALTER, and sons THOMAS and GEORGE, of Hamworth, Middlesex. He lost his wife, Mary, and Josiah and Mary, his children, on the voyage. Member of assembly from Bucks in 1683; active citizen and eminent Friend.

THOMAS GILLETT.

ROBERT GREENAWAY, master of the "Welcome."

BARTHOLOMEW GREEN.

NATHANIEL HARRISON.

CUTHBERT HAYHURST, his wife and family, of Easington, Bolland, Yorkshire, a first purchaser.

THOMAS HERIOTT, of Hurst-Pier-Point, Sussex, first purchaser.

JOHN HEY.

RICHARD INGELO, clerk of provincial council in 1685.

ISAAC INGRAM, of Gatton, Surrey.

THOMAS JONES.

GILES KNIGHT, MARY, his wife, and son JOSEPH, of Gloucestershire.

PHILIP THEODORE LEHNMAN [afterwards spelled LEHMAN], Penn's private secretary.

WILLIAM LUSHINGTON.

JEANE MATTHEWS.

HANNAH MOGDRIDGE.

JOSHUA MORRIS.

DAVID OGDEN [probably from London].

EVAN OLIVER, with JEAN, his wife, and DAVID, ELIZABETH, JOHN, HANNAH, MARY, EVAN, and SEABORN, their children, of Radnor, Wales. [The last named was a daughter, born at sea, within sight of the Delaware capes, October 24, 1682.]

—— PEARSON, emigrant from Chester, Penn's friend, who renamed Upland, after his native place. [His first name probably Robert.]

DENNIS ROCHFORD and MARY, his wife [John Heriott's daughter], from Ernstorfey, Wexford, Ireland. Also their two daughters, who died at sea. Rochford was member of the assembly in 1683.

JOHN ROWLAND and PRISCILLA, his wife, of Billinghurst, Sussex, first purchaser.

THOMAS ROWLAND, Billinghurst, Sussex, first purchaser.

JOHN SONGHURST, of Chillington, Sussex, first purchaser. [Some say from Coynhurst, or Hitchingfield, Sussex.] Devoted to Penn; member of first and subsequent assemblies; a writer and preacher of distinction among Friends.

JOHN STACKHOUSE and MARGERY, his wife, of Yorkshire.

WILLIAM SMITH.

GEORGE THOMPSON.

RICHARD TOWNSEND, of London, wife ANNA, daughter HANNAH, and son JAMES [born on "Welcome," in Delaware river.] First purchaser. A leading Friend and eminent minister; miller at Upland and on Schuylkill.

WILLIAM WADE, of Hankton parish, Sussex.

THOMAS WALMSLEY, his wife ELIZABETH, and six children, of Yorkshire.

NICHOLAS WALN, of Yorkshire, first purchaser. Member from Bucks of first assembly; prominent in early history of province.

THOMAS WINNE, chirurgeon, of Carwys, Flintshire, north Wales; speaker of first two assemblies; magistrate for Sussex county; "a person of note and character." [Chestnut street, in Philadelphia, was originally named after him.]

JOHN WOODROOFE.

THOMAS WRIGHTSWORTH and wife, of Yorkshire.

There were in all about 100 passengers on the "Welcome." About forty ships came over during the year whose passengers were a part of the great movement, and assisted in the holy experiment of inaugurating tolerance in religion and justice in acquiring land. Many of those who became prominent were passengers on these other vessels. Several of the names are known, but the writer is aware of no complete lists of them.

ACCURACY IN HISTORY.

An address by JOHN SPEER, delivered before the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-second annual meeting, January 18, 1898.

THE settlement of Kansas was made in the throes of a political revolution: and the character of her people and their acts must be gauged by a state of embryo war, leading up to a war which had no parallel in the civilized world. We were but a few years removed from a condition of public sentiment when, even in the most enlightened portions of the North, the attempt to discuss slavery at all had been met with tar and feathers, lynching, and many other modes of torture. Even in enlightened Boston the clamor of the mob of "men of wealth and respectability" had hardly passed away, when the very elite of that city had pursued the poor fugitive Anthony Burns and delivered him up to the slave power, and the rope had been tied to the neck of William Lloyd Garrison, and he had narrowly escaped the scaffold. Up to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska organic act, it was dangerous to express sympathy with the slave anywhere, and peril of death to do it near the border slave states.

When Kansas was declared subject to settlement, the very best class of citizens were ready to harness their teams and pack their baggage for a land which had been heralded to the world as having scarcely an equal in fertility and productive resources. The temptation of homes in Kansas aroused the ambition of the very best elements of civilization, and there was no discount on the heroic courage of the men and women who dared venture upon the unique pioneer life now offered to the world. What followed the wildest theorist never predicted. Settlers from the North had no ambition to enter into war. Arguments were their weapons; they expected a conflict of reason and of intellect, in which the ballot was to settle the question of whether the new state was to be free or slave. They came unarmed and unsuspicious of violence.

On the part of the slave power, it is true, threats had been sent abroad that abolitionists never should be allowed to enter Kansas. These threats, however, were regarded as bravado, until the rifle and revolver in the hands of the devotees of slavery made the welkin ring. The first night I slept upon Kansas soil (September 26, 1854), our small party of emigrants from free states were awakened by demands of where we were from, and threats of expulsion, tarring and feathering, hanging and drowning, to every abolitionist who dared to enter Kansas. The second night after reaching Lawrence we were called to defend the Rev. Thomas J. Ferril, a Methodist minister, who had just arrived with his bride. No retaliation was attempted. At the first election for members of the legislature, March 30, 1855, 1000 armed invaders from Missouri seized the polls and voted at Lawrence, and similar bodies at Leavenworth, Delaware, Kickapoo, and many other places, electing a pro-slavery legislature. That was an all-sufficient cause for resistance; and the man who would have fired a battery into one of those camps would have been as heroic a patriot as they who defended Lexington and Bunker Hill; yet the free-state men bided their time in peace, although eight months of threats, outrage and usurpation had gone by.

Several free-state men's houses were destroyed in the spring and summer of 1855, but no retaliation. To avoid a conflict of arms, the peace loving free-state men met at Big Springs, Douglas county, September 8, 1855, to consider means for a peaceful solution of the troubles. They had borne their afflictions then for

more than a year. On November 21, 1855, Chas. W. Dow, a peaceable free state man, was murdered in cold blood by a pro-slavery man. All that was attempted was to hold a meeting for the expression of sympathy for the friends of the dead and condemnation of the murderer.

Fifteen months of peaceful acts of the free-state men had passed, and no revenge or retaliation. Just then a peaceful old man from Indiana, Jacob Branson, so mild in his manners that, although I knew him pretty well, I never found out his politics, was arrested without being shown a warrant, tortured by being placed upon a mule and hurried through woods and over hills and prairies until he was unable to dismount without help. For his rescue a body of twelve free-state men was quickly organized. Meeting a body of the same number having the free-state prisoner, his release was demanded, and secured without bloodshed. This brought on the Wakarusa war, so called, a siege of Lawrence, the erection of rifle-pits and all necessary means for defense—not against their neighbors, but against an invasion of 1200 men from Missouri. Every effort for peace had been exhausted. Sixteen months had passed without a single hand having been raised against the persons or property of pro-slavery men.

As an eye-witness of the affairs of Kansas in all this period, I solemnly declare, and defy contradiction, and call on any man in this audience to deny, these facts. It seems almost cowardice to admit them. I am speaking of occurrences the like of which afflicted all the free-state settlements.

On the approach of winter, a peace-loving people, their wives and their little ones illy provided for—a winter the severest that has ever occurred in Kansas—were assailed for sixteen days by armed hordes of foreign enemies to freedom, because they refused to abandon their homes and their hearths or forswear their devotion to liberty and the universal rights of man. Thus the armies stood. In this desperate strait, Dr. Charles Robinson, afterwards Governor Robinson, as commander-in-chief, and James H. Lane, in active command, ready for the charge, Governor Shannon at length suggested or agreed to a consultation, and a peace was patched up, and a fearful slaughter, which no man can estimate, averted. During this threatened conflict a dozen armed pro-slavery men, Geo. W. Clarke one of the number, rode down three farmers returning to their homes, and Clarke murdered Thos. W. Barber, of whom more hereafter.*

And yet, with all this record of patient, agonizing suffering, men of the East, men of learning in colleges, are writing assaulting articles upon the early settlers of Kansas, as natural murderers, assassins, gamblers, thieves—guilty of all the crimes in the calendar of criminology. And even some of our own teachers in our schools of learning have been led into like errors. It is time that some words of protest should be uttered against this style of Kansas history. Let us quote from a work written by a professor in our state university, intended for the instruction of youth in our Kansas schools. After reciting the two classes, free-state and

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*These notes were not in the speech, but I asked "leave to print":

May 17, 1855, William Phillips, of Leavenworth, was captured and taken to Weston, Mo., his head shaved, his clothes stripped off, tarred and feathered, and sold at auction by a negro. The charge was signing a protest against the 30th of March election. (Wilder's Annals, page 64.) He was afterwards murdered in his own house, his blood spurting upon the garments of a bride—a guest of the family (Mrs. Nancy A. G. Leibey, of Lawrence)—as innocent of wrong-doing as the babes whom Herod slew.

January 20, 1856, Reese P. Brown, for participation in the free-state election, was hacked to pieces with hatchets, carried to his home in a farm wagon, rudely delivered to his wife, where he told her he had been cruelly murdered without a cause, and died within two hours.

Mr. Mitchell, a Kentuckian, a free-state man, who had befriended Brown, was, early in the next summer, bucked and gagged and left on the prairie to die, but was rescued.

June 6, 1856, a peacable Kansas free-state man, Jacob Cantrell, who emigrated from Missouri, was traveling on the highway, with this device on his wagon cover: "Kansas a Free State." He was captured and hung, for "treason to Missouri."

pro-slavery, in his book, entitled "Civil Government of Kansas," Prof. F. H. Hodder describes a third class thus:

"The third class consisted of adventurers of various sorts from both sections: broken down politicians: restless, lawless men, to whom the restraints of civilization were irksome; gamblers, ruffians, and fugitives from justice — a class of men who always drift to new countries. They cared not whether slavery was voted up or down, but were ready to embrace any party that promised them office and power, and welcomed a state of society in which murder, arson and robbery would go unpunished. It was the presence of this class, ranged as they were on both sides in the political contest, that accounts largely for the disorder and bloodshed in the early history of the state."

This third class the learned author makes so prominent and leading that the fact of their presence "accounts largely for the disorder and bloodshed in the early history of the state." He so magnifies this class that the great struggle for principles between the free-state men who were in the right, and the pro-slavery men who were in the wrong, sinks into insignificance. This foisting of a fictitious and imaginary class as an important element in the Kansas struggle gives a false coloring to the whole conflict. In the estimation of the civilized world, the question of whether human slavery should be further extended over the free soil of America, or whether it should be checked in its progress further, was fought out nobly here on Kansas soil by as brave, enlightened and heroic a set of men and women as ever in the world's history battled for a just cause.

This mode of treatment is entirely untrue as to the free-state men, and it is injustice even to the pro-slavery men as a body. Slavery was a barbarity, and there is no instance in history where the forces fighting for the wrong were the best and most moral men: but the South selected the most heroic and best men of the period among them to lead in the conflict, and raised money for this purpose. Many of these men, on all other questions, were gentlemen.*

I venture to assert (and this can only be opinion, but my opinion ought to be as good as that of a man from the East who was not born at that time) that there never was in this country, in the settlement of any territory, so honorable, upright, intelligent a body of men as settled Lawrence — the headquarters of the free-state forces in the first two years of the conflict. Their first act was to establish prohibition, by the Lawrence Association, with Doctor Robinson as its president. The charge that "broken-down politicians" were a leading element is answered in the fact that in the first legislature elected by the free-state voters there was not a single man in either house who had ever before sat officially in a legislative body. It would be most interesting to follow their later careers as soldiers and statesmen, at least two of them leading brigades. Only one in both bodies was ever known as of intemperate habits.

Another error: Of the Leavenworth constitution Professor Hodder says (page 22):

"Notwithstanding the veto of Secretary Denver, who was soon after appointed governor, delegates were elected, and met at Minneola, whence they adjourned to Leavenworth. Here a free-state constitution was adopted, identical in large part with the Topeka constitution."

It is utterly unaccountable how, from so able a source, an error like this should have crept into a book for schools. It implies that a mob, without the semblance of law, after their own party had almost unanimous control in both branches of

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*For instance, Gen. Joe Shelby, who suspended his business at Lexington, Mo., and with forty of his hands came to Lawrence and voted; and with whom I took dinner that day at Col. Sam. N. Wood's house. It was the manifestation of conditions. The abolitionist was considered a negro thief, and the man who interfered with such "property" was considered as much worse than a horse thief as the slave was regarded more valuable than a horse.

the legislature, had assembled and made a constitution, and attempted to force it upon the people. I know this error has been circulated through several sources. The truth is, Secretary Denver never vetoed that bill. It was passed in all the regular forms, and taken to his office by the clerk three days, one hour and ten minutes before the expiration of the forty days which constituted the term; and the governor had gone to bed and left word with his clerk to receive no more messages.* It was his duty under the law to either sign and return it, or to return it vetoed, within three days; but he "pocketed" it and refused to return it, attempting thus to defeat it, because the legislative term, as he erroneously asserted, had expired—an act of tyranny without an example. This statement both houses of the legislature unanimously affirmed, and declared the bill passed, notwithstanding the governor refused to sign it, but withheld it without his approval.† These facts were attested by the clerk of the house, Mr. Whiting, and Mr. Caleb S. Pratt, of the council, as well as by Perry Fuller and other private citizens; and I superintended the preparation and delivery of the bill, and saw it taken to his room, as I now state.

As specimens of the "usurpers" under the Leavenworth constitution, we may mention Hon. Henry J. Adams, as governor, in whose honor a golden tablet has been placed in Representative hall; Hon. Cyrus K. Holliday, projector of the A. T. & S. F. railroad, as lieutenant-governor; as superintendent of public instruction, John Morgan Walden, long a bishop of the M. E. church.

The men whom this statement represents as unlawfully assembled, usurping the powers of a convention, were as capable and worthy a body as would generally have been selected at any period of Kansas history. The charge against that body is an insult to the intelligence of the people who elected them. Three of them were afterwards generals in the army (James H. Lane, Thos. Ewing, and Robert B. Mitchell). Among them were such able lawyers as Chief Justice Ewing, Senator P. B. Plumb, and Jas. S. Emery: and Hon. T. Dwight Thacher, also a member, has written a history of the convention, which will be read with interest in after-times as a refutation of the charge that it was possible for such a body of men to have assumed, ignorantly or wickedly, any such position.

In the same work, on page 22, Professor Hodder, after saying that "southeastern Kansas was at first almost entirely settled by pro-slavery men from the Southern States"—in which he was mistaken, at least two-thirds of them being free-state—mildly adds:

"A few free-state men had come here, however, and in the autum of 1856 one Captain Clarke attacked them, destroyed their property, and drove them from their homes. The free-state men organized for defense under the leadership of James Montgomery, and, finding guerrilla warfare quite to their liking, continued to raid and rob pro-slavery men, both in Kansas and Missouri, for a year or more. In the spring of 1858, Chas. A. Hamilton, of West Point, Mo., raised a band of men for the purpose of making reprisals. Crossing the Kansas line to Trading Post, Linn county, on the 19th day of May, 1858, he seized eleven free-state men, and, taking them to a ravine near the Marais des Cygnes, shot them down in cold blood. Five of the men were instantly killed, five were seriously wounded but afterwards recovered, and one escaped unharmed by feigning death."

"One Captain Clarke," indeed! What mildness is this in stating a pretended historical fact as to the infamous conduct of that most infamous man! The true history of his conduct ought to read thus:

Capt. Geo. W. Clarke, the murderer of Thos. W. Barber in cold blood in

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* See Governor Denver's statement in Lawrence *Republican*, ——, 1858.

† The language of the organic act is precisely that of the United States constitution, except that "three days" is in the former and "ten days" in the latter; and hundreds of bills have become laws just as this act did—notably the Wilson tariff bill.

1855,* having fled the country, again appeared on the unprotected frontier in the free-state settlements in southeastern Kansas, and renewed his assaults upon these helpless people. He was the same man who, at a Lawrence town-site meeting in the winter of 1854-'55, attempted to murder Governor Robinson, and probably would have murdered him, had not one John Speer jumped upon him from his seat in the audience and partially wrested his revolver from him and turned it upon his own heart, and held it in such a position that any attempt to pull the trigger would have killed the assassin, until one Wilson, a Kentuckian, interfered and secured peace. This was at a meeting at Lawrence in regard to the town-site rights, in which Clarke had no interest, and where he was brought as a "killer." Before his attempt on Robinson he knocked Mr. Alphonso Jones off the stand while he was speaking. He also had a tilt with J. H. Shimmons with rifles not long after. On another occasion he had arranged to assassinate Jones one night as the latter was expected to be returning from an anti-slavery meeting, and would in all probability have succeeded had not Clarke's slave Judy got to Mr. Jones's window the night before, and in a shrill whisper said, "Massa Jones, dey's gwine to kill you as you come from dat abolition meetin' ef you do n't look out! Min' w'at I say! I'ze off!" At this meeting, Ed. Chapman, the man then holding the Jenkins claim near Lawrence, was backing Clarke up; he was the man who chopped down Robinson's house, for which, among other merits, he was soon after elected a member of the "bogus" pro-slavery territorial legislature; and, as soon after that as he could spare time from his legislative duties, he murdered Geo. Wilson, of North Carolina, by a blow from a club, while Wilson's daughter of sixteen sat by his side in a buggy. Wilson's death right then was only prevented by that child seizing the whip and reins and driving to Westport, Mo. (thirty-five miles), where she appealed to the Odd Fellows, who ministered to him till his death, and buried him with the honors of the order; and that murderer, Chapman, afterward went to the penitentiary by the way of Iowa, and still later to that other place,

> "With all his crimes broad blown as flush as May;
> And how his audit stands, who knows save Heaven?
> But in our circumstance and course of thought,
> 'T is heavy with him."

That is the true history of Clarke and one of his confederates in crime. They were twin criminals and conspirators, whose history cannot be separated.

I had but slight acquaintance with Capt. James Montgomery,† but I know he was not a disreputable man, seeking innocent blood, nor stealing property, and that he had a following of as honorable settlers as ever peopled any country. I mean no disrespect to the teacher, but I would like to see some bright, innocent little girl in a country schoolhouse hang her head, raise her hand, and say to Professor Hodder: "Please, master, may I ask some questions? An old settler

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*The report of the congressional committee on Kansas claims, 1861, page 17, says: "During the foray, either Geo. W. Clarke or Mr. Burnes murdered Thos. W. Barber, while the latter was in the highway on the road from Lawrence to his claim. Both fired at him, and it is impossible, from the proof, to tell whose shot was fatal." On the same page the committee says: "The chief guilt must rest on Sam'l J. Jones. . . . . He said Major Clarke and Mr. Burnes both claimed the credit of killing 'that damned abolitionist,' and he did n't know which ought to have it."

†Ed. R. Smith, one of Montgomery's men, too well known to need commendation, says of that leader: "He was scrupulously honest and conscientiously religious," and I have more than thirty names of the best men in the community in which Montgomery operated who will file their affidavits verifying this statement.

Maj. E. S. W. Drought, superintendent of construction, Kansas City Stock Yards Company, says of Captain Montgomery: "He was one of the mildest and gentlest of men, never using language that could not be used in the presence of ladies and children, and at all times on the march instructing the officers and men not to take private property or disturb the homes of women and children. He was much opposed to the use of intoxicating liquors. He was a model officer, and the very opposite of a marauder and border ruffian."

spoke at our schoolhouse, on the Marmaton, and he told us that Preston B. Plumb, William A. Phillips, James B. Abbott, Dr. S. B. Prentiss, E. B. Whitman and several other gentlemen rallied to assist Captain Montgomery to protect us when the cold weather was coming, and we had nothing but corn bread and rabbit to eat, and the cabin needed chinking. Were they the broken-down politicians, gamblers, ruffians and fugitives from justice that you speak about on page 11 of your little book? Did the gamblers want to play poker with papa for the rabbits?"

Professor Hodder undoubtedly appreciates precisely the meaning of the word "reprisals," when he says in the extract we have quoted: "In the spring of 1858 Chas. A. Hamilton, of West Point, Mo., raised a band of men for the purpose of making *reprisals*." Would that imply that Montgomery had invaded Missouri and murdered some of her citizens? We observe here that, in our extract, he states that two murderers, Clarke and Hamilton, leading their bands, had invaded Kansas from Missouri. We knew several of the men whom Hamilton stood up in line and murdered and wounded. Asa Hairgrove, one of the latter, became state auditor of Kansas, and from him I learned much of the character of the victims of Hamilton. There was not a disreputable man among them. I knew Rev. Mr. Reed, one of his "reprisals," and helped Doctor Miner dress his wounds. "Death loves a shining mark." So do devils—for destruction. Hamilton might as well have kept on to Lawrence, and taken as a "reprisal" and murdered that distinguished divine whose name is on our program here tonight, and who has recently celebrated his fortieth anniversary as a minister, Rev. Dr. Cordley. Perhaps the guerrillas who burned the house of Doctor Cordley and took two or three shots at him, in the Lawrence massacre, were merely attempting to make a "reprisal" of him, and if he had died, some professor of literature might have written an apology for Quantrill, as apologies have been written. It will be noted that all the murders occurred in Kansas, and all the murderers came from Missouri. Why did all the wounding and all the murdering occur on the Kansas side of the Missouri line? Kansas stood on her own side of the line, and stood for peace; and for more than four long years not one drop of blood by a Kansas hand ever stained the soil of Missouri: not one armed foe crossed the "sacred soil" of slavery, until it was crossed by troops under the flag of the union and the call of Lincoln for men to put down the rebellion. Hamilton's "reprisal" of blood was as fiendish as ever disgraced the annals of crime, and was neither a "reprisal" under the definition of Webster nor Vattel.

I speak in no spirit of animosity—not in anger, but in sorrow. In that spirit I have a right to reply even to a professor in a chair of the Kansas State University. I hope I am not intruding my own personality when I say, concerning the earliest movements towards the founding of the University of Kansas, that I have no memory of a more satisfactorily spent New Year's day than that of 1855, when I joined Dr. Chas. Robinson and A. D. Searle, the surveyor of Lawrence, to carry the chain, surveying a site for a schoolhouse where the "old university" now stands. If there was a better day spent in my own history, it was when I joined that eminent educator, Gen. John Fraser, in efforts to elevate the embryo university, in an appeal to the people of Lawrence for a vote of $100,000 in its behalf. In the meeting to consider that proposition, a committee of prudent, economical business men reported in favor of $50,000. General Fraser had stood in the serried ranks of war, but at this time he looked as if he might be "knocked down with a feather." I moved to strike out $50,000 and insert $100,000, and backed my proposition up by the best words I could utter, illustrating the importance of

education by my own want of it. Bishop Thomas H. Vail, who was present, followed in the most eloquent appeal I ever heard, and the motion was carried. The "school" was ended and the university began: and to-day it stands, the pride and glory of Kansas—the peer of Yale, Harvard, or Michigan.

It is true—too true—that several books of history on Kansas have been issued in the East equally or more unjust than the work quoted; but such works should never go into the schools of Kansas, and it is because of my pride in Kansas that I attempt to refute their falsity.

Within the past two years a convention was held at Houston, Tex., in which a learned committee consulted on devising a means to correct history by showing that slavery was not the cause of the war, but some indefinable question of "state rights" was at the bottom of it all; and they suggested that some man learned in history should be selected to correct the false public sentiment; and, recently, General Reagan, the last of the Jefferson Davis cabinet, has been quoted as reiterating that sentiment. Since Balaam rode up the mountain on the only ass that ever talked good horse sense, for the purpose of cursing Israel, and rode down again "altogether blessing them," there has been no better tribute to the spirit of freedom which first broke out in Kansas and permeated the whole union. Not only Kansas, but the South and the whole world are ashamed to be compelled to believe that the institution ever existed. It looks now as if a premium had been offered to some man to write a book proving that the Gettysburg speech was a fable, the emancipation proclamation a fraud, and old Abe not much of a statesman anyhow, and a lot of Eastern professors were in the race, neck and neck, to win the prize.

If the war was not made upon Kansas solely to plant slavery here—and, indeed, to extend it through the union—why did not Pierce's administration say so? If that were true, why did not the president, instead of ordering Colonel Sumner to plant a battery near where the Topeka post-office now stands, ready to fire upon and disperse the legislature under the Topeka constitution, send some peace officer and tell them to elect their free-state senators, and he would send a message to congress recommending the state's admission? If slavery were not the issue, why did President Buchanan, in 1858, send a special message to congress, declaring that "slavery existed as much in Kansas as it did in Georgia"? Why did he, in that message, denounce Kansas as in rebellion, under a "turbulent and dangerous military leader"? All the "turbulent and dangerous" people of Kansas wanted was a free state, and that was after Buchanan's own governor, Robert J. Walker, had written to him that Kansas was on the wrong side of the "isothermal line" for slavery, that the people were opposed to it, and that the best possible way to do was to make it a democratic free state; and that then his administration "would go out in a blaze of glory."

Much of the enmity to Kansas has been aroused by Eastern men in their contention as to who did the most to save Kansas. The position they get the nearest together on is, that in the aggregate they in the East did it all—that Kansas could n't have been saved without them. Measurably the latter proposition may be true. Without the sympathy, material aid and prayers of the good and great men all over the country, Kansas could not have been made free; but the brunt of the battle, the strife and the loss of life and treasure fell upon the heroic men and women of Kansas. Nor do I depreciate the vast sums of money expended by the Emigrant Aid Company; nor have I forgotten the national convention at Buffalo, in 1856, presided over by Governor Reeder, in which I myself was a Kansas delegate, where Gerrit Smith planked down $1000, and pledged $1000 per month until Kansas should be made free; but what I do lament is, that so many

"new kings have arisen who know not Joseph" except by tradition, going back on the deeds of their fathers, with few sources of information, sizing us up as savages, imagining that they are the priests preserving the history of the dark ages.

Archimedes said he could lift the world with a lever if he had a place to stand on. He was mistaken. The great men of the East have tested that question. No fulcrum can be used by which a corner-stone can be laid in Kansas, with the laboring end of the lever in New York or Boston. A Virginia slave, in describing the Natural Bridge, said: "I 'll nevah forgit the day I driv master to see 'em lay de co'ner-stone of dat bridge! All de fust famblies was dar!" The men who laid the corner-stone of Kansas in Boston do not know whether that stone was carved from the everlasting granite of the Sangre de Cristo, or of the kaolin imbedded in the same mountains, beautiful to look upon, but crumbling with the atmosphere and dissolving with the summer rains.

Some of these men, if they were not so intensely Puritan, would claim that the Mayflower anchored at mid-sea, put out a lighter, and that the crew sailed around by the Pacific, put up the Holy Cross in the mountains one Saturday afternoon before prayers, and passed through to the eastward and discovered Kansas long before Don Diego de Penalosa dreamed of the province of Quivera.

I was amazed to read in a magazine article an expression dropped by one of the most estimable patriots, philanthropists, and divines, as well as among the most eminent litterateurs of this country, to the effect that he supposed there never were any slaves in Kansas. It is such utterances from such sources that hurt. What were we fighting about? The ruffian might bawl himself hoarse and do no harm. This good divine never was acquainted with Buck Scott, the good slave who contracted with his master to send him seventy per cent. of his earnings if he would let him live at Lawrence, and fulfilled his contract manfully, voluntarily returning to slavery. He never knew Tom Bourn, of Washington creek, whose master brought him and a dozen more slaves from Virginia "to establish the institution in Kansas," who, when the master got scared and wanted to take them back to "the old Virginia home," replied: "No, no, Massa Bourn: I com' to 'stablish de institution, an' I'ze gwine to see it froo"; and in less time than two weeks ran off to the North with the whole gang! He never made the acquaintance of Bob Skaggs, who, with twenty-seven fellow slaves, made a big clearing in the woods opposite Lecompton, and was run off to Texas at the sound of the voice of the "Crusader of Freedom," and came back "after the break up," as the slaves called it, and made a home on the Verdigris, and brought his "po' ol' massa" in his poverty to live with him, the ex-Kansas slave. He never sat with your speaker at the Big Springs hotel warming his toes, while poor Liza, one of eleven slaves of a Kansas judge, cooked his meal, with her little pickaninny crawling around her feet on a dirty dirt floor. He was not present when a fugitive from Kansas slavery on the Marais des Cygnes made her escape to Samuel N. Wood's house in Lawrence, her back cut in welts. Perhaps the good man was not acquainted with that amiable Christian woman, now a director of this Society, when the slave sleuths were in pursuit: and surely he never heard her sobs and cries, "O God! what would I do if this were my sister?" when her life depended on flight. He never knew the three pro-slavery men who took the slave to the Shawnee Mission to consult the territorial officers, and returned her to slavery! And surely, surely, the good man never had a warrant issued for him as an "abolitionist" by that woman whipper, after he was made a pro-slavery judge! He did not even know the pro-slavery divines of Kansas, one of whom, at Tecumseh, told me the beautiful story of St. Paul, the slave-driver, sending Onesimus, the

slave, back to his master; the other at Osawkee, of whom it was said by the abolitionists that he was a pretty good man, but a little quarrelsome when he was drunk!

When the Wakarusa war broke upon us, there were more than half as many slaves in Kansas as there were able-bodied free-state men who stood up in the ranks for our defense.

A few weeks ago I called upon the venerable Dr. J. N. O. P. Wood at Wichita, a well-known opponent of the free-state movement, and compared notes on our personal knowledge of slaves in Kansas, and we counted over 400—and quit.

But they said "Shoo!" in Boston, as an old lady frightens chickens from her flower-beds, and the masters and the slaves fled in terror!

It is pleasant to know that some of these errors have been corrected.

In E. Taylor's History of the United States, the brief but admirably written history of Kansas by Noble L. Prentis had two errors, which did great injustice to the memory of Governor Reeder. One represented him as calling the first legislature to elect members of the legislature "and county officers." There were no counties made, and he could not have ordered county officers elected; and one of the truthful accusations against the legislature was that it denied to the people the right to elect county officers, and elected them by the legislature, except the filling of vacancies by the governor (pro-slavery, of course) in their absence,* and no officers were elected by the people till the free-state men got power, in 1857.

The other error was a statement that "Governor Reeder signalized the beginning of his administration by an abortive attempt to remove the territorial legislature to Pawnee, near Fort Riley." He had no power to *remove* a legislature, and never attempted any such act. He called the first legislature to meet at that place, as was his duty by law. To have attempted to remove a legislature would have been an usurpation unparalleled in American government. I made an appeal to the publishers of that work, backed up by Col. C. K. Holliday, and the correction was made in both instances, with the approval of the author.

I have no doubt Professor Hodder will also make the proper corrections when he investigates the subject; but his books have gone out, and imperative duty demands that the children of the state and all posterity should have these corrections as extensively as possible: and the more so because this history of Kansas has been made a part of a school history of the United States, and thus goes to the world with all the authority of a "professor of American history in the University of Kansas."

In my long newspaper experience I have handled much poetry on the dead, and one verse of one of these effusions, though fifty years old, has never left my memory:

"And can it be
That God should take the best we see,
And leave behind a worthless lot
That we could spare as well as not?"

We cannot call up the dead and exhibit them here as samples of bravery, honesty, and virtue. We who are left can, as relics of the past, while we live, testify to their general good character, their great accomplishments, and point to their works—to the liberal and enlightened constitution which they left to us for our guidance; to the two preceding constitutions thwarted by tyranny; to the liberal and just laws, from year to year made more perfect under an instrument which has existed longer than the constitutions of many of the other states of the union. We cannot call up the martyrs who died for freedom; but we can

*See "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 3, 1884, pp. 283, 284, 285, etc., and "Bogus" Laws

bring up our children even to this hall, where they have placed the names of some of them in tablets of gold as mementoes of their patriotism, as the descendants of the Gracchi were for many generations wont to bring their children up to their temples to look upon their images in emulation of their virtues.

As the good die young, we can, however, still point to a goodly number of the "worthless lot left behind," whereby those who follow them can conjure up some imagination of what the men who "builded better than they knew" have done for those who come after them. We can now only at random point to a few around us as samples of the "worthless lot left behind," for whose characters we have no apology: Cyrus K. Holliday, John Armstrong, Copeland Gordon, Guilford Dudley, F. W. Giles, W. C. Garvey, of Topeka; B. W. Woodward, Jas. G. Sands, Wesley H. Duncan, Chas. S. Duncan, John G. Haskell, Peter D. Ridenour, H. W. Baker, Jas. C. Horton, L. J. Worden, Jeff. Wakefield, Ed. P. Harris, J. H. Shimmons, O. E. Learnard, S. W. Eldridge, Paul R. Brooks, R. G. Elliott, and C. W. Smith, of Lawrence: D. R. Anthony, H. Miles Moore, Chas. Currier, E. N. O. Clough, Henry and Doc. Keller, of Leavenworth.

We have several more of the "worthless lot left behind," but we do not want to throw them to the front in a skirmish. These men remain, among the honored citizens of the three leading towns in which the great anti-slavery struggle in Kansas was fiercest. And I might mention that the veteran secretary of this State Historical Society was one among those who bore a full part in that struggle in more than one of the towns mentioned. We can show them the institutions these men inaugurated—the State University, the State Agricultural College, Baker University, and our great common-school system, our state-house and its occupants, most of whom are patterns of our pioneers; and we can go through the materials of the pioneer history of Kansas in the vast collections of our State Historical Society, the most complete and valuable possessed by any state, with possibly one exception.

Let us beg to apologize to our distinguished fellow citizens of the enlightened East, who have lived for three centuries under the restraints of law, the benefits of churches and schools, by humbly reminding them that for nearly half the period of our territorial existence we had no law. "We were a law unto ourselves." In no other condition does man so exhibit all the bad elements of humanity. Yet here, left to ourselves, as the citizens of Kansas, unmolested by invasion, in no place was property safer than here. We paid our debts honestly, to the best of our ability. When misfortune rendered us unable to pay, the creditor forgave the debtor. The honor of the man was the only guaranty.

The golden rule was the guiding star of our existence. Some of us may not have been able to recite it, but all tried to follow it.

"Through all the warring seas of life
One vast current sunward rolls,
And, within all outward strife,
One eternal right controls—
Right, at whose divine command
Slaves go free and captives fall,
In the might of those who stand
All for one and one for all."

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS.

An address by CHANCELLOR F. H. SNOW, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-second annual meeting, January 18, 1898.

THE official beginning of the State University of Kansas must be considered as occurring on the 1st day of March, 1864, when the legislative act of organization, having been approved and signed by Governor Carney, was made a law by its official publication. But for more than seven years prior to this date there existed a period of preliminary beginnings, corresponding with a similar condition in the earth's history, when the institution was without form and void. As early as 1856, Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, of Boston, one of the founders of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, in whose honor the city of Lawrence received its name, requested Charles Robinson to spend some money for him in laying the foundation of a school building on the north part of Mount Oread. Mr. Lawrence explained his hopes and plans in a letter to Rev. Ephraim Nute, of Lawrence, dated December 16, 1856. He says: "You shall have a college which shall be a school of learning and at the same time a monument to perpetuate the memory of those martyrs of liberty who fell during the recent struggles. Beneath it their dust shall rest: in it shall burn the light of liberty which shall never be extinguished until it illumines the whole continent. It shall be called the 'Free State College,' and all the friends of freedom shall be invited to lend it a helping hand."

In another letter to the same correspondent, Mr. Lawrence writes in reference to the proposed site upon the highlands above the town: "Trade will not go up the hills except to get prospect of a good bargain, and there is no risk in locating a college or a church on a hill, even in a large city. The Romanists have understood this, and we see in Europe their institutions on the pinnacles over the cities. This insures a good view and seclusion."

Three days later Mr. Lawrence forwarded to Charles Robinson and S. C. Pomeroy, as trustees, notes and stock amounting to $12,696.14, to be held by said trustees in trust, the income to be used for the advancement of the religious and intellectual education of the young in Kansas territory.

In 1858 initiatory steps were taken for the establishment of a school of high grade on Mount Oread, to be under the immediate control of the Presbyterian church of the United States of America. The Kansas directors of this institution were: William Richardson, Richard Cordley, Charles Robinson, John M. Coe, Charles E. Miner, G. W. Hutchinson, James A. Finley, and C. L. Edwards. Plans were made for the erection of a building fifty feet square and two stories high. The legislature of 1859 granted a charter to this institution under the name of "THE LAWRENCE UNIVERSITY," with the following board of trustees: C. E. Miner, William Bishop, G. W. Hutchinson, J. M. Coe, A. W. Pitzer, E. Nute, Charles Robinson, S. C. Pomeroy, C. H. Branscomb, William Wilson, J. A. Finley, C. L. Edwards, T. D. Thacher, Charles Reynolds, Robert Morrow, James Blood, R. S. Symington, Josiah Miller, Lyman Allen, Thomas Ewing, F. P. Montfort, and William Brindle. The preparatory department of this institution was opened September 19, 1859, in the basement of the Unitarian church, and was continued for about three months, when its patronage ceased, and it was given up.

The Congregationalists next proposed to establish on Mount Oread an institu-

tion to be called Monumental College, intended to commemorate the triumph of liberty over slavery in Kansas, and to serve as a monument to those who assisted in achieving that victory. The trustees of the Amos Lawrence fund, Messrs Robinson and Pomeroy, with the consent of Mr. Lawrence, agreed to make over that fund to Monumental College on condition that the Congregationalists should have control of the institution. Donations of land, town lots and money pledges valued at from $40,000 to $70,000 were obtained in a little over three days from the people of Lawrence, the paper on which the names of the donors were inscribed making a roll some eight feet in length; but the drought of 1860 and the breaking out of the civil war caused this enterprise to collapse, and when the Congregationalists next took up the question of a church college, in 1863, they located the institution at Topeka under the name of Lincoln College, which continues to exist up to the present time under the name of Washburn College.

In the meantime the Presbyterians, although their preparatory school had ceased to exist, pushed forward the work of building the foundations of their college building. The corner stone of this building was laid on October 18, 1859, by the Freemasons, and Solon O. Thacher and others delivered speeches appropriate to the occasion. Work was pushed on the basement story of this building until cold weather compelled its cessation. The hard times resulting from the drought of 1860 stopped further work upon the building after the Presbyterians had invested a total amount of $1623.50 in the so-called Lawrence University.

In 1861, under the auspices of the Episcopal church, a new institution was chartered, with a new board of trustees, under the name of "The Lawrence University of Kansas." The trustees named in the charter were: Charles Reynolds, Charles Robinson, Charles E. Miner, H. J. Canniff, C. W. Babcock, George W. Deitzler, William H. Hickcox, Geo. W. Smith, J. M. Bodine, Caleb S. Pratt, Samuel Reynolds, George Ford, James Blood, N. E. Preston, John Foreman, R. G. Elliott, L. Bullene, and S. A. Riggs. The Presbyterians surrendered their claims to the new Episcopalian board, but the interference of the civil war prevented the accomplishment of the new enterprise. The claims of the Episcopal church were subsequently donated to the state of Kansas, and the preliminary educational work accomplished on Mount Oread was ultimately transferred to the State University.

This university had, as yet, no location and no existence, except in the wise forethought of the founders of the commonwealth of Kansas. The first constitution of Kansas territory, adopted at Topeka in December, 1855, provided as follows: "The general assembly may take measures for the establishment of a university, with such branches as the public convenience may hereafter demand, for the promotion of literature, the arts, sciences, medical and agricultural instruction." A year and a half later, the free-state legislature which met at Topeka, June 9, 1857, enacted five laws, one of which was "for establisling a State University at Lawrence." The framers of the Lecompton constitution enacted that "Seventy-two sections, or two entire townships, shall be designated by the president of the United States, which shall be reserved for the use of a seminary of learning and appropriated by the legislature of said state solely to the use of said seminary." The Leavenworth constitutition, also adopted by the free-state men, in April, 1858, provides that, "As the means of the state will admit, educational institutions of a higher grade shall be established by law so as to form a complete system of public instruction, comprising the primary, normal, preparatory, college and university departments." Finally, the Wyandotte constitution, under which the government of the state of Kansas has been administered since its admission into the union, adopted in July, 1859, declares, in the seventh section of the sixth article, that

"Provision shall be made by law for the establishment, at some eligible and central point, of a State University for the promotion of literature and the arts and sciences, including a normal and agricultural department." By an act of congress approved on the day of the admission of Kansas into the union of states, it was ordered that "Seventy-two sections of land shall be set apart and reserved for the use and support of a State University."

There had been a general feeling that the State University should be located at Lawrence, and when the state capital was located at Topeka there seemed to be a tacit understanding that Lawrence should have the university. Mr. Amos A. Lawrence had expressed a willingness that the Amos Lawrence fund should be employed as an endowment fund for the university, if its location could be secured for the city of Lawrence.

But there were other claims for the possession of the coveted prize. The first attempt to locate the State University, under the constitution, was a proposition, in 1861, in favor of Manhattan, where the Methodists already had a school in operation under the name of Bluemont College. The bill for this location passed both houses of the legislature, but was vetoed by Governor Robinson. Manhattan, having secured the agricultural college, waived her claims to the university, and the city of Emporia took her place as the chief competitor of Lawrence in the struggle for the university. C. V. Eskridge, in the legislature of 1863, introduced house bill No. 122, to establish the State University at Emporia, which eventually became a law, but not until its text had been radically changed, and Lawrence substituted for Emporia in the title of the bill. Great feeling was manifested in this legislative contest. The final vote resulted in a tie. It was settled in favor of Lawrence by the chairman, Mr. Edward Russell, of Doniphan. The bill passed the senate on February 11 without contest, and received the approval of Governor Carney February 20, and so became a law upon its official publication February 21, 1863.

But the location of the university at Lawrence was made conditional upon a donation to the state by that city of a suitable site for the buildings. If the city of Lawrence, within six months, should fail to secure a campus of forty acres adjacent to the city, and to deposit with the state treasurer an endowment fund of $15,000, the provisions of the act should be null and void, in which case the proposition of the city of Emporia to grant an eligible site within or adjacent to that city should be accepted by the state, and the governor should issue his proclamation locating the university at Emporia.

Governor Carney appointed three commissioners, S. M. Thorp, Josiah Miller, and I. T. Goodnow, for the purpose of examining and determining upon suitable grounds for the location of the university. The city council of Lawrence, at a special session, accepted the proposition of Charles Robinson to furnish the forty acres constituting the original university campus, on condition that the city would deed to him a half block of land lying south of what is now the North college campus, on the east face of Mount Oread. Governor Robinson subsequently conveyed to the city as a free gift ten acres additional land. Nearly one-half of the original campus was the property of Mrs. Robinson, who received for her share about $600 from the citizens of Lawrence.

The endowment fund of $15,000 was provided by the generosity of Amos A. Lawrence in donating to the university the $10,000 originally intended for the Free State College, and by the leading citizens of Lawrence, who gave, as a substitute for the interest obligations of the Lawrence University, Wisconsin, a personal note for $5,000, which was cashed by Governor Carney, of Leavenworth, just in time to prevent the location of the university at Emporia, according to

the terms of the original act. The governor's proclamation declaring the university permanently located at Lawrence was issued November 2, 1863. The legislature of 1864 passed a law organizing the university.

The charter of the University of Kansas was modeled upon that of the University of Michigan. The government of the institution was vested in a board of regents, to consist of a president and twelve members, to be appointed by the governor, with the state superintendent of public instruction and the secretary of state as *ex officio* members. Six departments were named as composing the university—the department of science, literature, and the arts; the department of law; the department of medicine; the department of theory and practice of elementary instruction; the department of agriculture, and the normal department. By an act of the legislature approved March 6, 1873, the board of regents to be appointed by the governor was reduced from twelve to six, who were empowered to elect a chancellor, who should be a member of the board with the full power of a regent. This organization has continued to the present time.

It is a paradoxical fact of great interest that, although the State University of Kansas enjoys the proud distinction of being the first of the state universities to admit young women as students upon terms of exact equality with the young men, its charter declared that it should consist of two branches, a male and a female branch. To quote the exact language of this instrument: "The female branch may be taught exclusively by women, and buildings for that branch shall be entirely separate from the buildings of the male branch, and to establish and maintain the said female branch the regents shall annually appropriate a sufficient amount of the funds of the university." It is humiliating to be obliged to record that, although the original draft of the charter included a provision for equal educational privileges for both sexes in the university, this at that time radical proposition was on the point of defeating the bill, whereupon the concession was made by the conservative element in the legislature and the provision for the two branches became a law. However, this provision was not carried into execution, and the University of Kansas, from the day of its opening, has made no distinction whatever in the educational facilities offered to the two sexes.

On the day following the final enactment of the act of organization, Governor Carney appointed the following regents: Charles Robinson, J. S. Liggett, E. J. Mitchell, Geo. A. Crawford, J. S. Emery, A. H. Horton, C. B. Lines, S. O. Thacher, Geo. A. Moore, John H. Watson, Samuel A. Kingman, and John A. Steele. Unsuccessful attempts to convene this board delayed the first meeting for more than one year, or until March 21, 1865, when the following resolution was adopted: "*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of the regents present, the state executive, in filling vacancies in the board of regents, should have reference to the appointment of such persons as will attend the meetings of the board." At this meeting Rev. R. W. Oliver, rector of the Episcopal church of Lawrence, was elected chancellor of the university, and it was decided, on motion of State Superintendent Goodnow, *ex officio* member of the board, to open a preparatory department as soon as the citizens of Lawrence should provide suitable rooms free of expense to the state. It was considered impracticable to attempt to erect a building on the forty-acre tract already belonging to the university, at the south end of Mount Oread, and accordingly an arrangement was made by means of which the foundation erected by the Presbyterians on the north end of Mount Oread, with the adjacent grounds belonging to the city of Lawrence, should become the property of the university. James H. Lane increased the gift of the

city by donating to the state two and three-fourths acres of land necessary to complete the square of ten acres constituting the North college site.

The first university building, called the North college, was erected upon the Presbyterian foundation, at a cost of about $20,000. Of this amount, $9000 was realized from the St. Louis relief fund to enable the citizens of Lawrence to rebuild their buildings and business houses after their destruction by Quantrill, to which amount was added about $5000 derived from a similar relief fund collected chiefly in the city of Boston, the gift of Amos A. Lawrence and other friends of the free-state cause. To these amounts the regents added $4720, the gift of Amos A. Lawrence, which amount Charles Robinson had collected as interest on notes to Mr. Lawrence from Lawrence University, of Appleton, Wis. It thus appears that no part of the cost of the North college building, nor of the grounds upon which it is located, was borne by the state of Kansas.

The North college building was brought to completion early in September, 1866, the carpenters putting the finishing touches to the stairway on the morning of the day of the opening of the university, on September 12. In the meantime, on the 19th of July, 1866, the regents met for the purpose of electing the first faculty. It is to be noted as a significant fact that during the early years of the university ecclesiastical politics had much to do with the appointment of members of the board of instruction. In order to keep the control of the institution out of the hands of any one church denomination, it was agreed at the outset that two professors should not be chosen from the same denomination until all the leading denominations should have at least one representative in the faculty. Three professors were elected: Elial J. Rice to the chair of belles-lettres and mental and moral science, as the representative of the Methodist church; David H. Robinson to the chair of ancient languages, as the representative of the Baptist church; and Francis H. Snow to the chair of mathematics and natural science, as the representative of the Congregational church.

Reliable tradition asserts that the election of the third member of the faculty was accomplished after a severe struggle between the Presbyterian and Congregational elements of the board of regents, which was not concluded until long after the hour of midnight. Professor Rice, by reason of his greater age and experience in school work, was made the acting president of the faculty. The two junior members of that body, however, constituted a good working majority, and practically controlled the internal administration of the university.

At the dedication of the North college, on September 12, 1866, Judge Solon O. Thacher delivered the principal address, and formally dedicated the building "to the use of impartial, patriotic and Christian education." At the end of the first academic year Professor Rice resigned his position, and John W. Horner was elected to fill his place as instructor. No acting president was appointed, and when Chancellor Oliver resigned his position, in the fall of 1867, the board of regents combined into one the offices of chancellor and president of the faculty, passing a resolution that "it is the judgment of the board that under the law the chancellor of the university is the president of the faculty." On the 4th of December, 1867, Gen. John Fraser, president of the Agricultural College of Pennsylvania, was elected chancellor of the university. He did not, however, enter upon his official duties until the 17th day of June, 1868. The most distinguished service rendered by General Fraser was the successful execution of his own plan for the erection of the main building of the university, now denominated Fraser Hall.

On the 3d of February, 1870, one and a half years after the beginning of his administration, the citizens of Lawrence, by almost a unanimous vote, author-

ized bonds to the amount of $100,000 for the purpose of erecting this building. The state legislature of 1872 added $50,000 to the amount realized from the Lawrence bonds, and on December 2 of the same year the building was first occupied by university classes.

At the opening of the university, September 12, 1866, forty students presented themselves for admission. In this number there were twenty-two boys and eighteen girls. Not one of them was sufficiently advanced to be entitled to admission to the freshman class. In the first annual catalogue an apology was made for the elementary character of the students in attendance, and the hope was expressed that the preparatory department might be entirely abolished at the end of the second year. As a matter of fact, twenty-five years elapsed before the work of this department was entirely abolished and the work of preparation for admission to the university was entrusted to the high schools of the state. Not until that time did the University of Kansas take its proper place as an integral part of the free public-school system, constituting the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth grades of that system, with as natural and easy a transition from the high school to the university as that which exists between the lower grades and the high school.

The forty students enrolled during the first day of the first year were increased to fifty-five as the total enrollment for that year. The unsettled condition of society in those times necessitated the withdrawal of more than one-half of this number before the end of the academic year in order to assist their parents in agricultural and domestic duties, so that only twenty-two students remained at the end of the year. Among these students of the first year were: A daughter of John Speer, the honorable president of this Society; a son of Gen. Jas. H. Lane; a brother and a daughter (Mrs. Geo. Leis) of Edmund G. Ross; two sons of the "fighting parson," H. D. Fisher*; a daughter of Jos. Savage (Mrs. D. S. Alford); two elder brothers and an elder sister of Prof. W. H. Carruth; and a daughter of Dr. Alonzo S. Fuller (Mrs. Jos. E. Riggs).

The course of study leading to the degree of A. B. occupied seven years, including three years of preparatory work, so that the first class to graduate from the University of Kansas was the class of 1873, which consisted of four members: Ralph Collins, now a Pennsylvania farmer; Murray Harris, a civil engineer; Flora Richardson, now Mrs. Coleman; and L. D. L. Tosh, an attorney of Kansas City, Kan.

The author of this paper is the only surviving member of the first faculty of the University of Kansas, and is now in the thirty-first year of his connection with the institution. During that time the number of students has increased from 55 to 1155, and the number of the members of the faculty has been enlarged from three to fifty-six.

The limited time assigned to this paper renders impossible a discussion of the many important features connected with the beginnings of the university. The field of higher education in Kansas was entirely uncultivated at the inauguration of the University of Kansas. The first faculty were largely untrammeled by ancient tradition in determining the course of study and the methods of administration of student affairs. Coeducation and instruction in the modern sciences, as an essential part of the regular curriculum, were features unknown to other institutions of the same class at the time of our beginning, and it is a source of great satisfaction to the author of this paper that in these, and in many other respects, the University of Kansas has kept well to the front in its educational development.

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*Dr. C. E. Fisher, located in Chicago, has reached great distinction. He was the youngest student in the first class, and studied with the Doctors Houston.

BRONZE BUST OF D. W. WILDER.

A letter from EUGENE F. WARE, read before the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-second annual meeting, January 18, 1898.

I DESIRE to place in the custody of the State Historical Society the bronze portrait bust of my friend, Hon. D. W. Wilder. I retain my proprietary interest in the bust, but leave it in the possession of the Historical Society until it can be determined whether or not the state will give the Society proper rooms and necessary facilities in the state-house. If not, I will move the bust elsewhere. The wishes of Mr. Wilder have not been consulted in this matter, and, as he is alive and very modest, little will be at present said of him, but in the future his life and services will be more at length set forth for preservation by this Society.

Mr. Wilder was born back in the days of Andrew Jackson, July 15, 1832. He did not have as much of the gift of prophecy as he should have had, because, being the seventh son of a seventh son, he started a republican newspaper in St. Joseph, Mo., before the war and got indicted and lost all his property.

His work in Kansas is a matter of household knowledge, and now is no time for eulogy. The world will not endure panegyric when applied to the living, and I will leave that branch of my remarks, after saying that the name of Mr. Wilder will be more plainly great in a hundred years than now, because we who now remember and can relate the facts will be buried, and the "Annals" will be the surviving witness of the youthful *greatness* of the state. The century will act as a lens to make Mr. Wilder's great book more great, while behind it the senators and congressmen and governors will be massed in a yellowish blur, and all forgotten, except as found in the "Annals."

As regards this State Historical Society, I wish to be permitted to say a few words concerning Mr. Wilder's connection with it, for I remember it being talked of considerably at the time.

On April 7, 1875, the editorial convention of the state met at Manhattan. It was addressed by my friend Geo. A. Crawford, of the Fort Scott *Monitor*. At the meeting of the convention Mr. Wilder offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

"WHEREAS, All efforts to establish an active and efficient State Historical Society have been failures; and

"WHEREAS, Such an organization is imperatively demanded for the purpose of saving the present and past records of twenty-one years of eventful history: therefore,

"*Resolved*, That this association respectfully requests that F. P. Baker, D. R. Anthony, John A. Martin, Sol. Miller and G. A. Crawford act as a committee to organize such a society, and ask of the legislature an appropriation of not less than $1000 annually to pay for subscriptions and for the binding of every newspaper published in the state, and for such other historical records as can be secured."

The reason the Historical Society was placed quickly in successful operation was that such men as F. P. Baker, D. R. Anthony, John A. Martin, Sol. Miller and Geo. A. Crawford acted as the committee.

On January 1, 1876, Judge Adams was elected to take charge of the Society, and on May 15, 1877, issued its first report, and to his energy, scholarship and influence the largest share of the present result is due. I have the honor and the pleasure to place in charge of Mr. Adams the bust of him who offered the resolution, and I would like to see the bust of each of the committee and of Judge Adams beside that of Mr. Wilder.

REMINISCENCES OF SEPTEMBER 14, 1856; INVASION OF THE 2700.

An address by BRINTON W. WOODWARD, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-second annual meeting, January 18, 1898.

EARLY in the afternoon of Sunday, September 14, 1856, a young soldier of the legion — the Kansas free-state legion — lay peacefully reposing in his tent at Lawrence. This sentence perhaps needs some qualification in the outset. The military force aforesaid was really no legion whatever — certainly its "name" was not "legion" in the sense of numbers, consisting really of but a few companies of half-organized volunteers, who banded themselves together to rally, to march, and to fight if occasion demanded, but, afterward, mostly dispersed to their homes when the exigency was past. The tent above referred to was a second-story back room over a store on Massachusetts street, and the especial volunteer mentioned boasted himself no warrior indeed, and really was n't much of a soldier in any event, being, in heredity, the net resultant of some half a dozen generations of peace-loving Quakers since his ancestors had come over with Penn to leave behind the English persecution of that peculiar people. But he had felt impelled to cast in his lot with the struggling free-state settlers of Kansas, and he had early discovered that active and determined resistance to the aggressions of slavery on this fair soil — aggressions characterized by fraud, violence and outrage of almost every description — was a sacred and imperative duty.

So, for more than a year now, he had been enrolled, and had done duty in the various emergencies that had come upon the free-state settlers. The struggle had been arduous, and sometimes apparently well-nigh hopeless, in view of the sanction and aid extended to the violent pro-slavery party by the federal administration.

But lately things had taken a more favorable turn for us. The active resistance and retaliations of the free-state men had convinced their enemies in Missouri that it was an affair of war, in which there were deadly blows to take as well as give, while the now thoroughly alarmed democratic administration at Washington seemed at last aroused to the fact that these pro-slavery outrages in Kansas were operating strongly against their chances in the approaching presidential election. It was their best policy to excite no further the sympathies of the North in favor of the downtrodden free-state settlers in Kansas.

So again the experiment should be tried of sending a new governor for the territory, and this time the choice happily fell on one whose feelings were enlisted on the side of fairness towards us, and who really took in earnest the declaration of his party, that the majority of the actual settlers in Kansas should be allowed to rule. This declaration Governor Geary had taken opportunity to repeat, both in open speech and in public proclamation, immediately upon his arrival in Kansas. But a few days had elapsed since his advent into the territory, but these assurances, evidently given in sincerity, that the *bona fide* settlers should have fair play and all necessary protection in life and property at the hands of the general government, had inspired a confidence that was as new as it was welcome.

Meanwhile "Gov." Charles Robinson and the rest of the "prisoners of state" had been released on bail and returned to us, other free-state citizens wantonly arrested had been given up, and the blockade of our highway to Leavenworth had been raised, so that we were again able to receive from that river port provisions and other needed supplies. A large share of our armed forces were dis-

persing, as men who had fled or been driven from their homes at peril of their lives now felt that they might return to their families with some assurance of safety, and even resume their long forbidden peaceful avocations of life.

Governor Geary had himself visited Lawrence but two days before, accompanied by quite a considerable escort of government troops, and attended by a light battery of four pieces of artillery, and in his speech to the citizens here had pledged himself that lawless incursions from Missouri, with all their attendant category of crime and outrage, should cease. So "our bugles sang truce," and we fondly trusted that better times and an established order were near at hand, when men might go about their business, proceed to develop the country, and establish an era of self government—of free government—for a future free state of Kansas.

To the mind of ardent youth there is apt to be something fascinating and inspiring in the excitements and incitements of struggle in a cause like that in which our free-state settlers had been engaged: a fight for the principles of freedom, carried on under such strenuous conditions that we seemed sometimes almost upon the very verge of revolution. Yet to one whose normal instincts as well as his whole early education and training all inclined to peace, there was now felt something quite grateful in this lull which seemed the percursor of a return to normal conditions of life. Peace was coming, and not any too soon. This young volunteer had already been afforded sufficient opportunity to note some of the unfavorable aspects and untoward results of civil war, even when pursued in as righteous a cause as ours. Factions, divisions and demoralizations were already showing themselves—jealousies between the leaders, a spirit of recklessness among the men. Peace would restore the equilibrium. It would bring back to us the restraints of order and the influences of wholesome occupation. Really our young volunteer had become somewhat weary of this protracted time of turmoil wherein every night was full of alarms, and every new day brought further sickening reports of violence and outrage, some of these happily proving false, indeed, but far too many of them true. So the mental reaction had come, and the change was welcome. "Grim-visaged war had smoothed his wrinkled front," seeming content to shuffle off the stage, while on the other side fair peace came smiling in.

Such was his vision that quiet Sunday afternoon, when he rested and slumbered peacefully. Suddenly he was harshly aroused by the shout of a comrade: "Up, Woodward! do n't lie sleeping here. Do n't you know that the enemy are almost upon us?" It was a rude awakening. Scarce could he realize or credit the alarm—the sense of peace and security had impressed him so happily. "Why, there's a whole army of them coming this time by forced march, straight from Missouri. They 've got us sure," cried his friend. "They 're already nearing the Wakarusa at Blue Jacket's; do n't you see the flag flying on Blue Mound?" That was our agreed signal of danger.

I looked across to Blue Mound, some five miles away "as the crow flies," and on its summit (my eyes being sharper in those days) I thought I detected a little gleam of color. Another reaction had come now, swift upon the heels of the first. Bright-winged peace had come and passed; the gleam of her departing wings was in that flutter on the summit of Blue Mound. There was no peace—it was war—war to the knife, and its point striking uncomfortably towards us.

A little reflection showed us how slight were our chances. Partly owing to our recent confidence in the situation, but fully as much to the fact that alarms from other quarters had dissipated our efficient fighting force, Lawrence was now left almost wholly ungarrisoned. The Wakarusa company had gone southward

on an alarm, the Topeka company had returned home, and Lane had departed with an escort of mounted men toward Nebraska. Then, on the road, he had flung back that message to Harvey, whose event proved so disastrous in long imprisonment afterward to 101 of our men intercepted and arrested by the United States marshal and troops after that futile attack upon Hickory Point, near Valley Falls, and whose further consequence now threatened destruction to Lawrence thus left so undefended—for Harvey had taken with him about 150 of our best fighting material, about all the best arms, and our boasted cannon, "Old Sacramento," with Bickerton as artilleryman. About one-half of this 150 was the "Stubbs'" company—the sturdy, sinewy, short-legged but long-winded "Stubbs," who in "brigade" association with our stalwart "Cabot Guards," in Harvey's flank movement on Lecompton only ten days before, had proved themselves our superiors in marching qualities at least.

Figuring the matter up now, from the best estimate I can make of those who showed themselves ready to take part in the defense, with weapons ranging from repeating rifles down to pitchforks, I can scarce compute more than 125 men. Of course, taking all in all, old men and striplings, armed and unarmed, the number was somewhat larger—possibly in the vicinity of 200.

The actual number of the enemy was unknown to us, but we had reason to believe that it was overwhelming in comparison with our depleted remnant. There has always been some latitude in its estimate—whether 2500 or 2800; but supplied as they were with the best arms, four pieces of cannon, and officered by the men of most military experience among our bitter foes, and led by John W. Reid, ex-colonel of the Mexican war, there were surely enough of them to wipe us out utterly.

The little inquiry I then made did not elicit very definite information as to just who the leader might be that was organizing our defense, and I have scarce been entirely successful even yet in determining that point—whether Major Abbott or Captain Cracklin. My own idea is that in the emergency we were getting together by companies—of which there were very few left—or into the mud forts without much definite administration of leadership. The three earth forts or bastions, located near Vermont, Massachusetts and Rhode Island streets, respectively, and bearing east and west from each other in a line coinciding closely to that of Henry street, were first manned. These *quasi* forts we had thrown up and rudely constructed in the previous December, at the time of the "Wakarusa war." Colonel Cook, the commander of the United States troops, had officially reported that he could ride his horse right across any of them.

The "Cabot Guards," to which I belonged, Capt. Joseph Lowe commanding, had been so named through our desire to "work" the generosity of Doctor Cabot, of Boston, to such length that he should equip the company with good repeating rifles. The charm of the name had not worked successfully and we were variously armed, mostly with rather inefficient weapons. I soon learned that this company had been assigned to the defense of the fort on Mount Oread, which had been built that present summer from the rough stone found about its site on the bluff. I should join them at once! My first thought was to my equipment. Some time before this I had been the fortunate possessor of a Sharp's repeating rifle, but only lately I had lent it in aid of the cause to one of the boys who was going out on scout. His memory proved too weak to insure its return, so I never owned that trusty rifle any more, even upon so urgent an occasion as this. There had, however, been some partial distribution of arms recently, and in this shuffle I acquired an old musket. I had received this old musket already loaded, and it wisely occurred to me then that, before going into this fight, 't would

be well to find out something about its charge. I sought the river bank to discharge it, and the recoil nearly knocked me over. In the fray it might have proved a dangerous weapon — to me.

Attending to a little preliminary matter of finance, I made up a little packet of coin, placing it in a tin Seidlitz-powder box, and bestowed it away on the inside sill of a back cellar window to our store. In the rather improbable event of my ever surviving the anticipated destruction of the town, this money would come in handy some time, and I might find it in this nook without redigging the cellar. So, with a light purse, if not a light heart, I started to join my company. It need not be disguised that I felt rather disgusted at the turn affairs had taken. Reloading my musket, I took my way south on Vermont street. This taking me close by the little circular earthwork, which was an affair about breast high, with a trench inside, near the corner of Henry street, and just east of the present city hall and court-house location, I paused a moment to observe what was going on there. Among the few in the little enclosure I observed John Brown, whose eyes seemed peering southward with, I thought, a strained expression, and I felt sure, from what we knew of the old man, that there was chance for some fighting in that vicinity, if the border ruffians should come that far into the heart of the town. I am particular in emphasizing the fact that I saw John Brown on this occasion, for I may want to write a whole volume of reminiscences of him some day, and it is fast coming to the point that anybody who ever actually saw John Brown can be free to write reams of romance thereon. The career of that prodigy was wonderful enough without adding to it legend and myth: and I apprehend that the more we have of latter-day legend the less we shall know of the real John Brown.

The fort on Mount Oread had been located and built, under the direction of Lane, at the point of the bluff coming north, where it drops down to the rather lower level or ridge on which Governor Robinson's house had stood and where the first university building (since called North college) was afterward placed. Its site has scarcely even yet been wholly obliterated by grading, and it was directly west of where Mr. Frank A. Bailey's residence now stands. It occupied a very sightly and commanding position. Unfortunately it was not now in a condition to command. It was of irregular outline, following the curve or point of the bluff on two sides, with a straight chord subtending on the south. It was laid up as a loose, dry wall, from the rough stone gathered about, to the height of from three to four feet, thus making a show of outline fairly exhibited to the east. The present chronicler owned very little military knowledge, indeed, but it was quite obvious to his understanding that, with an enemy approaching us from the south, gaining access to the plateau, and with their cannon planted, say, where the main university building (Fraser hall) now stands, our citadel, built of these loose rocks, might become a very dangerous affair indeed — for us. If out in the open, we might have some little show to escape their shot, but inside, with their balls impelling every loose stone of our battlement against us, our chances would be slim indeed. And yet, I am convinced that this little pen of rock which might, in urgency, have held, perhaps, 100 men, but now enclosed only some forty, had something to do with saving Lawrence that afternoon. At all events, its garrison enjoyed the advantage of a fine post of observation. Few finer landscapes stretch out anywhere before the eye in all this broad land; and, truth to tell, on this Sunday afternoon, we all united in scanning it closely. Between the skirts of the two streams — the Kansas and the Wakarusa — our vision then was quite unobstructed by trees, such as now diversify the scene. But it was not solely the charming landscape that absorbed our attention; we

were looking for figures in the middle distance and in the foreground! Of course we realized that the plain before us, rolling so gently on either hand to its flanking streams, might serve as an admirable open battle-ground, but we felt too well assured that our own forces were far too few and too feeble to render the encounter interesting and agreeable to us.

All this while, however, there was an opposing current of imagination, which projected itself westward. For the first time in our free-state campaign, we hoped for help from the direction of Lecompton. We remembered the assurance so recently given by Governor Geary of help, through him, by the United States troops, while engaged in any lawful undertaking of defense, such as he must allow this to be. He would not, he could not, quietly suffer the destruction of this little free-state town and the slaughter of its citizens by this overwhelming Missouri horde, even though that invading army falsely claimed to be Kansas territorial militia. In fact, we knew he had already, by proclamation, called upon all such bodies to disband. So we had hurried messengers to him, or at least a messenger—Gaius Jenkins, one of the recent treason prisoners—advising our perilous situation. But would he come promptly and in time? Paraphrasing the traditional language of Wellington on the field of Waterloo, we ardently exclaimed, "Oh, that night or Geary and his troops would come!"

At length—perhaps about four o'clock, and early enough—we began to see signs of the enemy, as, leaving the immediate valley of the Wakarusa, hidden in that direction by the intervening high ground, they came on to Franklin—some three miles southeast of Lawrence—and the ascending smoke of Stroup's mill, which they had fired, was an ominous sign that destruction would follow in their wake. We could not, however, see, what we afterward learned, that three of their advance guard, pushing ahead of the rest, down on the bottom below Franklin, had been bravely charged upon by the two McGee boys, James and Thomas, full of courage and spirit—there was no prohibition of the latter in those days—and in the encounter of attack one Greathouse, of their number, firing closely at Tom McGee, had scorched the back of his neck. Revolving the barrel of the pistol with his finger, as it had stuck, Tom had fired at him at close range in return, laying him dead on the field.

Meanwhile, Colonel Learnard, who had been commanding a little force of horsemen, left the town with what men he could gather and started down the south road towards Blanton's bridge. With him, as I am informed, went George W. Deitzler, afterward Colonel and later Brigadier-general Deitzler in the war of the rebellion, who learning from Learnard, while at a hasty noon meal together at the Johnson House, of the purposed reconnoissance had expressed a wish to accompany, saying that on account of his confinement with Robinson and the rest of the "treason" prisoners that summer (and from which he had just been released on bail) no chance had yet come to him that season to have any "fun." When about two miles from town, finding no enemy in that direction, they turned eastward, and were intercepting the Franklin road, on the high ground near the Jordan Neal place, when, noting the advance guard of the Missourians coming in considerable force, some 300 strong, and apparently trying to cut them off, they turned back toward town—their own little force probably not exceeding twenty-five men. As they strung along the Franklin road on their way homeward, we watched them intently, and especially were we interested in two lagging horsemen in their rear, especially the hindmost. "That man's horse is no good—he 'll get cut off, sure," was our exclamation. I am inclined to think, however, that those were the McGee boys getting out of the way of the enemy after their rencounter.

Somewhat to our surprise and gratification, when the advance of the Mis-

sourians had reached the vicinity of Robert Miller's present place, they left the road, approaching afterward not much nearer the town, and circled around on the prairie northward toward the Enos farm and Haskell's. Then we observed our horsemen under Learnard range themselves about the fence around Hanscomb's corn-field, and exchange some long-distance shots with them. My immediate exclamation was, when the enemy began circling off in an even radius: "They are afraid of this fort: they take it for granted we have our cannon, and they are keeping, as they suppose, just out of range." This, I afterward learned, was also Learnard's impression, and that they were probably deterred thereby from making a dash into town. Afterward, as a part of their force had swung a little further north to the protection of the timber on the Haskell place, more of our men, with rifles, under Captain Cracklin's lead, rallied out to the ridge about the line of Delaware street, and from our elevated perch we could witness their firing at long range. Some response was made to this, but it was ineffective, as, no doubt was that of our own boys; but they kept the foe at bay, and as the dusk of even began to settle down on the scene his force finally concluded, it would seem, that they had n't sufficient strength to take the town, and, therefore, might as well draw off, retire upon their main body, and then overwhelm us with their whole force upon the morrow. Tired as they were with their long march that day, they were not to be blamed for that conclusion, though thereby they lost their favorable opportunity.

All this while our little company of about forty had strung themselves along the wall of our fort, facing the east and the enemy, making—when taken in connection with the assumption that we had at least one cannon with us—rather a formidable appearance. As we moved about, outlined against the sky as a background, no doubt our numbers were magnified to their apprehension. This was a case when "distance lent" if not "enchantment" at least illusion to the view. Had they known how few and poorly armed we really were, they would scarce have counted us as much of a factor in the problem. All the while my own impression was that it would be merely a question of time until we were surrounded on all sides by far superior numbers, and that our only chance then would be to cut our way through their lines.

Now, however, when the enemy had drawn off for the night apparently, advantage was taken to secure some provender, and by small squads the members of our company were allowed to go down town and get something for supper. On my return at dusk a cheerful fire had been built in the fort, but Captain Lowe detailed James Blood, Samuel Kimball and myself to watch the "California road" (so called) at the point of the bluff where it began to drop down to the valley, a little distance southeast of where the new physics building of the state university now stands. We constituted an outpost, at perhaps one-half mile away from our command. As the shades of night came down this seemed a trifle lonesome, for our outpost was quite a long distance from any houses of the little town; but our duties were light, as nobody appeared to be passing along the road.

At length some noise was heard from down the road, near the locality where the Judge Thacher residence now stands, and Blood suggested that himself and Kimball would go down and investigate. They were gone for quite a while, but on their return reported that they had discovered nothing. In the meantime the sound of a horseman approaching from the west had come to my ears, and soon I dimly descried him through the dusk. "Halt!" I cried, and he halted. Bringing my old musket to a "ready," I sang out, "Who goes there?" "A friend," was the reply. "Give an account of yourself, friend; who are you?" "I am an officer of the United States army with a despatch from Governor Geary to

the Missouri camp below." As the appearance of his clothing and bearing seemed to warrant his statement that he belonged to the army, I did n't feel justified in detaining him further. Indeed, I scarce felt sure that he did n't have as good a right to be on that road as myself, and if he bore the kind of dispatch that we hoped from Governor Geary, I felt little inclination to delay him—so he passed on. I have since then felt a little doubtful at times of the exact truth of this man's story, but at all events it was some one who assured the Missourians when he got to their camp that they had better keep away from Lawrence.

After the return of my comrades no further incident offered, until at about ten o'clock came a message from our captain that we might come in, as Governor Geary and his United States troops had arrived. Once more a crisis had passed, the tension was relieved, and Lawrence was saved from such sack, burning and slaughter as was to be her cruel fate some seven years later. As we took our way in, somewhere on the east line of the bluff, near where the tower of the water-works now stands, we noted some white tents and a little battery of four light field-pieces—six-pounders, I think—ranged in a row, with their mouths turned eastward. I own to some appreciation of the beautiful in nature and in art, but in all my varied observation I do n't know that I have ever seen anything prettier than those four little bulldogs of war, with their throats open and ready to bark in the direction that Reid's Missouri army would have to take in attacking Lawrence.

MEMORIAL ON TIMOTHY DWIGHT THACHER.

An address by Rev. Richard Cordley, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-second annual meeting, January 18, 1898.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT THACHER was descended from a long line of Puritan ancestors. He was of the seventh generation from Rev. Thomas Thacher, who came from England in 1635, and who was the first pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, on its formation in 1669. His portrait may be seen with the pastors of the New "Old South" in Boston, where it hangs among the portraits of other distinguished men who have filled the pulpit of that historic church. In the Old South Museum, on Washington street, may be seen several manuscript sermons of his in the closely written style of that day. A century later, another of the same line of descent, Rev. Peter Thacher, was pastor of Brattle Street Church, in Boston. He was a very eloquent man, and was known as the "Silver-tongued Thacher." In March, 1776, he delivered an oration before the American troops at Watertown. In this oration he stated the grievances of the American colonies against Great Britain, and the list almost exactly corresponds with that which Thomas Jefferson, a few months later, inserted in the declaration of independence.

The father of T. Dwight Thacher was Mowry Thacher. In the early part of this century, he and his brother Otis removed from New England and settled in Steuben county, New York. Mowry settled on a farm close to what is now the city of Hornellsville. He was a man of sterling integrity and good sense, and by steady industry accumulated a modest competence. He was held in high esteem in that whole region. He was an elder in the Presbyterian church most of his life, and was entrusted several times with large civil responsibilities.

Timothy Dwight was born October 31, 1831. He attended the district school in his youth, and in 1851 entered Alfred Academy, an institution not far away, under the management of Seventh-day Baptists. The men controlling it seemed

to be broad men, and they pursued a very liberal policy, and the academy proved a great blessing to that community. Kansas certainly has reason to rejoice in the work of that academy. The Thachers, the Wordens, the Allens, Chancellor Marvin, and doubtless others about Lawrence, were from that institution. After three years at Alfred, Mr. Thacher entered Union College, at Schenectady, as junior, and graduated in 1856. Union College was at that time in its glory. The famous Dr. Eliphalet Nott was president, Dr. Laurens Hickok professor of metaphysics, and Dr. Tayler Lewis professor of Greek. They were all men distinguished in their day for learning and power, and took great interest in the young men who came to them. Doctor Nott was one of the most distinguished educators of the time. He was president of Union College for over fifty years. He was a great friend of Dwight Thacher, and said that "he was the most promising student who had graduated during his administration." As 3700 young men graduated during his presidency, this is very high praise. Mr. Thacher was also a great admirer of Doctor Hickok, who was one of the ablest metaphysicians of this century.

Mr. Thacher had a fine philosophical mind and delighted in philosophical study. He had thus far had in view the gospel ministry, and his studies had all pointed in that direction. When he graduated, in July, 1856, the Fremont campaign was at its height, and the great questions at issue took hold of the young man's mind with great power. He had made a number of political speeches before he graduated. Now he threw himself into the contest with all the fervor of his nature. He was in great demand at public meetings, and was called for in all directions. At the close of the campaign in November he went back to Union College to pursue some postgraduate studies in philosophy under Doctor Hickok. While thus engaged he received an invitation from Lyman and Norman Allen to go to Lawrence, Kan., to take charge of a new free-state paper they proposed to establish. The Allens were schoolmates of the Thachers in Alfred, and old friends. Mr. Thacher had been profoundly stirred by the Kansas question. During the Fremont campaign this had been the leading issue. He felt it was a crisis for him. To accept the invitation was to change his whole plan of life. He consulted his teachers as to his duty. His favorite teacher, Doctor Hickok, hesitated, but Doctor Nott was enthusiastic. He said: "Go, my son. You may do more good there in a few years than you can do here in a lifetime."

In the spring of 1857, therefore, he started for Kansas. On arriving he commenced the publication of the Lawrence *Republican*. From the very outset he made it one of the leading free-state papers of the territory. He was anti-slavery by heredity, education, and personal conviction. He based his opposition on radical grounds. He had no apologies to offer, no compromises to make. He believed slavery was wrong, and for that reason should not be permitted to enter Kansas. He had no patience with the half-and-half sentiment which wanted a "free white state." He despised the whole economic argument which opposed slavery because it would not be profitable. He based his opposition on the rights of the slaves, and not on the mere advantages of freedom. But in his paper and on the platform he threw himself into the controversy with all the force and enthusiasm he possessed. He attended all the free-state conventions, and everywhere struck right and left for freedom on the grounds of justice. His presence was like a tonic to the free-state party. The free-state party was composed of two classes—those who would exclude slavery because they believed it wrong, and those who would exclude it because they deemed it bad policy. These last wanted neither slavery nor "niggers," as they termed them. Mr. Thacher had no patience with this heartless and cold-blooded sentiment. In his paper and in his speeches he was radical, unsparing, and uncompromising.

The first time I saw Dwight Thacher was the day I entered Lawrence, December 2, 1857. A free-state convention was in session in the old stone Congregational church. The convention was a very important one, and a very large one. The Lecompton constitution had just been sent to congress without being submitted to a vote of the people. There was great danger that congress would admit Kansas into the union under that constitution, and she be made a slave state in spite of an overwhelming free-state majority. This convention met to protest against such an outrage. T. Dwight Thacher was chairman of the committee on resolutions, and the resolutions adopted had the ring

"Of the good old colony times
When we were under the king."

The closing paragraph will give some idea of the tone of the whole set:

"Appealing to the God of justice and humanity, we do solemnly enter into league and covenant with each other that we will *never*, under any circumstances, permit the said constitution, so framed and not submitted, to be the organic law of the state of Kansas, but do pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor to ceaseless hostility to the same."

Three weeks later, December 23, this same convention reassembled, according to the terms of its adjournment. They now confronted another question in regard to this same Lecompton constitution. An election was to be held January 5, 1858, for state officers under it. A number of the free-state leaders were in favor of participating in that election, so as to take possession of the constitution in case congress should accept it. The debate on this question in this convention was one of the ablest and most stirring debates to which I ever listened. A large portion of the old leaders of the free-state party were in favor of taking part in the election for state officers, so soon to occur. Mr. Thacher, without any thought of such a thing, became the leading spirit of the opposition to that policy. He gave that day a succession of speeches whose power and brilliancy would have made the reputation of any man. He was in all the freshness of youth, with the classic air of college life still upon him. He had been in Kansas long enough to catch the full import of the situation, and the fire of the great conflict was burning within him. He brought into the debate the clear-cut, well-defined views of a born abolitionist, the fervor and enthusiasm of a young man, and the classic finish of a college training. Against him were arrayed a large portion of the old free-state leaders, chief among whom was Gov. Charles Robinson, the president of the convention. Their argument was that they must vote under the Lecompton constitution in order to get possession of it and destroy it. They must "stoop to conquer": in the less elegant language used by the speakers, "they must fight the devil with fire." Against such a policy and such a defense the soul of Dwight Thacher boiled with indignation. He denounced any attempt to compromise with wrong for the sake of success. He said:

"We have all agreed that the old 'bogus' legislature was a fraud and a usurpation. We have never consented to the laws it enacted, and never recognized the officers it imposed upon us. This Lecompton constitution is the offspring of that legislature, and again and again we have denounced it as a fraud to which we would never submit. To vote for officers under it is to acknowledge it: then if we are beaten we have no recourse. Both principle and policy demand that we treat it in the future as we have treated it in the past, as an outrage and an imposition to which the people of Kansas will never for a moment submit. To do otherwise is to stultify ourselves, and throw discredit on all the brave things we have said and all the heroic things we have done in these two eventful years. Let us maintain the high ground on which we have stood; then if, in spite of our protests and in spite of justice, congress insists on imposing this hateful constitution upon us, let us fall back upon the reserved rights of a free people, and resist it to the bitter end. Let us be true to our word when three weeks ago we

pledged our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor to ceaseless hostility to this same fraudulent instrument."

Notwithstanding the array of great names against him, his eloquence carried the convention, and the resolution was voted down by a large majority.

The 4th of January following was election day. A vote was to be taken on the Lecompton constitution itself, as well as for officers under it, and I had determined to cast the first vote in Lawrence against that unspeakable outrage. I went early to the polls so as to be present at the opening. As I hurried up from one side, I met Mr. Thacher hurrying up from the other side. We met face to face right in front of the ballot-box, each with ballot in hand, eager to deal the first blow by depositing the first ballot against the stupendous fraud. As we met in front of the voting window, both instantly saw the situation, and both smiled. "I yield to you," he said politely, and stepped back and let my ballot go in first, while his followed as the second.

Mr. Thacher was largely instrumental in the forming of the republican party in Kansas. A number of leading men were in favor of keeping up the old free-state party, but Mr. Thacher had the sagacity to see that that was impossible. The members of that party were hopelessly divided on nearly everything except the question of a free state in Kansas. Now that that question was settled, there was no point of cohesion. The republican party was the rising party of freedom in the nation at that time. Mr. Thacher believed in being in line with the larger movements of freedom in the whole country. He was, therefore, one of the prime movers in calling the convention which met in Osawatomie May 18, 1859, and formed the republican party in Kansas. He was chosen president of the convention, and had much to do with shaping its utterances. Horace Greeley was at this convention and took great interest in the result.

Mr. Thacher was always loyal to his party, but never servile. He fearlessly criticized the mistakes and denounced the wrongs of his own party, and did more, perhaps, than any other man in driving out the corruptionists which cursed it. He was a politician in the best sense, but he had a wholesome contempt for men who pursued politics as a trade. He never hesitated to oppose and to expose the men who sought office for mercenary motives or by corrupt means. Since his death, an intimate friend of his was telling an incident which illustrates this characteristic. A gentleman whom Mr. Thacher had helped into office was in company with Mr. Thacher. In talking of political success, this gentleman said: "I sought this office simply for the money there was in it." Mr. Thacher overheard the remark, and turned to the gentleman at once and said: "Do I understand you to say that you wanted this office simply for the salary?" "That is just what I said," replied the other. "Then I want to say to you," replied Mr. Thacher, "that if I had known that sooner you never should have had the office." Another friend was telling an incident to the same effect. Mr. Thacher was proposed for a good position which was very congenial to him, and to which he ardently aspired, and for which he was admirably fitted. His securing it turned on very small margin. A gentleman who had the power to turn the scale in his favor called upon him one day and offered to sustain him on "certain considerations." Mr. Thacher replied: "If you think I am the man for the place, vote for me; if not, do not vote for me." He did not secure the place.

With a brief intermission, Mr. Thacher continued to publish the Lawrence *Republican* until 1863. In the spring of that year he was persuaded to purchase the Kansas City *Journal of Commerce*, and removed to that city. He left his brother, S. M. Thacher, in charge of the paper at Lawrence. In the Quantrill raid, which occurred August 21 of that year, the Lawrence *Repub-*

lican building was the first to be set on fire by raiders, and the whole property was consumed. Mr. Thacher now gave his whole attention to his Kansas City paper. It was not an easy thing at that time to publish a thoroughly loyal paper in a border town like Kansas City. There was a strong rebel sentiment in the place, and papers and pulpits were timid in their expression. They were between Scylla and Charybdis—careful not to offend the common sentiment, and careful also to avoid the watchful eye of the military authorities. Mr. Thacher regarded neither of these perils, but simply followed his convictions. He published a thoroughly loyal paper, fearless and outspoken, and yet did it so wisely and with so kind a spirit that he won the respect of all classes, and was a power for the union cause in that important center. At the close of the war, in 1865, he sold his interests in Kansas City and removed to Philadelphia, where he became the chief editorial writer on the *Evening Telegraph.*

But he had been too important a figure in Kansas affairs to be contented anywhere else, and in 1868 he returned to Lawrence. In the many newspaper changes which had occurred since he left, his old paper had disappeared. After looking the ground over, he decided to reestablish that paper, and he was again the editor of the Lawrence *Republican.* After several consolidations and changes, the paper at last assumed the name of the Lawrence *Republican-Journal*, which Mr. Thacher continued to publish until he was elected state printer, in 1881, when he removed to Topeka, where he afterwards made his home.

Mr. Thacher was twice married. In 1857 he was married to Miss Catherine Faulker Angell, who died in Lawrence January 22, 1858. May 18, 1861, he was married in Philadelphia to Miss Emma Elizabeth Heilman, who made for him a delightful home which he very much enjoyed. He was a charming man in his home, as all his friends can testify. Of the eight children born to them, five are living—two sons and three daughters. The elder son is a lawyer in New York, the younger son away at school, and the three daughters are with their mother in Philadelphia.

Mr. Thacher's friends have regretted that he never was chosen to any office of large responsibility and influence. His name was often mentioned for congress and other high offices of the state, and everybody recognized his eminent fitness. In congress he would have honored the state and made his mark on the nation. I once heard Hon. Charles B. Lines say that Dr. Leonard Bacon's greatest ambition was to be president of Yale College, and everybody recognized his eminent fitness. But when the time came to choose a president, a violent opposition sprang up and he was defeated. One paper, in opposing him, gave the reason: "Doctor Bacon is too great a man to be president of Yale College." He was never president of Yale College for the same reason that Clay and Webster were never president of the United States. But though Doctor Bacon was never president, he did more to make Yale College what she became than any president she ever had.

Mr. Thacher was never governor of Kansas, but he did more to make Kansas what she is than half the men who have filled the governor's chair. He never went to congress, as many of his friends wished he might, but in influence he outweighed a whole delegation of congressmen. He was an illustration of the fact that a man does not need office to exert an influence upon the state. The men who make the state are the men of large capacity and noble spirit, who put their thought and life into its growth. In my mind's vision, I see an eagle perched upon the crags 2000 feet above the sea. All at once he poises himself, darts down like an arrow towards the ocean. But before he reaches the water a little fish-hawk flies from a bush near the shore and seizes the prize the eagle should have had.

But the fish-hawk goes back to his bush a fish-hawk still, while the eagle soars to his mountain home and is still the king of birds. In Kansas politics it has been quite common for the fish-hawk to secure the prize, while the eagle remains on the crags.

As an editor Mr. Thacher was a model. His paper was always clean and high toned. He never lowered its tone for a larger sale. His editorials were always able, and often wonderfully brilliant. He fearlessly denounced wrong always, and wrong-doers everywhere. Yet he never descended to abuse or personalities, and always treated his opponents with respect. He was always courteous, even when he was cutting. He was often attacked, sometimes in a very vicious style, but he always let the "mud slingers" have the field to themselves. He delighted in honorable controversy, but he had no taste and no inclination for personal vituperation. At one time the paper across the street became very scurrilous and personal. Every issue was filled with the vilest insinuations and assaults. Truth and decency were utterly ignored. Being in his office one day, I referred to these shameless attacks on him. "Yes, they are hard to bear, but to reply would only please them too well. Detraction is their native air. They are at home in that style of warfare. I shall never notice these attacks in any way whatever." And day by day his paper was as serene as a summer sky. You would never know from anything he said that that editor across the street was not his best friend. In time, of course, the cesspool dried up.

But he did not always pursue the policy of silence, as his opponents sometimes learned to their cost. He knew when forbearance had ceased to be a virtue, and when he did reach such a conclusion, there were lively times in at least two newspaper offices. At one time the notorious I. S. Kalloch published a rival paper in the town, and for some reason showed a most malicious enmity towards Mr. Thacher. He was most persistent and aggravating in his flings and slurs and insinuations. He was a keen writer, and his attacks were very galling, and were having their effect on the public mind. For a long time Mr. Thacher made no reply. Kalloch's reputation was not at all savory, and he was at his lowest in Kansas. At last Mr. Thacher came out with a column and a half of as keen and cutting invective as ever appeared in literature. The style was clear-cut and brilliant, the matter choice and delicate, yet through it shone Kalloch so clearly that the case was closed, and Kalloch's insinuations ceased.

Noble L. Prentis, who was for years associated with Mr. Thacher in newspaper work, speaks thus of the temper and spirit of the man: "To Mr. Thacher belongs the honor of having, in a rude time, and amid all sorts of trials and terrors, privations and difficulties, preserved the language, the tastes, the manners and the feelings of a scholar and a gentleman." Mr. Thacher was trained a Christian, and in all the provocations and exasperations of the conflict he never forgot what belonged to a Christian profession. He was brought up in a refined home, and amid the rough scenes of the frontier he never lost the spirit and manners of a gentleman. He came from college with its honors upon him, and amid the careless methods of Western speech he never lost the style of a scholar.

Mr. Thacher originally intended to enter the gospel ministry, and his studies in academy and college had that work in view. Though he never entered the ministry, he never lost his love for the themes with which the ministry concerns itself. He was never more at home than in the fields of mental science and philosophy. He had a pure theological mind, and not many clergymen are more familiar than he was with the whole realm of theological thinking. He would have been an able and influential minister, and would have made his mark in the public thought. I am inclined to think that he did not abandon the idea of some time entering the gospel ministry for many years. He had a strong religious

nature, and loved to think and speak on Christian themes. On coming to Lawrence, he associated himself with Plymouth Church, and was always one of its strong helpers. He was always present at the services, and was an interested and sympathetic hearer. He was never critical, but always stimulating and appreciative. He cooperated with the church in many lines; in fact, was always ready for any service, from teaching a class in Sunday-school to filling the pulpit in the absence of the pastor. He was one of a group of six or eight men in Plymouth Church, who, in the early seventies, were always ready to fill the pulpit when desired. This group included Mr. Thacher, his cousin, Solon O. Thacher, Dudley C. Haskell, and others. During the summer vacation they would fill the pulpit for weeks together with great satisfaction and with large audiences.

Some of Mr. Thacher's pulpit orations were among the finest addresses he ever made, and would do honor to any pulpit. In the midweek service, also, he was always ready to help. That service was one of the marked features of the church, and he often led the meeting with very happy effect. Being a fine singer, he was for years a member of the choir. For a long time, when there was no choir, he acted as precentor in leading the congregation in the service of song. In this last office he was exceptionally good. He could do this in such a voice that the whole congregation could readily follow, and yet put on none of the airs which so often make precentors a "burden grievous to be borne." A newspaper correspondent who visited the church about this time, in writing an extended account of the service, spoke with especial commendation of this part of the service and of Mr. Thacher's work as a precentor.

His last appearance in Plymouth Church was only a few months before his death. He had been invited by the Young Men's Christian Association to make the annual address before that body. He gave the address in Plymouth Church one Sabbath morning. He was very much moved at being once more in the church where he had wrought so long and standing in the pulpit where he stood twenty-five years before. He referred with great tenderness to the olden times, and to the Christian comrades of former years. He spoke with peculiar tenderness of the sainted ones who had gone on before. The address was different from anything I ever heard from him. There was nothing of the positive and aggressive tone that so characterized his ordinary speech. The tender pathos of the opening thought ran through the whole address and made it almost a reverie—as if he were thinking aloud. It was all very impressive and very touching. One passage attracted my special atttention at the time and has since seemed almost prophetic, in view of what happened soon after. His theme was the powers and possibilities and privileges of youth. He drew a vivid contrast between the young man, with his life before him and his work yet to be done, and "those of us whose life is behind us and whose work, perhaps, is almost finished." As the news of his sudden death came to me a few weeks after, I could not help recalling this passage which had impressed me at the time. I could not help wondering if there had not come over him some shadow of the event that was so near. Was there some dim intimation as to how nearly true it was that his "life was behind him" and "his work finished"?

The passing away of two such men as Timothy Dwight Thacher and his cousin, Solon Otis Thacher, within so short a time, was an untold loss to the state. The whole commonwealth is the poorer for their going. They were not alike, but they were both men of large caliber and high character, *par nobile gratum*. They were among the strong men of Kansas, who helped to lay her foundations, and their life and thought are largely interwoven with her structure.

THE NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY AS AN INVESTMENT SOCIETY.

An address by WILLIAM H. CARRUTH, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-first annual meeting, January 19, 1897.

A LARGE part of this paper appeared in the *New England Magazine* for March, 1897, and is reprinted here with the consent of the publishers. "It will be just as well for you not to mention the fact that you are from Boston," said a Harvard man of the class of '36 to a friend of mine who arrived in Lawrence twenty years ago to take a position as teacher. Maybe there was a bit of cynicism in the remark, but there was surely much practical wisdom based on experience. To those who have heard or read only of the large part taken by New England in the settlement of Kansas, this must seem strange, even incredible. There is no doubt of the existence of this feeling for some years after the incident referred to, although I believe it is now quite imperceptible. Some inquiry touching the source of this suspicion or hostility of Kansas people towards those of New England, and especially of Boston, has led to the present paper. Mr. Godkin's recent explanation of it as a general distrust of Western people toward Eastern people, due partly to the fact that the latter wear socks and tailor-made clothes, is not entirely satisfactory. For the sock habit has spread in Kansas, so that there are some addicted to it in nearly every community. In large degree, the true explanation is to be sought in the history and dealings of the New England Emigrant Aid Company.

A complete account of this extraordinary movement is still wanting, despite Mr. Thayer's own publications in his pamphlet histories and his book, "The Kansas Crusade." The rough data of the situation to be made by the Kansas-Nebraska bill were: A fertile territory opened to settlement; the extension of slavery, or perhaps the beginning of its extinction, to be determined by the settlers themselves; pro-slavery settlers near at hand, but few and naturally slow, agrarian, and their belongings not easy to move; anti-slavery settlers distant, but plentiful, aggressive, more mechanics and town dwellers. To winning that fertile territory and achieving that victory for freedom, the one obstacle seemed to be the element of distance, for there the opposition had an immense advantage. Pondering these elements in his study at Oread Home, Worcester, and in his seat in the general court of Massachusetts, Eli Thayer evolved the plan of a society which should offer to anti-slavery emigrants inducements sufficient to offset this advantage held by the other side. Already, nearly ten years before this, Rev. E. E. Hale had considered the greater fecundity of the Yankee, and had proposed to locate the surplus of New England population in Texas, teaching thus "How to conquer Texas before Texas conquers us." But Texas was further away and quite cut off from the free North, and the North was not yet roused by the discussions of 1852 and 1854.

Mr. Thayer's plan was an epitome of Yankee characteristics—thrift and devotion to principle. He did not propose to win Kansas with hirelings, but to show the natural aggressiveness of the Yankee an outlet for his energy at once honorable and profitable. And thus, also, the company he proposed was not to be a charitable labor entirely, as religious missionary societies mostly are; but he asked: Why is it worse for a company to make money by extending Christianity, or suppressing slavery, than by making cotton cloth? The company which he planned was intended to be an investment company, giving and taking

advantages with those whom it induced to go to Kansas, and incidentally crippling slavery. The plan was plausible; it is still so; and, omitting the war for principle, is pursued by the railroad and irrigation companies of the West to-day.

April 26, 1854, more than a month before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, Mr. Thayer procured a charter for the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company,* with a capital limit of $5,000,000. Immediately he set to work holding public meetings, and advertising what Horace Greeley dubbed "the plan of freedom." It caught the attention of the already roused North; it grew into the lurid image of a last judgment in the suspicious imagination of the South. The capital stock of $5,000,000 became, to the excited Southerners, a cash corruption fund whereby to fill Kansas with hireling voters. On July 29, 1854, just after the Emigrant Aid Company's first party of twenty-nine members had passed through Kansas City, the Platte County Self-defensive Association, meeting at Weston, resolved: "That this association will, whenever called upon by any citizens of Kansas territory, hold itself in readiness to assist and remove any and all emigrants who go there under the auspices of the Northern emigrant aid societies."

The trustees of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company discovered legal weaknesses, as they thought, in the charter, and preferred to work as a private company, until, in the spring of 1855, a new charter was obtained, and the name changed to the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Meantime Mr. Thayer was indefatigable. He was writing and speaking constantly and organizing local leagues. The subscriptions to the stock of the company were liberal and prompt, amounting to about $100,000 before June, 1856. Among the largest subscribers were Charles Francis Adams, Amos Lawrence, J. M. S. Williams, W. B. Spooner, Eli Thayer, and W. M. Evarts. The company advertised its work well. In July, 1855, a special appeal was made to churches to take shares for their ministers. The call was signed by Lyman Beecher, Starr King, Hosea Ballou, Calvin E. Stowe, Leonard Bacon, and Horace Bushnell, among others. It added less than $2000 to the stock of the company, but it interested 200 ministers in the cause, which was said to represent not only freedom, but temperance, education, and religion.

In September, 1855, the company issued an address to the people of Missouri, some of whom had expressed a desire to hang Mr. Thayer. Like all manifestos from this source, it was moderate and appealed to reason. In the senate report of the thirty-fourth congress, Stephen A. Douglas, chairman of the committee on territories, made a report, in which the Kansas troubles were ascribed largely to the machinations of the Aid Company. Again the company put forth an "Address to the People of the United States," admirable in its tone and content. "The language of the senate report," it said, "would lead to the inference that the Kansas-Nebraska act was especially designed for the benefit of those individuals and societies who seek to render the institutions of Kansas congenial to those of Missouri. Their action is spoken of as simply defensive, while that of the Massachusetts society is characterized as aggressive." Another device of the company for arousing interest in its work was the prize of fifty dollars, offered in February, 1855, by the secretary, Dr. Thomas H. Webb, for the best poem on the subject of the emigration. This was won by Lucy Larcom, at that time a teacher in Wheaton Seminary, at Norton, Mass., over eighty-eight competitors. Before her authorship of "The Call to Kansas" was publicly announced, she was surprised at being greeted one morning with the presentation of her song by a chorus of her pupils.

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*See notes on page 96.

Whittier's beautiful "Hymn of the Kansas Emigrants" was a gift to the cause. It appeared in 1855.

But the most powerful literary agency enlisted for the winning of Kansas was the New York *Tribune*. Mr. Thayer tells in his book how he labored with Horace Greeley, and the files of the *Tribune* from that time on show with what complete success. Doctor Webb, secretary of the company, in his office at 3 Winter street, Boston, kept the newspaper record of the fight for Kansas, with which he filled twenty large folio scrap-books—an invaluable collection, now in possession of the Kansas State Historical Society. The work done by the New England Aid Emigrant Company toward determining the nature of the institutions of Kansas was, without doubt, the most weighty factor in making Kansas free. But much of this result was accomplished indirectly and incidentally. The agitation of the cause and the advertising of the country probably started many towards Kansas who never heard of the company. Mr. Hale's book, "Kansas and Nebraska," published in 1854, and Mrs. Dr. Robinson's account of her experiences, "Kansas, its Interior and Exterior Life," both prompted indirectly by the company, were powerful agents in accomplishing the final result.

But now we come to the subject of the company's standing in Kansas, and the reasons for its financial failure.

The report of the committee on organization, while assuring the company's stockholders of "that satisfaction, ranked by Lord Bacon among the very highest, of becoming founders of states, and, more than this, states which are prosperous and free," alluded confidently to "an investment which promises large returns at no distant day." This hope of dividends flickers up from time to time even as late as May, 1861, when the executive committee, in a report to the directors, said: "It must be shown that the free-state system of settling a new country pays well in money. This we do not absolutely despair of doing, even in the case of Kansas." But in the following June, Doctor Russell, better informed, in a meeting of the directors, quenched the hope with a "might-have-been." Yet this very rational expectation was made a subject of reproach against the company by some supersensitives who alluded to "money-changers in the temple."

The Aid Company's emigrants were not the first free-state men on the ground. By the end of 1856 they were not in a majority—if, indeed, they ever were. Of course the pro-slavery men, from among whom there were, and continued to be, many *bona fide* settlers, did not love the Aid Company's people. The free-state men from the rest of the North brought from home, even then, a bit of prejudice against the superior refinement and provincial pronunciation of the down-easters, and to this was now added in many cases a mild jealousy. It was generally believed that the Aid Company's emigrants had been assisted, and had thus an unfair advantage over their brethren from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Wisconsin. The Aid Company's agents, Charles Robinson and S. C. Pomeroy, were cautious and law-abiding, yet firm in the defense of their rights. So there were some settlers who thought the Aid Company had unnecessarily aroused Southern opposition, and others again who claimed to think that it was timidly conservative. Furthermore, among the New England emigrants themselves there was more or less dissatisfaction with the company because they were not aided more than they were, or because the company did not keep its agreements as they understood them. For instance, the fare from Boston to Kansas City was advertised as twenty-five dollars—six dollars less than it is to-day. In some cases parties arriving at St. Louis were charged anew for transportation to Kansas City. Mr. Pomeroy refunded this double charge to some, but others did not know enough to demand it, and did not get it. Then, again, with the third and later parties

were some kid-gloved gentlemen, who had come out expecting to live on the fat of the land. These, of course, were disappointed and cursed the company. Some of them returned; others were unable to do so, and stayed.

So it will be seen how many elements there were to supply open or secret ill will towards the company. That such a feeling existed, and that right early, is manifested by the passage of the following resolutions by the Lawrence Town Company, January 16, 1855:

"*Resolved*, That the organization of the Emigrant Aid Society has been of exceeding great benefit in the transmission of emigrants to the territory, and their establishing an agency in this city and their investment of capital herein has been a decided advantage to the place, and we believe their efforts thus far have been entirely disinterested; we, therefore, most cordially invite them to remain and continue their operations among us, assuring them of our sincere approval of the past, and of our cooperation in the future; that we, as citizens of Lawrence, particularly approve of the course pursued by the Lawrence Association toward the Emigrant Aid Society in extending an invitation to that company to invest their capital here, and the basis upon which they are allowed to operate; and we shall duly respect their city rights and support them in all lawful and liberal movements."

Clearly these resolutions protest too much. The "basis" referred to was at first a grant of one-half of all the town lots, which was not too much considering that Branscomb, the company's agent, paid $500 to purchase one-half of the original town site. But soon the company's proportion was reduced to one-fourth, and in the spring of 1855, while Doctor Robinson, the local agent, was absent in the East, the company was finally assigned eight out of 220 shares into which the town stock had meanwhile been divided. Of the three free-state papers in Lawrence, one openly and constantly antagonized the movements and policy of the Aid Company, while the *Herald of Freedom*, which was equipped by money borrowed from the company, considered it policy for a time to deny all connection with the New England propagandists. In later days the obligation to New England has been so generously acknowledged in Lawrence that it is almost forgotten how hard New England had to fight even her own friends. Here, as everywhere, was felt the combined love and jealousy of foreign capital.

Now consider briefly what the Aid Company actually did, aside from agitating and advertising. It established a Boston office, where intending settlers could get information and gather for the start. Here they became acquainted and learned the watchword which, Mr. Hale says, ought to be the motto of Kansas, "Together." The character of Mr. Thayer's appeals and the nature of the case brought together "men of industry and enterprise, who believe in hard work and are accustomed to it"; men who could not fail to "carry with them a love for the institutions which recognize the dignity of labor and allow to every man the just rewards of his toil." While many local auxiliaries openly proclaimed their purpose to aid only free state emigration, the company never questioned those who purchased tickets through their agent as to their attitude on the slavery question. In New England that was unnecessary. An amusing result of this policy, however, narrated in detail in Mr. Speer's account of James H. Lane, was that Governor Walker and Secretary Stanton, both of whom denounced the transactions of the Emigrant Aid Company, came into the territory on the Aid Company's cheap tickets.

While the Aid Company must be credited for something of the high tone of the New England emigrants, it is a common error to suppose that these emigrants came to Kansas expecting to win martyrs' crowns. I have questioned many of them as to their motives, and the uniform answer has been: "We went to Kansas to better our condition, incidentally expecting to make it a free state. We knew

we took some risks; but if we had foreseen the struggles and hardships we actually underwent, we never should have gone." This is about what Mr. Thayer calculated on.

The company then secured its passengers a low rate of transportation—a reduction of about fifteen per cent. It erected hotels and sawmills, thus providing immediate accommodations for the new arrivals, and materials for building homes. These institutions were calculated to be profitable, and to serve as nucleuses for towns. Schools and churches were to be encouraged, but not out of the company's stock funds. The company did not propose to speculate, or to loan money, though it did so rarely in aid of semi-public enterprises. The company did not pay the transportation of any but its agents. It did not advance money to intending emigrants. It "never invested a dollar in any implements of war." This is the sworn testimony of Mr. Lawrence and of Mr. Conway, the company's agent, before the Harper's Ferry committee. It is difficult to see why a plan so wisely made did not succeed better.

What, then, became of the Emigrant Aid Company's money? Let us see. The journal and ledger for the first two years are not at hand. From May, 1857, to the close, kept in the beautiful figures of Anson J. Store, the assistant treasurer, they are in possession of the Kansas Historical Society, by the gift of Mrs. Amos A. Lawrence. The stock account shows a total paid in of $136,300, to which must be added donations of about $9000—in all, $145,300. Sales and rents brought in, all together, $26,918. Thus there is $172,218 to be accounted for. The total expenses of the Boston office for the eight years of the company'a activity in Kansas were $30,465. This leaves us $141,753. In Kansas the company had as agents: Charles Robinson, 1854–'56; C. H. Branscomb, 1854–'58; S. C. Pomeroy, 1854–'62; M. F. Conway, 1858–'62—all receiving alike $1000 per annum, expenses, and commission. The last items are not summarized in the ledger, but some items given seem to warrant an estimate of fifty per cent. for them. This will make the expenses of the Kansas end of the management $27,000, and leave $114,753, or more likely under that, as the amount actually invested. Of course, the treasurer charged up, and very properly, all expenses of management to these investments, and his invoice of the company's property, footing up $126,616.27, may be read clearly in the ledger now in possession of this Society. A similar invoice, made in March, 1862, makes the total valuation $143,322.98. But alas! the gap between debit and credit is often wide. On the 27th of February, 1862, all the company's property in Missouri and Kansas was sold at auction to John N. Noyes, for Messrs. Adams & Ayling, of Boston, for $16,150—not much more than enough to pay outstanding claims. And so, as Mr. Hale said in 1879, "no subscriber to that fund ever received back one cent."

And still we have to answer the question, Why? While Mr. Thayer himself declares that the money was contributed "mainly as a charity, and without hope of returns," and Mr. Hale says of the stockholders, "some of them did and some of them did n't" expect dividends, it can easily be shown, in more detail than I have done, that the management steadily hoped at least to pay back the original investment; and besides, there is the testimony of various officers and agents that the company "never gave a cent toward any man's passage," "never hired a man to go to Kansas, or offered any inducement if he did not mean to go," "but we invested capital."

The company's financial agent was S. C. Pomeroy, afterward senator from Kansas. Mr. Pomeroy was not, however, a financier. Some mild-mannered Westerner once warned a stranger against trifling with Wild Bill, explaining that he was "reckless with firearms." Mr. Pomeroy was reckless with drafts. The

books do not show for what many of these drafts were drawn, but it is fair to presume that all bargains were construed liberally in behalf of the emigrant. "We understood the Aid Company to be a benevolent institution," said an old-timer to me, "and we regarded anything of the company's that came in our way as a gift." Pomeroy always paid liberally. He was not the man to make a sharp bargain for the company. Very likely the company would have dismissed him if he had done so. Three mills, costing in New York $4000, paid in freight $2146, and an additional $583 for storage. The proprietor of the *Herald of Freedom* repaid his loan of $2000 in territorial scrip, which was never redeemed. An agent of the company, in making settlement, turned in ten shares of Quindaro town stock at $3578, which was then really rated high, but soon became worthless.

The temporary sod and thatch hotels at first erected in Lawrence were soon superseded, and were thus a loss. The largest single loss to the company was the destruction by Sheriff Jones of the Free State hotel. A grand jury, deriving its instructions from a United States district court, found the following indictment: "We are satisfied that the building known as the Free State hotel, in Lawrence, has been constructed with a view to military occupation and defense, and regularly parapeted and portholed for the use of cannon and small arms, and could only be designed as a stronghold for resistance to law, thereby endangering the public safety and encouraging rebellion and sedition to the country: and we respectfully recommend that steps be taken whereby this nuisance may be removed." A United States marshal brought a posse of Missourians to the city, and then turned them over to the vengeful Jones, who, acting directly on this indictment, without any order from the court, proceeded to destroy the hotel and other property belonging to the company. When the sale was made, in 1862, the company reserved its claim against the government of $20,000 for the destruction of the Free State hotel. The claim has never been allowed, but a juster one was seldom made.

Resuming my report of the company's capital at the point where the operating expenses had been deducted, you will recall that we had left $114,753 to account for. Among the definite items of loss which I have noted are the $20,000 for the Free State hotel, $2000 for the *Herald of Freedom*, and $3578 in Quindaro town stock. At least $1000 worth of other property belonging to the company was destroyed in the sacking of Lawrence May 21, 1856. This makes a total of $26,578, direct loss, which, deducted from $114,753, leaves $88,175 to be accounted for. How an investment of $88,000 can shrink to twenty per cent. of that amount scarcely needs any explanation to those who lived through the disastrous boom of 1886 to 1890.

Finally came the "collapse of the boom." The year 1857 was a boom year in Kansas. The sacking of Lawrence and other outrages, in 1856, so increased interest in the Kansas cause that the following year saw an astonishing influx of settlers and capital. But the bottom went out soon. Investments made that year could not find a purchaser at twenty per cent. in 1858. Things did not get much better until, in 1860, they got much worse. Of course the beginning of the war did not raise Kansas values. So it is not hard, even without any sinister suggestions, to see how the company's $172,000 finally shrunk to $16,000. A careful manager would have made this result very much more favorable, but it is doubtful whether, under the best management, the stock could have been made to pay dividends. Of the total, about $100,000 passed through the hands of Pomeroy. Only $17,000 was handled by Robinson. Yet, without doubt, the latter would have been a better manager for the company. If his advice had been taken, the company would have had, for $3000, the site of the union depot in Kansas City, now worth several millions.

The Yankees of the New England Emigrant Aid Company who expected to make money by the Kansas venture were disappointed. Those in Kansas who made money out of the company contributed, naturally enough, to the distrust of New England and the prejudice against Boston. But it is pleasant to know that the chief of those who made that investment regarded it still, as did W. M. Evarts, as "the best I ever made," and that they can say with Rev. E. E. Hale, "All the same, we received our dividends long ago." They came in Kansas free, a nation free; in the emancipation of four millions of black men, and in the virtual abolition of slavery the world over.

EARLY KANSAS AID COMPANIES.

The reader of early Kansas history is apt to confuse the many organizations formed in the East to assist in the settlement of Kansas.

Or, while recognizing that the number of them was great, it is a common error to suppose that they were all practically charitable or missionary movements. Let me attempt to enumerate and disentangle these organizations.

In the order of their formation, they are:

1. The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company (April, 1854).

2. The New England Emigrant Aid Company (successor to the preceding, March, 1855-'62).

3. The Emigrant Aid Company of New York and Connecticut (affiliated with Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company and absorbed into New England Emigrant Aid Company, July 18, 1854).

4*a*. The Union Emigration Society (spring of 1854; members mostly members of congress).

4*b*. The Kansas Aid Society (Goodrich, of Massachusetts, president, Fenton, of New York, vice-president; just after passage of Kansas-Nebraska bill; probably identical with 4*a*). Some subscriptions made—probably absorbed by New England Emigrant Aid Company; issued appeals to emigrate.

5*n-z*. Kansas Leagues (number indefinite). Organized by Mr. Thayer under auspices of Massachusetts or New England Emigrant Aid Company, from summer of 1854 to 1856 or 1857; such as Worcester County Kansas League, its object to promote emigration—talked up Kansas, organized party to go, probably assisted individuals by neighborly acts; the Oberlin Kansas League, etc.

Of these, 2 absorbed 1 and 3 and 4 so far as they represented the investment idea, and it was and remained the chief organ of the propagandist idea represented partly in 3 and 4, and wholly in 5.

After the sack of Lawrence, May 21, 1856, there sprang into existence a number of organizations in which the investment idea was unknown, but which were prompted by the two purposes of relief to the settlers and defense of the free-state cause. These were:

6. The National Kansas Committeee, or the Kansas National Committee, Thaddeus Hyatt, president; appointed at a mass meeting held at Buffalo, N. Y., May or July, 1856. This committee is also referred to by some persons as the General National Kansas Aid Committee, to distinguish it from certain state auxiliaries (8*a-m*).

The National Kansas Committee held but one meeting in New York, in January, 1857, but it appointed an executive committee of three citizens from Illinois, known as the—

6*b*. National Kansas Executive Committee, who transacted all the business of the greater body. J. D. Webster, chairman; H. B. Hurd, secretary; Horace White, assistant secretary.

This committee collected and disbursed about $120,000, but never formally dissolved, and never had a final accounting. Agents in Kansas: W. F. M. Arny, E. B. Whitman, T. B. Eldridge, *et al.*

7*a*. The Boston (Relief) Committee, or Faneuil Hall (Relief) Committee, S. G. Howe, chairman; organized at a meeting in Faneuil Hall, May, 1856; collected considerable money and clothing; merged into—

7*b*. The Massachusetts State Kansas Committee, G. L. Stearns, president, July, 1856; virtually dissolved in 1858, but never formally. Raised cash, $50,000; supplies, $30,000.

8*a-m*. State auxiliaries to 6—working partly through the National Executive Committee, and in part directly; such as the Kansas Aid Society of Wisconsin, and Female Aid Society of Wisconsin, Aug. Wattles, agent.

9. Finally there were Southern Kansas aid societies of pro-slavery men, suggested by Colonel Buford, of which I have no details.

The name of the first of these organizations, Emigrant Aid Company, is responsible for much of the confusion between the two groups. It was in fact a company not to aid emigrants, but to aid emigration.

The confusion was further fostered by the fact that many persons prominent in the first set of societies were also active in the second group, the relief societies, and that the officers and machinery of the Emigrant Aid Company were used by the relief organizations of 1856 and 1860.

Finally, further misunderstandings in the matter are due to the fact that leaders in the Emigrant Aid Company, as well as in the relief societies, acted often on their own responsibility. Amos A. Lawrence gave to leaders in the free-state cause more than the amount of his stock in the Emigrant Aid Company. George L. Stearns, president of the Massachusetts State Kansas Committee, gave more on his personal responsibility for the purchase of arms and the support of John Brown's movements than he contributed through the committee.

As an illustration of this confusion, I call attention to a letter of George W. Deitzler, read at the quarter-centennial celebration of the settlement of Kansas, and printed without direct correction on page 123 of Robinson's "Kansas Conflict," in which it is stated that the executive committee of the New England Emigrant Aid Company gave an order for 100 Sharp's rifles, which were shipped to Kansas as books.

Now, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Thayer, Mr. Hale and various other officers of the Emigrant Aid Company have declared repeatedly, under oath and otherwise, that the Emigrant Aid Company never spent or appropriated a dollar for arms, or even to pay the expenses of any one save its agents. This testimony must stand, and the seeming contradiction is explained by the facts I have cited. Mr. Deitzler and the common impression are wrong. The Emigrant Aid Company did not give those Sharp's rifles, but they were given by individual subscriptions from Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Williams, Mr. Thayer, and others.

THE FIRST PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION OF KANSAS.

An address by WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-third annual meeting, January 17, 1899.

THE WYANDOTS.

ON the burning pages of Parkman we can read the modern history of the Wyandots.[1] They are of that linguistic stock of North American Indians known as the Iroquoian family. For far-seeing policy, inordinate pride of race, indomitable courage, the capability of vast organization, for enterprise and ambition, the Iroquoian family far surpassed all other North American Indians.

After threading a way which "was pathless and long, by rock and torrent and the gloom of savage forests," the Jesuits stood, at length, on "the lonely shores of the great Georgian bay, and before them stretched in savage slumber lay the forest shores of the Hurons."

Here a number of Iroquoian tribes in close alliance composed what we know as the Huron Confederacy. Their chief seat was between Lake Simcoe and the Georgian bay, in what is now the province of Ontario, Canada. One of these tribes lived to the south and west of the main body, and along the shores of the Bay of Nottawassaga, spreading even into the fastnesses of the Blue mountains. These were the Tionnontates, called by the Jesuits Nation de Petun, or Tobacco nation, from the remarkable fact that they cultivated and raised tobacco in sufficient quantity to create an extensive commerce in its barter and exchange with other tribes.

In 1649 the Iroquois attacked their kindred with savage ferocity, and destroyed forever the confederacy of the Hurons. To escape extermination, the fragments of the broken tribes of the confederacy fled from the fury of the Five Nations and took their sad and disconsolate way northward along the great lakes. Of all the Huron tribes, the Tionnontates alone retained a tribal organization after this catastrophe. Expatriated and wandering, the broken tribes traversed the whole length of the upper lakes. No rest was found for their weary feet. Turning to the southwest, they reached the Mississippi. Here they were soon attacked by those warlike children of the great American desert, the Sioux, and compelled to retrace their steps. They settled on Point Saint Esprit, near the Islands of the Twelve Apostles, at the southwestern extremity of Lake Superior. When the Tobacco nation had absorbed and assimilated the remnants of the tribes of the Hurons, and all that remained of the Huron Confederacy were merged and blended into a single people, with the common name of Wyandot, they began to slowly descend the great lakes. They stopped at Detroit, and there became Pontiac's best and bravest warriors.

In the wars between the Americans and the British, they were on the side of the English until the war of 1812, when a part of them espoused the American cause. They were the prime movers in the formation of the Northwestern Confederacy of Indian Tribes, which opposed so long and so successfully the settlement by Americans of the territory northwest of the Ohio river. They stood at the head of this confederacy, and were the keepers of the council-fire thereof. We shall see that their confirmation in this position was a potent factor in the formation of a territorial government for Kansas. The present city of Upper Sandusky was the center of the Wyandot lands in Ohio. Here Methodism was

1. Parkman's "The Jesuits in North America."

introduced among them, and civilization made much progress. Families founded by white captives who had been adopted into the tribe came into the ascendancy in the affairs of the nation. The last full-blood Wyandot died in Canada about the year 1820, and there was a preponderance of white blood in the tribe before 1840.

The Wyandots were the last of the tribes to abandon the graves of their fathers and turn their faces to the west. In July, 1843, they set out for their home beyond the Mississippi.[2] In the same month they landed at the mouth of the Kansas river. They had been promised 140,000 acres of land by the government, but they were unable to find so large a body of good land unoccupied south of the Kansas river. As it was necessary that a home be procured before the commencement of winter, they purchased the country in the fork of the Missouri and Kansas rivers from the Delawares. They purchased thirty-six sections and were given three sections.[3]

The Wyandots brought with them from Ohio an organized civil government, modeled, to some extent, after that of an American state, especially in their manner of procedure and practice before their council, which was their court. They brought also a Methodist church, a lodge of Freemasons, and a code of written laws which provided for an elective council of chiefs, the punishment of crime, and the maintenance of public order.

In the Wyandot tribe were men of education and ability. The Walker family can trace their ancestry to the nobility of France.[4] The Armstrongs, the Browns, and many other families were noted for intelligence and force of character. Abelard Guthrie was descended from an old Pennsylvania family of north of Ireland Presbyterians. He was married to Miss Quindaro Nancy Brown, in what is now Kansas City, Kan., early in 1844. These men took a lively interest in national affairs. They watched narrowly the enactment by congress of measures tending to affect their interests. They readily detected the tendencies of the

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2. The Wyandotts left for the far west in July, 1843, and numbered at that time about 700 souls.—Howe's "Historical Collections of Ohio" (Cincinnati, 1847), 549.

3. Agreement in writing between the Delaware and Wyandott nations, on the 14th of December, 1843, for the purchase of certain lands by the latter of the former; confirmed by the senate July 25, 1848:

"WHEREAS, From a long and intimate acquaintance, and the ardent friendship which has for a great many years existed between the Delawares and Wyandotts, and from a mutual desire that the same feeling shall continue and be more strengthened by becoming near neighbors to each other: therefore, the said parties, the Delawares on one side, and the Wyandotts on the other, in full council assembled, have agreed, and do agree, to the following stipulations, to wit:

"ARTICLE 1. The Delaware nation of Indians, residing between the Missouri and Kansas rivers, being very anxious to have their uncles, the Wyandotts, to settle and reside near them, do hereby donate, grant, and quitclaim forever, to the Wyandot nation, three sections of land, containing six hundred and forty acres each, lying and being situated at the point of the junction of the Missouri and Kansas rivers.

"ARTICLE 2. The Delaware chiefs, for themselves and by the unanimous consent of their people, do hereby cede, grant, quit-claim, to the Wyandott nation, and their heirs, forever, thirty-six sections of land, each containing six hundred and forty acres, situated between the aforesaid Missouri and Kansas rivers, and adjoining on the west the aforesaid three donated sections, making in all thirty-nine sections of land, bounded as follows, viz.: Commencing at the point at the junction of the aforesaid Missouri and Kansas rivers, running west along the Kansas river sufficiently far to include the aforesaid thirty-nine sections; thence running north to the Missouri river; thence down the said river with the meanders to the place of beginning; to be surveyed in as near a square form as the rivers and territory ceded will admit of.

"ARTICLE 3. In consideration of the foregoing donation and cession of land, the Wyandott chiefs bind themselves, successors in office, and their people, to pay to the Delaware nation of Indians forty-six thousand and eighty dollars, as follows, viz: six thousand and eighty dollars to be paid the year eighteen hundred and forty-four, and four thousand dollars annually thereafter for ten years.

"ARTICLE 4. It is hereby distinctly understood between the contracting parties, that the aforesaid agreement shall not be binding or obligatory until the president of the United States shall have approved the same, and caused it to be recorded in the war department."

["Land Laws of the United States of a Local and Temporary Character," vol. 2, p. 849.]

4. The Walker family are descended from the Montours, for an account of whom see William M. Darlington's edition of the "Journals of Christopher Gist."

times. They read with the comprehension of statesmen the inevitable change soon to come to the land in which they had so recently made their new home.

FIRST EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE NEBRASKA TERRITORY.

The territory embraced at the present time in the states of Kansas and Nebraska, and in addition the territory immediately west of them to the summit of the Rocky mountains, began to be known as "Nebraska territory" or the "Nebraska country" at a period as early as the arrival of the Wyandots at the mouth of the Kansas river. In his annual report for the year 1844, the secretary of war recommended the organization of this territory. In accordance with this recommendation, Mr. Stephen A. Douglas, at that time on the house committee on territories, gave notice, on December 11, 1844, that he would bring in a bill for the establishment of the territory of Nebraska. On the 17th of the same month he introduced the bill, and it was referred to the committee on territories. The bill was amended in the committee, and on the 7th of January, 1845, reported, and referred to the committee of the whole, but no further action was had thereon.

In the meantime Mr. Douglas had been elected to the senate. Here he introduced a bill for the organization of Nebraska territory, which was, on the 20th day of April, 1848, made the order of the day for Monday, April 24, but no further action was had thereon.

Mr. Douglas gave notice, on December 4, 1848, of another Nebraska bill; on the 20th of the same month the bill was referred to the committee on territories, but no further action was had thereon.

After these ineffectual efforts, congress seems to have fallen into indifference in regard to this matter, for nothing more was heard on the subject for four years. But it is more than probable that this long silence was the result of a well-defined policy determined upon by the slave power of the South. The next movement for the organization of Nebraska territory was by the people themselves, and their efforts bore fruit, as we shall see.

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE NORTHWESTERN CONFEDERACY.

The movement in congress to organize a territorial government for a territory which would include or surround their lands deeply interested the emigrant tribes. Their treaties provided that their lands should not become a part of any state or territory, and that they should never be made subject to the laws of any state or territory. The introduction of bills into congress for the establishment of a territory to be called Nebraska convinced the emigrant tribes that they would be called upon to surrender their lands to the government at an early date.

Such interest arose, and so great became the concern, that the emigrant tribes called an Indian congress to discuss this and many other matters. This congress met at or near Fort Leavenworth, in October, 1848.[5] The emigrant tribes, consisting of the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawatomie, Shawnee, and Miami, were the original members of the Northwestern Confederacy of Indian Tribes. The council-fire of the ancient confederacy was rekindled at this congress, and all the functions pertaining to it were reaffirmed and reenacted. Two other tribes, the Kickapoos and Kansas, were received into the confederacy, assumed its duties and obligations, and agreed to abide its decisions. The Sacs and Foxes were present. They had been the enemies of the Wyandots for a century; peace between them had not been declared.

Such was the awe in which they stood of the Wyandots, that when Governor Walker rose and displayed the wampum belts — the archives and records of the

5. Governor Walker's journals of that date. See, also, Clark's "Traditional History of the Wyandotts," 132.

confederacy — the chiefs of these tribes kept their eyes fixed upon him. Governor Walker was an eloquent man. He was familiar with the language of the tribes of the league. These belts had not been explained nor shown in council for a quarter of a century. Many a young warrior saw them here for the first time and heard from the official oracle what his father had often repeated to him about the ancient compact. Grizzled warriors looked upon them and thought of the glory of long-gone battle-fields where they had met the enemy and gathered many a bloody trophy. At length Governor Walker took up a long belt upon which was worked a blood-red tomahawk, indicating the declaration of war upon the Sacs and Foxes by the confederacy at the instigation of the Wyandots. At sight of this belt the chiefs of these tribes sprang to their feet, uttered a whoop of warning, and fled in terror, followed by their warriors. Messengers were sent after them, but they could not be induced to return to the congress.

This congress lasted several days, and the ancient and honorable position held by the Wyandots since the founding of the league was confirmed anew to them, and they were continued as the head of the Northwestern Confederacy, and made keepers of its council-fire.

THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN CALIFORNIA.

Gold in California! How these words stirred the nation! The mechanic flung aside his tools; the minister deserted his pulpit; the student forsook his books and his school; the physician abandoned his patients; the pale and sickly clerk put by his yardstick and tore himself from the ribbon counters and dimity shelves; the lovers embraced their sweethearts and swore by the stars to be true and faithful beyond the Sierras all these joined in a motley throng and fell into long, irregular lines, moving with all haste over prairie, mountain, burning desert and scalding alkali plains, animated by the common hope of being able to gather a portion of the golden harvest of the enchanted streams of California. It was claimed in speeches delivered in congress that during the years 1849–'50 more than 100,000 emigrants passed through what is now Kansas and Nebraska, on their way to the El Dorado by the Golden Gate. No such movement had ever before been seen in America. The hardships experienced on the plains and in the mountains were often beyond description.

The construction of a railroad to the Pacific ocean to obviate these sufferings, and to bring back the golden treasure for which they were borne, was advocated and discussed. It became the settled conviction that some means aside from the ox-team must be devised for the connection of the East and the West. Many of these Argonauts passed through the lands of the emigrant tribes. To them the purpose to build this road, and the presence of the gold hunters, was another evidence that they must soon surrender their lands. They came to the conclusion that this was inevitable. If they must sell their lands they desired to obtain as high a price as could be procured. They came to see that the organization of Nebraska territory would enhance the value of their lands, and from thenceforth were in favor of the measure.

BENTON'S GREAT NATIONAL HIGHWAY TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

On Monday, December 16, 1850, Thomas H. Benton introduced into the senate of the United States a bill providing for the construction of a "great national highway" from St. Louis, Mo., to San Francisco, on the Pacific ocean. In his explanatory remarks preceding the introduction of this bill, among other things, he said:

"It is to be national in its form and use, not consisting of a single road adapted to a single kind of transportation, but a system of roads adapted to all kinds of traveling, and of all kinds of carrying, free from monopoly, and free from

tolls. It proposes a railroad and a common road, to be begun at once, and the common road finished next summer; with such other roads, either macadamized, plank, or additional tracks of railroad; and a margin for lines of magnetic telegraphs, running parallel to each other, and at sufficient distance apart to avoid interference, and yet near enough together to admit of easy transition from one to the other. This fulfils another requisite of nationality; for a nation must contain people of all conditions, rich and poor, and of all tastes and tempers, and addicted to all the modes of traveling. Some, to whom time is everything, and money nothing, and who demand rapidity without regard to cost. Others to whom money is an object, and time a subordinate consideration, and who want a cheap conveyance, no matter how slow. Others again who may choose to carry themselves, going on a horse, or in a vehicle, or on foot. All these will be accommodated, and without crowding or jostling; a mile wide for the whole, and an ample track for each, gives room for all."

The road was to be owned by the government, and about one-tenth of the public demain, as it existed at that time, was set aside as a fund for its construction; also the excess, over cost of collection, of the customs of California, Oregon, Utah, and New Mexico.

But Senator Benton was not permitted to push the construction of this enterprise to an issue in congress. The growing arrogance and the insolent intolerance of the slave power antagonized him in Missouri. In 1850–'51 he stood for reelection to the senate, and was defeated. However, St. Louis returned him to the house of representatives. He was in favor of the organization of Nebraska territory. Long before, he had insisted that the point where Kansas City now stands was to become a great commercial center. The defeat of Colonel Benton was the result of the existence in Missouri of two uncompromising and bitterly hostile factions in the democratic party of that state. One faction was led by Senator Benton, Willard P. Hall, Frank P. Blair, jr., and to some extent by the St. Louis *Republican*, the principal newspaper of the state. This faction favored the organization of Nebraska territory, and stood for the rights of slavery as defined by existing law, and were appalled at the proposal to repeal the Missouri compromise.

The inspiring genius of the other faction was William Cecil Price,[6] of Springfield. He inaugurated and carried to a successful issue the fight on Senator Benton, and he did not abate his efforts until Benton had been twice defeated for senator. He was the trusted and supreme representative in Missouri of the slave power of the whole South. By birth he is a Virginian, and a direct descendant of Cecil (Lord Baltimore) who settled in Maryland. At the time of which we write he was in the prime of life, and was a man of rare ability and a sanguine enthusiast. He was an ideal leader, imperious in manner, aggressive, fearless, bold, adroit, and fertile in resource. He spurned public office, and it

6. William Cecil Price was born in Tazewell county, Virginia, and is a descendant of the Wittens and Cecils of Maryland, two of the most aristocratic families of America. He came with his parents to Greene county, Missouri, in 1828; was prominent in the politics of the state until the war; was an able lawyer, and was elected to many places of honor and trust while a young man, but he never sought office. Later in life he stood high, not only in the councils of his party in Missouri, but in the democracy of the nation, and could have had what he chose; but the routine of office was irksone to him, and it was only when the question of removing the deposits in the mints from New Orleans was agitated that he consented to accept the office of treasurer of the United States, under President Buchanan. He was urged to retain this position by President Lincoln, but refused. He was an advocate of secession and the representative of the highest councils of the slave power of the South in Missouri. He selected Claiborne Jackson to be the candidate of the democratic party for governor of Missouri, and organized and carried to a successful issue the fight on Col. Thomas H. Benton; but in defeating Benton he divided the democratic party in Missouri. He joined the confederate army, was captured at Wilson's Creek, and for a long time was confined in the military prison at Alton, Ill. In manner Judge Price was haughty and imperious, but no gentler or kinder man ever lived. His life has been absolutely blameless and chaste; he is an old-school Southern gentleman; he is simple in manner and quaint in expression; he has a keen sense of humor, and at times cannot resist expressing it. A friend once introduced him to a stranger and remarked, "Judge Price was in the United States treasury under President Buchanan." "Yes," said the judge, "and in the penitentiary under President Lincoln."

was with difficulty that he was induced to accept the position of treasurer of the United States under President Buchanan. Senator Atchison was his man of action in western Missouri, and seldom has a leader had a more faithful and capable lieutenant. His cousin, Sterling Price, was also a reliable subaltern and faithful follower, and for his fidelity was rewarded with the governorship of the state. This faction stood for the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and opposed the organization of the territory of Nebraska unless slavery could be expressly made one of its fundamental institutions.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF NEBRASKA TERRITORY.

But it remained for the emigrant Indian tribes to make the first effective efforts in the work of securing the organization of Nebraska territory. All the agitation of the matter in the states produced no tangible result. It, however, aroused the opposition of the government. Governor Walker says:

"These discussions attracted the attention of the interior department, and drew forth official intimations that the government could not allow any portion of that territory to be occupied or settled by white people; and that the president was authorized to employ, if necessary, the military force of the United States in removing from the Indian country all persons found there contrary to law.

"But, unfortunately for the government, it turned out that it was the Indians, not the indigenous, but the emigrant Indians themselves, especially the Wyandots, that warmly favored the occupation by white people of the vacant lands, and the ultimate organization of the territory."

These people petitioned the first session of the thirty-second congress upon this subject, and asked for the organization of a territorial government for Nebraska territory. These petitions were accorded little or no consideration. They now decided to adopt a more aggressive course, one less easily passed by with inattention. They determined to elect a delegate to the thirty-second congress, and send him to attend the second session of that body, to be held in the winter of 1852–'53. The chief men in this course were William Walker, Abelard Guthrie, Joel Walker, Matthew R. Walker, Isaiah Walker, Francis A. Hicks, George I. Clark, Charles B. Garrett, Russell Garrett, Joel W. Garrett, Silas Armstrong, Matthew Mudeater, and John W. Greyeyes.

The election was held in the council-house of the Wyandot nation, on October 12, 1852. Governor Walker notes it in his journal, and says: "Attended the election for delegate for congress from Nebraska territory. A. Guthrie received the entire vote polled."

Mr. Guthrie says[7] of the difficulties he was forced to face: "One Colonel Fauntleroy, commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth (and now, I believe, of the rebel army), threatened to arrest me if I should attempt to hold the election." And in a communication to the New York *Tribune*, August 9, 1856: "I met with many difficulties, and on one occasion was threatened with imprisonment by the commanding officer of one of the military posts in the territory for my attempt at 'revolution,' as he called it."

For the purpose of neutralizing any effect this irregular action might have in congress, the military authorities, at the suggestion of Senator Atchison, decided to hold an election for delegate, also. A Mr. Barrow was put forward as the candidate to be voted for, but the people were tired of delay and voted for Guthrie, who defeated Barrow by a vote of fifty-four to sixteen at this second election.

Mr. Guthrie left home for Washington November 20. Upon his arrival in Washington he set to work with his usual energy to accomplish the purpose for

7. Letter of Abelard Guthrie to Governor Walker, now in my collection.

which he was sent. His efforts bore fruit. On December 13 Willard P. Hall introduced a bill for the organization of the Territory of the Platte, with the following boundaries: On the south, the thirty-sixth degree and thirty minutes; on the north, the forty-third degree; on the west, by the summit of the Rocky Mountains; on the east, by Missouri. Mr. Hall's bill was referred to the committee on territories but was never reported. In lieu thereof, William A. Richardson, of Illinois, from the committee, reported a bill, on February 2, 1853, providing for the organization of Nebraska territory, with boundaries identical with those in Hall's bill. In the committee of the whole the bill met with strong opposition from Southern members, and was reported back to the house with a recommendation that it be rejected, but on February 10, 1853, it passed the house by a vote of ninety-eight to forty-three. It was sent to the senate on the following day. Here it was referred to the committee on territories, of which Stephen A. Douglas was chairman. February 17, Mr. Douglas reported the bill without amendment. The term of congress would expire by limitation March 4, and Mr. Guthrie was anxious to have the bill taken up as long before that date as possible. It was not taken up, however, until March 3, when it was laid on the table by a vote of twenty-three to seventeen.[8] Mr. Guthrie believed he had a majority in the senate for the bill, and this was probably true could the vote have been had at an earlier date. In his letter to the New York *Tribune*, Mr. Guthrie says that the bill was not reached in the senate, but this is an error.

While Mr. Guthrie was not admitted to a seat in the house, and did not secure the passage of his bill, he accomplished the purpose sought in his election. He forced a consideration of the question of the organization of Nebraska territory. The passage of the bill in the house and the close vote upon it in the senate was taken by the slave power to indicate the question was certain to be considered at the coming session of congress.

The Wyandots determined to proceed with the work of securing the organization of Nebraska. We have ample evidence of this in the following document, which was given to me by Hon. Allen Johnson, head chief of the Indian territory Wyandots.[9] It is in the handwriting of Governor Walker, though unsigned. It is a legal document, and was probably handed to the council of chiefs during a joint session of the legislative committee and the council. The legislative committee was the highest tribunal of the Wyandot government. While it is not dated, it is evident that it was written at the time of which we are speaking:

"The legislative committee previous to adjournment deemed it necessary to make some formal and official expression of its views upon our Indian relations as they now exist, and upon our relation with the United States in the present aspect of affairs.

"*First*, then, it is well known that for the last hundred years a league has existed between the following tribes, viz.: Wyandott, Delaware, Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawatomie, Shawnee, and Miami. This league unanimously elected the Wyandott keeper of the council-fire, where all diplomatic and other important matters involving the interests of the several tribes composing this league were to be discussed. Whether in peace or war, this league maintained a unity of mind and action in all important measures. On the happening of any important event interesting to them, it appears from past history that the keeper of the council-fire was the member whose duty it was to apprise the members, by a confidential runner bearing the official wampum, of the nature of the information received.

"In pursuance of this understanding mutually entered into, the tribes composing this confederacy naturally looked to the Wyandott for all official information of importance to them. Thus the principles of this compact were kept up

8. For confirmation of these statements, see the *Congressional Globe* under proper dates.

9. This paper in my collection.

till, by action of the United States government, the tribes composing this confederacy removed from the north and east to the west of the Mississippi. This caused some derangement in our intercourse with each other; caused an interruption of the usual interchange of friendly messages. Thus matters continued till the autumn (October) of 1848, when the members of the league assembled for the first time in the west and demanded, 'Where is the council-fire'? The keeper promptly responded: 'When I rose from my seat in the east, with my face to the west, I snatched the only firebrand yet burning in the council-fire and brought it with me; here, my brethren, I rekindle it in the west. Light the pipe and scour up my dish and camp-kettle again.'

"At this first session west, all the former arrangements of the league were solemnly renewed, and two other tribes joined us and agreed to incur the responsibilities and abide by the regulations and joint acts of the league, viz., the Kickapoos and Kansas. It is well known the Sacs and Foxes played an unmanly part on this occasion, and we have had no explanation. The Wyandott being thus formally reappointed the keeper of the council-fire in the west, the obligation still rests upon him to discharge faithfully those obligations he incurred when originally invested with this mark of distinction.

"*Second*, our relations with the United States government. It would seem from present indications that the present Indian policy is about to undergo an important and, to us emigrant tribes, vital change. Heretofore the general policy has been to purchase the domain of the red men little by little, and confining him to narrower limits, with the view, as the government said, of compelling him, by the extinction of game, to resort to agricultural and civilized pursuits. This not working well, or rather it was the excuse, the injurious and demoralizing effects of being surrounded by a dense white population being so palpable, induced the government again to change the whole policy to that of colonizing the red race in a new country west, to be assigned them by the government, and to be theirs 'as long as grass grows and water runs'; where they could have their choice of pursuits, either the chase or agriculture, and where they and their descendants would be free from the trammels of state or territorial laws, and be governed by their own laws, usages, and customs. And in order to do this the government threw around the emigrant tribes its strong protecting arm. This change in its policy took place about twenty-two years ago. The next and present apprehended change is that of purchasing of us emigrant tribes the lands assigned, or rather sold to us, to be our perpetual homes. This presents to us a new question. If we submissively fall into this new line of policy, what is to become of us? Further west we cannot go—nor indeed to any other point of the compass, as the government has no more rich-soiled, timbered and watered territory on this continent to bestow upon the red man. What are the emigrant tribes to do? In this exigency the committee would respectfully suggest to the executive council the propriety of sending the messenger with the wampum to the tribes composing the confederacy and such other tribes as emigrated from the east as we may be upon friendly terms with, apprising them of this apprehended change, with a view to a consultation upon this propriety of uncovering the great council-fire, and devising the measures necessary to be adopted in this new cast."

I have it from Matthias Splitlog and many other old Wyandots, that this meeting of the tribes was called, but for what purpose I was at a loss to know until I found this document. This preliminary meeting was held in the Wyandot council-house some time in May, and that the fixing of the time for the formation of the provisional government was determined at that time there is little doubt, although I cannot say that I have found anything positively confirming it. But that it was resolved to hold a convention for this purpose, in the council-house of the Wyandots, on the day appointed for the green-corn feast, I have been assured by a great number of old Wyandots—so many that I have no doubt at all of the accuracy of their statements in regard to it. I was disappointed in not finding mention of it in Governer Walker's journal, but he omitted so many important events that I do not attach importance to his silence on this subject.

In the year 1853 the green-corn feast was fixed to fall on Tuesday, August 9. The other emigrant tribes were notified of this intention to form a provisional

government for Nebraska territory on that day, and asked to send delegates; and all white men then resident in the territory among the emigrant tribes were requested to be present and participate in the work. Russell Garrett says these notices were written. Only such white persons as were then in the service of the government in the capacity of agents, missionaries, agency farmers, agency blacksmiths, agency carpenters and licensed Indian traders were permitted to live in the "Indian territory." I have the assurance of a great number of the first settlers of Wyandotte county, as well as of the older Wyandots, that Colonel Benton was advised of this conclusion of the Wyandots, and that he approved it, if, indeed, he had not urged it.

The fixing of the location of the line of the railroad soon to be built to the Pacific ocean now became a factor in the movement for a provisional government for Nebraska territory. Iowa wanted the initial point of this road on her western border. Missouri, without regard to party or faction, supported the route proposed by Senator Benton, and insisted that the valley of the Kansas river was the logical, most central and most practicable way. Ever since the enormous and phenomenal emigration to California, the initial point of this "great national highway" proposed by Colonel Benton had been a matter of contention between the people of Iowa and Missouri, and, to a certain extent, of the country at large. The North, generally, favored Council Bluffs as the starting-point, and insisted that the valley of the Platte was the route of greatest utility, from a national standpoint. The South contended that the mouth of the Kansas river was the better location from which to start. The controversy followed the old line drawn between the North and South by the question of the extension of slavery. From the time of the introduction of Colonel Benton's bill this matter was one of general discussion, and opposing forces were seeking to fix the line of the road where it would best subserve their interest.[10]

A meeting in the interest of the Missouri or central route was appointed to be held on July 26, 1853, in that part of the "Indian country" immediately west of Missouri. The Benton democracy and their adherents in the Indian territory or "Nebraska," for some reason, unknown as yet, determined to hasten the matter of organizing the provisional government, and to form it at this meeting in the interest of the "central route."

The determination to organize the provisional government of Nebraska at the convention in the interest of the "central route" made it necessary that this meeting should be held in the council-house of the Wyandots. Abelard Guthrie was, perhaps, the only Wyandot notified in advance of this change in the program. Governor Walker, in his notes, says: "In the summer of 1853 a territorial convention was held pursuant to previous notice to be held in Wyandot. The convention met on the 26th of July ——." This statement does not say that the notice was that the convention should meet on the 26th of July. In Governor Walker's entry in his journal, describing the convention and its proceedings, he states that he did not attend this meeting until noon, and then only after he had, Cincinnatus-like, been sent for. It is more than probable that he did not know of the change in the order of events until he arrived at the council-house. The series of resolutions adopted by the convention bears only one resolution in his handwriting. And, again, it was not his intention to accept any office in the provisional government. Public office had no attractions for him. He intended that one of his brothers, Matthew R. Walker or Joel Walker, both splendid busi-

10. See the statement of Hadley D. Johnson, in vol. 2. p. 85, and following, in the "Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society."

ness men and possessing fine executive ability, and several years younger than himself, should be selected as the provisional governor.

Among the delegates to the convention were the following persons: William Walker, Russell Garrett,[11] Silas Armstrong, W. F. Dyer,[12] Isaac Munday,[13] James Findley,[14] —— Grover,[15] William Gilpin[16] (afterwards governor of Colorado), Thomas Johnson, George I. Clark,[17] Joel Walker,[18] Charles B. Garrett,[19] Joel Walker Garrett,[20] Matthias Splitlog,[21] Tauromee, Abelard Guthrie, Matthew R. Walker,[22] Francis A. Hicks, John W. Greyeyes, Irvin P. Long, H. C. Long, Captain Bull head,[23] Baptiste Peoria,[24] the Blue-jackets,[25] and other Shawnees.

The only written account of the convention and its proceedings which I have been able to find is that in Governor Walker's journal, and which is as follows:

"Monday, July 25, 1853. Cool and cloudy morning. Resumed cutting my grass. Warm through the day. Sent Harriet to Kansas for some medicines for Mr. C., who has every other day a chill. In the evening three gentlemen rode up and inquired if W. W. resided here. Upon being assured in the affirmative, they stated they wished to stay all night. I sent them to C. B. G.'s. They said they were delegates to the railroad meeting in Nebraska on the 26th instant. I would gladly have entertained them, but owning to family sickness I was compelled to send them where I did.

"Tuesday, July 26, 1853. Very cool and clear. Went over to C. B. G's and got my scythe ground. Warm day.

"On yesterday morning One-hundred-snakes Standing Stone died of *mania-a-potu.*

"At noon a messenger was sent for me to attend the railroad convention. I saddled my horse and rode up to the Wyandot council-house, where I found a large collection of the *habitans* of Nebraska.

"The meeting was called to order, and organized by the appointment of Wm. P. Birney,[26] of Delaware, president, and Wm. Walker secretary. A committee was then appointed to prepare resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting. James Findley, —— Dyer and Silas Armstrong were appointed.

"In accordance with the resolutions adopted, the following officers were elected as a provisional government for the territory: For provisional governor, Wm. Walker; secretary of the territory, G. I. Clark; councilmen, R. C. Miller, Isaac Munday, and M. R. Walker.

"Resolutions were adopted expressive of the convention's preference of the 'great central railroad route.'

"A. Guthrie, late delegate, was nominated as the candidate for reelection. Adjourned."

The resolutions adopted by the convention served the provisional government of Nebraska territory as a constitution. An election was held according to its provisions. These resolutions are copied from the original document now in my collection. It was given to me by Mrs. Margaret Pipe, a Wyandot, now living on the Wyandot reserve in the Indian territory. When in the Indian territory, Governor Walker spent much of his time at the home of Irvin P. Long. As he had given up housekeeping and had no permanent home, he carried all his important papers with him to the Wyandot reserve. He gave Mr. Long this and many other papers. A short time before his death Governor Walker went to Ohio to deliver a series of lectures, and took many of his papers with him. He let some one there have some of them for the purpose of having them copied, but none of them were ever returned to him. I feel very confident that this person was a Mr. George W. Hill. Governor Walker died at the home of Mr. Henry Mrs. Smalley writes me that after his death some one representing a historical

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11 to 25. See notes, on page 110, *et seq.*

26. WILLIAM P. BIRNEY was an Indian trader at Delaware, in the Delaware reserve. I have been able to learn but little of him. He remained in Wyandotte county at least until the commencement of the war. He is frequently mentioned in Abelard Guthrie's journals, and on the 13th of January, 1860, is mentioned as one of the persons owning property in Quindaro City. He may have lived there at that time.

Smalley, in Kansas City, Mo. Mr. Smalley lives now in Springfield, Mo., and society came and got some of his books and papers. So, to the present time, these invaluable papers remain scattered abroad.

Mr. H. M. Northrup and Nicholas McAlpine both told me that the mice destroyed many of his papers, including his history of the Wyandots. I searched for this paper unsuccessfully for many years. I looked through hundreds of receptacles for old papers in the public offices of Wyandotte county, Kansas, in the hope of finding it. I continued the search in the Indian territory. Mrs. Pipe cared for Mr. Long's household during the last years of his life, and her daughter was adopted by him and made his heir by will. She lives in the old Long homestead, where I visited her and secured this paper. She did not know the historical value of these papers, and in house cleaning burned large quantities of them as useless rubbish, so she said.

This is the first state paper of Kansas and Nebraska, and is as follows:

THE PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.

"WHEREAS it appears to be the will of the people of the United States that the Mississippi Valley and Pacific Ocean shall be connected by rail-road to be built at the national expense and for the national benefit; it becomes the duty of the people to make known their will in relation to the location of said road and the means to be employed in its construction. In selecting a route 'the greatest good to the greatest number' should be the first consideration and economy in the construction, and in protecting the road should be the second

In estimating 'the greatest good to the greatest number,' present population alone should not govern, but the capability of the regions to be traversed by the road, for sustaining population should be considered

Economy in the construction will be best secured by the cultivation of a productive soil, where materials for the road exist, along and contiguous to the line of road whereby provisions, labor and materials can be obtained at low rates. Then the farmers with their teeming fields will ever be in advance of the railroad laborer to furnish him with abundance of wholesome food at prices which free competition always reduces to a reasonable standard. At the same time they will be a defense to the work and the workman against savage malice without the expense of keeping up armies and military posts. These too will be the surest and safest protectors of the road when finished and without expense to the Government. But should the road be constructed through barren wastes and arid mountains and upon the frontier of a foreign and jealous and hostile people an immense and expensive military power must be erected to protect it—a power ever dangerous to freedom and desirable only to despots. In view of these facts therefore be it

Resolved That from personal knowledge of the country and from reliable information derived from those who have traveled over it we feel entire confidence in the eligibility of the Central Route as embracing within itself all the advantages and affording all the facilities necessary to the successful prosecution of this great enterprise.

Resolved That grants of large bodies of the public lands to corporate companies for the purpose of building railroads, telegraph lines or for any purpose whatever are detrimental to the public interests, that they prevent settlement, are oppressive and unjust to the pioneer settler and retard the growth and prosperity of the country in which they lie.

Resolved That we cordially approve of the plan for the construction of a railroad to connect the Mississippi valley and Pacific Ocean recently submitted to the public by the Hon. Thomas H. Benton whereby the settlement and prosperity of the vast country between Missouri and California will be promoted and the construction of that great work be rendered much cheaper, more expeditious, and more universally useful.

Resolved That it was with profound regret that we heard of the failure of the bill to organize a government for Nebraska Territory; that justice and sound policy alike demand the consummation of this measure and we therefore respectfully but earnestly recommend it to the favorable consideration of Congress and ask for it the earliest possible passage.

Resolved That the people of Nebraska cherish a profound sense of obligation

to Hon. Thomas H. Benton and to Hon. Willard P. Hall of Missouri for their generous and patriotic exertions in support of the rights and interests of our territory and that we hereby express to them our grateful acknowledgements.

WHEREAS it is a fundamental principle in the theory and practice of our government that there shall be no taxation without representation and the citizens of Nebraska being subject to the same laws for the collection of revenue for the support of government as other citizens of the United States it is but right that they shall be represented in Congress, therefore be it

Resolved That the citizens of Nebraska Territory will meet in their respective precincts on the second Tuesday of October next and elect one delegate to represent them in the thirty third Congress.

Resolved That this Convention do appoint a provisional Governor, a provisional Secretary of State and a Council of three persons, and that all election returns shall be made to the Secretary of State and be by him opened and the votes counted in the presence of the Governor and Council on the second Tuesday of November next and that a certificate of election shall be issued by them to the person having the largest number of votes.

Resolved that while we earnestly desire to see this territory organized, and become the home of the white man, we as earnestly disclaim all intention or desire to infringe upon the rights of the Indians holding lands within the boundaries of said territory

Resolved That the people of Nebraska Territory are not unmindful of the services rendered by our late delegate in Congress the Hon Abelard Guthrie, and we hereby tender him our sincere thanks and profound gratitude for the same

Resolved that this Convention nominate a suitable person to represent Nebraska Territory in the 33d Congress

Resolved that Editors of Newspapers throughout the country favorable to the Organization of Nebraska Territory and to the Central Route, to the Pacific Ocean are requested to publish the proceedings of the Convention

Resolved That the Editors of newspapers throughout the country who are favorable to the organization of Nebraska Territory and to the Central Route to the Pacific Ocean are requested to publish the proceedings of this Convention."

Indorsed on the back are these words:

"Preamble and resolutions to be submitted to the Nebraska Convention to meet on the 26th July 1853"

No boundaries were fixed for the territory for which the provisional government was organized, but the language of the resolutions makes it plain that it was the territory as defined by the Hall and Richardson bills.

Each faction of the Missouri democracy determined to secure the delegate to be elected in the following October. The Price-Atchison faction had a tremendous advantage in this contest, in that they controlled the patronage of the Indian bureau of the department of the interior, while Mr. Guthrie, Benton's representative, could only depend upon his own personal efforts and the personal efforts of his friends.

Handbills were printed containing the record of the proceedings of the convention. These were distributed, and were copied into the newspapers of Missouri. We find the following entry in Governor Walker's journal:

"Thursday, July 28, 1853. A. Guthrie called upon and dined with us to-day. Received the printed proceedings of the Nebraska territorial convention. Great credit is due the proprietors of the *Industrial Luminary*, in Parkville, for their promptitude in publishing the proceedings in handbills in so short a time."

Governor Walker mentions the issuance of the proclamation for the election of a delegate as follows:

"Saturday, July 30, 1853. Well, by action of the convention of Tuesday last I was elected provisional governor of this territory. The first executive act devolving on me is to issue a proclamation ordering an election to be held in the different precincts of one delegate to the thirty-third congress.

"Monday, August 1, 1853 Issued my proclamation for holding an election in

the different precincts in the territory on the second Tuesday in October, for one delegate to the thirty-third congress."

This proclamation was printed and distributed throughout the territory, and in all probability it was printed in most of the newspapers of Missouri. Their preparation for distribution is mentioned by Governor Walker:

"Monday, August 8, 1853. Geo. I. Clark, secretary of the territory, called this morning and delivered the printed proclamation (200 copies) for circulation."

The provisional government had hoped that no candidate would be put forward to stand for election against the regular nominee of the territorial convention. While the leaders of the Price-Atchison democracy of Missouri had opposed the organization of a provisional government, and believed that the slave power could prevent the admission of Nebraska territory and the recognition of its provisional government, it still believed it best to participate in the election for delegate to congress. A strong man in thorough sympathy with the extremists of the slave power of the South was sought for and found, in the person of Rev. Thomas Johnson, missionary of the M. E. church south to the Shawnees. Mr. Johnson resided near Westport, Mo., in the Shawnee country. The Shawnee and Kickapoo tribes are closely related by blood, and Mr. Johnson's nomination was made in the country of the latter tribe. Governor Walker says: "A few days after the adjournment of this convention another, rather informally, was called at Kickapoo, at which Mr. Johnson was nominated as candidate for delegate. The latter then yielded to the wishes of his friends and became a candate in opposition to the regular nominee."

Having secured a strong candidate, the Price-Atchison democracy brought to bear every influence at their command to secure his election. The commissioner of Indian affairs came to the territory, where he remained more than a month to personally influence the emigrant tribes (and perhaps the other tribes) to vote for Mr. Johnson. Governor Walker leaves us enough evidence to confirm this:

"Tuesday, September 6, 1853. Mr. Commissioner Manypenny came over in company with Rev. Thos. Johnson to pay the Wyandots a visit. The council being in session, I introduced him to the council, to which body he made a short address.

"Thursday, October 6, 1853. Received a letter from Major Robinson informing me that Commissioner Manypenny wished to have an interview with the council to-morrow.

"Friday, October 7, 1853. Attended a council called by the commissioner of Indian affairs. Speeches were passed between the parties on the subject of the territorial organization, [and] selling out to the government.

"Tuesday, October 11, 1853. Attended the election for delegate to congress, for Wyandott precinct. Fifty-one votes only were polled. A. Guthrie, 33; Tom. Johnson, 18. The priesthood of the M. E. church made unusual exertions to obtain a majority for their holy brother. Amidst the exertions of their obsequious tools it was apparent it was an up-hill piece of business in Wyandott.

"Monday, October 31, 1853. I suppose we may safely set down Thomas Johnson's election for delegate as certain. It is not at all surprising, when we look at the fearful odds between the opposing candidates. Mr. Guthrie had only his personal friends to support him with their votes and influence, while the former had the whole power of the federal government, the presence and active support of the commissioner of Indian affairs, the military, the Indian agents, missionaries, Indian traders, etc.—a combined power that is irresistible."

The territorial council canvassed the returns of the election at the Wyandot council-house November 7, 1853, and issued a certificate of election to Mr. Johnson on November 8. Governor Walker notes these transactions in his journal:

"Monday, November 7, 1853. Attended at the council-house at an early hour, though in poor health. The territorial council, secretary and governor

then proceeded to open the returns of the territorial election. After canvassing the returns, it appeared that Thomas Johnson had received the highest number of votes, and was declared elected delegate to the thirty-third congress.

"Tuesday, November 8, 1853. J. W. Garrett, deputy secretary, attended at my house, and we issued the certificate of election to Thomas Johnston, delegate elect to the thirty-third congress."

The Wyandots felt outraged by the action of the commissioner of Indian affairs, but as their interests were so largely in his hands they could do nothing else than submit without protest, and this they all did, except Mr. Guthrie. He filed a contest for the seat of delegate, and vigorously attacked the commissioner of Indian affairs in the public prints. He spent a portion of the winter in Washington, and labored for the organization of Nebraska territory until he was convinced that the slave power would organize two territories and endeavor to make one slave and permit the other to come in free.

THE RESULTS OF THIS MOVEMENT.

Abelard Guthrie declared that Kansas was the arbiter of the destinies of the republic. At the time of the adoption of our constitution slavery was not molested, but was suffered to remain one of the institutions of a government set up for the liberty and perfect freedom of mankind. But even at that time the principles and theories of the Puritan and the Cavalier were antagonistic on this point. Who could have conceived that the spark to ignite the fires destined to burn away this foul barrier to perfect liberty was to be struck out by a people who were, at the time of the formation of our government, pagan savages; and that this should transpire in a land which was at the same time no part of our common country? Yet such is the potency of our institutions that in less than three-quarters of a century this remote possibility became a remarkable fact.

He would be rash indeed who declared that this movement was the cause of the rebellion; but that the organization of the provisional government for Nebraska territory was the immediate cause, the precipitating event, of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the pro-slavery and free-state conflict in Kansas, and, finally, the war of the rebellion, I believe capable of demonstration beyond doubt or question.

The Wyandots, as the head of the Northwestern Confederacy of Indian Tribes, moved for this provisional government for Nebraska territory. This antagonized the plans of the slave power for that country. This premonitory movement inaugurated at the mouth of the Kansas river gathered strength. It raised its head in Washington, and its voice was heard in the halls of congress. It became formidable through the circumstances enumerated herein. It forced the conflict. The slave power mustered every resource for the final struggle, which it foresaw must be a desperate one, for its existence. But it foresaw, also, that if it retained an existence it could thenceforth dominate the nation. Its first aggressive act in opposition to this movement was the introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The second was the repeal of the Missouri compromise. At this stage the conflict became national; and the little band at the mouth of the Kansas whose action precipitated the struggle had nothing to say in its settlement until it came to open blows and became a question of the life of the nation.

NOTES.

11. RUSSELL GARRETT is the son of Charles B. Garrett and the nephew of Governor Walker. He lives in Ventura, Cal., and is the only delegate to the convention known to be now living. He wrote out his recollections of the convention for me.

12. W. F. DYER "lived and kept a store on Grasshopper river at the military crossing, on the road leading from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley," Russell Garrett writes me. He was afterwards county treasurer of Jefferson county, Kansas. See "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 3, p. 305.

13. ISAAC MUNDAY was a blacksmith for the Delawares and lived at the "Delaware Crossing." This was the point where the military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott crossed the Kansas river. This was only a very short distance above the point where the southwest corner of the "Wyandot Purchase" was fixed on the Kansas river. His house is marked on one of the old maps of the "Wyandot Purchase," although it was on Delaware land. Russell Garrett says: "I remember Isaac Munday very well. He was a blacksmith for the Delawares. He had a shop and lived at what was called, at that time, the military ferry. It crossed the Kansas river on the military road leading from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott. He lived in Westport, Mo., before he was appointed blacksmith for the Delawares. I now remember that he was a delegate to the convention. I do not remember where he went to when the Delawares got through with him, if I ever heard."

14. JAMES FINDLEY was an Indian trader at that time and lived at the "Delaware Crossing." He traded with the Delaware and Shawnees. I have this information from many persons yet living in the Indian territory, and from Maj. John G. Pratt. Russell Garrett says: "James Findley lived at the military ferry. He was an Indian trader. He kept a variety store and traded with the Delawares. He lived there with his family, as did Munday, the blacksmith."

15. —— GROVER was the son of a missionary to the Delawares. I do not know certainly his given name. He was either D. A. N. Grover or Charles H. Grover. These were brothers, sons of a missionary from some church in Kentucky to the Delawares. They were both in the council of the legislature of 1855, D. A. N. as a member, and Charles H. as assistant clerk. From the quotations from their speeches given by Wilder, I should think that Charles H. was with the Delawares at the time, and if he was, he is the one that attended this convention. They were lawyers. I find this in Russell Garrett's letter to me: "I knew a Mr. Grover, and he was there, but I do not know where he lived or what he did. But his father was a missionary among the Indians, and was shifted around from pillar to post, so I cannot tell where he lived at that time. It may be that his son lived with him. I do not remember where they went to."

16. WILLIAM GILPIN was at that time editor of some newspaper published at Independence, Mo., or if not editor, then in some way connected with it. He addressed the convention; so says Mr. Garrett.

17. GEORGE I. CLARK was the son of —— Clark who married —— Brown, daughter of Adam Brown, the adopted white man who was chief of the Wyandotts, and who purchased William Walker, sr., from the Delawares. George I. Clark was born June 10, 1802. He was a man of influence in the Wyandot nation, and was elected head chief. He was a good man. Abelard Guthrie says in his journal: "I mourn his loss with tears—the first that have moistened my eyes for years." He belonged to that faction of his people that favored the old church and opposed slavery. He and J. M. Armstrong maintained that slavery was foreign to ancient Wyandot custom and usage. They said, with entire truth, that any member of the tribe must necessarily be as free as any other member of it; that the tribe in ancient times either killed or adopted all prisoners of war. If adopted, they were entitled to all privileges of those born into the tribe. He and the wife of Abelard Guthrie were cousins, and he seems uniformly to have supported Guthrie. He married Catherine ——. They had three children, Richard W., Harriet W., and Mary J. They are buried in Huron Place cemetery, in Kansas City, Kan. The following is copied from the stone at the head of George I. Clark's grave:

[Square and compasses.]
GEORGE I. CLARK
HEAD CHIEF OF THE
WYANDOTT NATION
BORN
JUNE 10 1802
DIED
JUNE 25 1858
AGED 56 YRS
7 MO. 8 DS.

18. JOEL WALKER was a brother of Governor Walker. He was born in Canada West. The three dates of his birth which I have found are all different. In the family Bible of his father the date is July 17, 1813. In Governor Walker's journal the date is February 18, 1813. On his monument it is February 17, 1813. His Indian name was Wa-wahs (Way-wahs), and means "lost turtle," or "turtle in a lost place," and was given to commemorate the manner of his birth, which was on this wise: His mother, Catherine Walker, like all her maternal ancestors, was familiar with the languages of many of the tribes of the Northwest, and had very great influence with them. Her presence was required at many of the councils of consequence. At one time she was sent for to act as interpreter in an important meeting, which would determine some question for some tribe relating to the war of 1812. Her period of maternity was fulfilled, or nearly so, and she objected to the journey to the meeting. But as the council could not proceed without her, the warriors procured a wagon and team, and, having bundled her into this rough conveyance, started away in the darkness, over rough roads. In the black darkness of the cloudy night the horses left the way, and they were soon driving aimlessly about through the dark woods. The result was as she had feared. She was seized with parturient pains, and a son was born to her while she was lost in the forest. His name was to keep this event in memory.

When Wyandott City (now Kansas City, Kan.) was laid out, a street was named Wawas, for Joel Walker. Some years ago a city council, wholly ignorant of the city's history and the history of its founders, changed the name of the street to Freeman avenue, because Mr. Winfield Freeman built a fine residence on it. The old name should be restored.

Joel Walker was married to Mary Ann Ladd (born July 1, 1819, died January 8, 1886) in Franklin county, Ohio, May 19, 1844. Their children were: Florence, born March 20, 1845, died October 6, 1845; Maria W., born June 17, 1847, died February 26, 1891; Justin, born April 6, 1849; Ida E., born February 22, 1851, died February 16, 1866; Everett, born August 27, 1853, died March 30, 1888. Only Maria W. was married. She was married to Nicholas McAlpine (born in County Down, Ireland, April 5, 1835) June 21, 1866. Their children are: Robert L., born May 8, 1867; Jessie S., born July 19, 1874; Mary A., born January 24, 1882; John W., born June 30, 1887.

On the monument over his grave in the old Huron Place cemetery, Kansas City, Kan., is the following:

IN
MEMORIAM
JOEL WALKER
BORN IN CANADA WEST
FEB 17, 1813
DIED IN WYANDOTT KANSAS
SEPT 8 1857.

19. RUSSELL B. GARRETT sends me the following biographical sketch of his father:

"My father, Charles B. Garrett, was born in Greenbrier county, [now] West Virginia, October 28, A. D 1794. His father's name was William Garrett. His mother's name was Winnaford [Bolt] Garrett. His father was a farmer; all my father's earliest days were spent on a farm. He received a good common-school education. When he was not more than seventeen years old he caught the Western fever, and he and several young men of his acquaintance formed a little company and marched to Vincennes and joined Gov. William Henry Harrison, who was at that time governor of the northwestern territory, comprising Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. Ohio had been made a state only a short time before. The three first named composed what was then called the Indian territory. Harrison was made governor of this latter territory. As governor he was also appointed Indian agent, with his headquarters at Vincennes. And it was here that the little band of brave and determined 'little boys,' you might say, joined him and marched with him to the Tecumseh war. Those boys took part in that ever-to-be-remembered battle of Tippecanoe, in November, 1811. The following year Governor Harrison was made commander of all the forces of the Northwest (in November or September). He at once began preparing to recapture Detroit, which General Hull had surrendered to the British.

"My father stayed with General Harrison's command, doing good work. He was in whereever and whenever there was fighting to do. He was neither wounded nor sick while in the service, and there was plenty of hard fighting done. He was with General Harrison when he embarked on Commodore Perry's ships to cross the lakes to the Canada shore, in pursuit of General Proctor and Tecumseh, who had gone to the valley of the Thames. On the 2d of October, 1813, the Americans began their march in pursuit of General Proctor, whom they overtook in the valley of the Thames river. The battle was brief. The victory of the Americans was complete.

"After the battle of the Thames my father returned to Virginia. On his return he passed through the beautiful country in eastern Ohio. He was met with open arms by his parents and friends and made much of. He did not remain very long at home. He became restless and soon began to plan to return to Ohio. About 1816 he, with several families and friends, formed, near Williamsburg, Greenbrier county, the county-seat, a little colony, and moved to Ross county, Ohio. There father married Miss Kittie Ann White, August 29, 1818. Her father was one of the pioneers of Ross county, and one of the families who moved from Greenbrier county, Virginia, to Ohio. He was a captain in the revolutionary army and a brother-in-law of President Monroe, he having married Monroe's sister, and my father's first wife was a niece of President Monroe. By this marriage there were born three children, Amanda, William, and Wesley. The first two were born in Ross county, Ohio, the youngest in Crawford county, Ohio, my father and several other families having pushed on farther west, where the prospect of getting more and better land was good. His son Wesley was born September 26, 1823. A few days later his wife died of puerperal fever and was buried in Crawford county, Ohio.

"The family record in the Bible says that Charles B. Garrett and Miss Maria R. Walker were married October 31, A. D. 1826, at Upper Sandusky, Ohio. My mother was the daughter of William Walker, sr., and Catherine (Rankin) Walker, his wife, and the youngest sister of the late William Walker, jr. She was born near Detroit August 9, 1807, and being the daughter of Catherine (Rankin) Walker made her what is called a quarter-blood Wyandot Indian. It was through my mother that my father became a Wyandot Indian. After his marriage to her he was regularly adopted by the Wyandots with all the pomp of ceremony of adoption of those early days, at Upper Sandusky, Wyandot county, Ohio, then Crawford county, Ohio. From that day to this he was always recognized as a member of the Wyandot tribe of Indians by all acquainted with him. All his business and social interests were identified with theirs.

"When the Wyandots sold out their lands in Ohio and came west to settle on their lands at the mouth of the Kansas river he concluded to move with them, and did so, although he was doing a good business there in carding and fulling mills and farming, near what is known as Little Wyandot, in Wyandot county, Ohio. In 1843 the Wyandots landed at what was then known as Westport Landing, now Kansas City, Mo. They took up their residence at Westport till they could build their houses in their new homes, he among the rest. He lived but a short time in Westport, but was interested in what was the Wyandot company store.

"My father built his cabin on Jersey creek, close to where the Northwestern railroad track crosses Seventh street. Here he spent most of his life, with but little to vary it. However, in 1849 he took a gold fever and formed a company of Wyandots and whites and went overland to California to dig gold. They were about six months on the way. They found plenty of gold on the north fork of Feather river, but mining did not agree with him. He took what was called mountain fever and was very sick. I was with him on this trip, and with others of the party saw that he was a very sick man. We advised and persuaded till we got him to consent to be taken home. We took him by easy stages to San Francisco, where we embarked on a barque for home. We came on the Pacific and Atlantic oceans to New Orleans. We landed in New Orleans, February 1, 1852, and remained there until the ice melted out of the Mississippi in the spring of 1852. With the exception of one move to Westport and back, he spent all the latter part of his life on the farm on Jersey creek, where his life was quiet and peaceful.

"He died at the age of seventy-three years one month and eleven days, of dropsy, on December 2, 1867, at my house, on corner of Fourth street and Nebraska avenue, in what was then called Brevidore House. His wife, my mother, died a few years before. She also died at my house, May 30, 1866, in the fifty-eighth year of her age, from abscess of the liver.

"I am the only child left of both families. Wesley, the son of his first marriage, died at or near Lecompton, on January 6, 1894, of la grippe. His wife, Sarah (Spurlock) Garrett, died of la grippe December 18, 1893, at Lecompton. They leave three daughters, all married and living in and around Lecompton, Kan. Amanda Roseberry, his oldest daughter, died at Bucyrus, Ohio, in 1895, of blood-poisoning. She leaves four daughters, all married and living in Ohio. The wife of William Garrett, my half-brother, is still living, or was when I heard from her. After my brother died she married James Zane and moved to the Indian territory, to the new purchase under the treaty of 1865."

20. JOEL WALKER GARRETT was the son of George Garrett, who died February 17, 1846, aged forty-six years. George Garrett was the brother of Charles B. Garrett. He married Nancy Walker, a sister of Governor Walker. Joel Walker Garrett was their first child. He was born June 18, 1826. He married Jennie Ayres. Their daughter Nina lives yet in Kansas City, Kan. She married Mr. Charles Trantam. Joel Walker Garrett was appointed deputy secretary of state for Nebraska territory, and seems to have performed most of the labor attached to the secretary's office. He died August 25, 1862.

21. MATTHIAS SPLITLOG was a Cayuga-Seneca by descent, his ancestors having been from each of those tribes. His immediate ancestors married into the Wyandots, and furnished them some of their bravest warriors and chiefs. He was born in Canada in 1816, he has often told me. He married Eliza Charloe, a Wyandot, and came west with the Wyandot nation. His home was in what is now Connelley's addition to Kansas City, Kan. Here, at an early day, he built a horse mill for grinding corn, but was of so eccentric disposition that he often refused to grind. He had a large family of children, and much land was allotted to him for them when the Wyandots accepted their lands in severalty. These lands increased enormously in value and made him the famous "millionaire Indian." Unprincipled white men swindled him out of much of his money. He built and equipped a railroad from Neosho, Mo., to the Arkansas state line. This road is now a part of the Pittsburg & Gulf main line. He was an ingenious man, and could copy and construct almost any piece of machinery that he had an opportunity to thoroughly examine. It was by taking advantage of his love for machinery that scoundrels interested him in schemes for the purpose of robbing him. He made his home in the Seneca country when the Wyandots moved to the Indian territory. Here he erected a fine church building and a good dwelling. He died there late in 1896.

22. MATTHEW R. WALKER was a brother of Governor Walker. He was born June 17, 1810. He belonged to the Big Turtle clan of the Wyandot tribe. His Indian name was Rah-hahn-tah-seh. It means "twisting the forest," *i. e.*, as the wind twists the forest, and it refers to the willows and reeds along the streams as they are swayed by the breezes. He was one of the leading business men of the Wyandot nation. Before the Wyandots removed from their home at Upper Sandusky he made a trip from Ohio to the Senecas and to the Delawares and Shawnees, for the purpose of selecting a home in the West for his tribe. This was in 1841. Governor Walker had visited the country about the mouth of the Kansas river in 1833 (some say in 1831). On the reports of these and some others of the tribe, the Wyandots came to what is now Wyandotte county, Kansas, when they removed west. Matthew R. Walker lived on the banks of the Missouri where the mansion of George Fowler now stands, in Kansas City, Kan. He married Lydia B. Ladd. One of their daughters is Mrs. Lillian Walker Hale, the well-known writer, who now lives in Kansas City, Kan.

The first communication of a Masonic lodge in what is now Kansas was held in Matthew R. Walker's home, and Mrs. Walker acted as the tyler, there being not enough Masons present to fill the official places. The meeting was an informal one, and these informal meetings were continued up to July, 1854, no Masonic labor being performed or attempted in them. In July, 1854, a warrant was obtained from the Grand Lodge of Missouri authorizing J. M. Chivington, W. M., M. R. Walker, S. W., and Cyrus Garrett, J. W., to meet and work U. D. V. J. Lane says the first meeting under this dispensation was held August 11, A. L. 5854, and a lodge of Masons U. D. was duly organized. The officers of the lodge were installed by Brother Piper, D. G. M. of Missouri.

In May, A. L. 5855, a charter was granted from the Grand Lodge of Missouri to M. R. Walker, W. M., Russell Garrett, S. W., and Cyrus Garrett, J. W., authorizing them to meet and work under the name of Kansas Lodge No. 153, A. F. & A. M. The first meeting under this charter was held July 27, A. L. 5855. On the 27th of December, A. L. 5855, a meeting of the lodges of the territory of Kansas was held in Leavenworth city, at which Wyandotte, Smithton and Leavenworth lodges were represented. At this meeting the Grand Lodge of Kansas was organized. Matthew R. Walker was an officer of the Grand Lodge. In the by-laws of Wyandotte Lodge No. 3, A. F. & A. M., of Kansas City, Kan. (the oldest lodge in the state), is the following:

WYANDOTTE LODGE NO. 3,
IN MEMORIAM.
MATTHEW R. WALKER, P. M. & P. S. G. W.,
OCT. 15, 1860.

Matthew R. Walker was probate judge of Leavenworth county, Kansas, when it included what is now Wyandotte county. He is buried in the old Huron Place cemetery, in Kansas City, Kan. On the monument over his grave is the following inscription:

M. R. WALKER
BORN
JAN 17 1810
DIED
OCT 14 1860

23. CAPTAIN BULL-HEAD belonged to the Porcupine clan of the Wyandot tribe. He had two names. The first was Ohn-dooh-toh, the meaning of which is lost. The second name was Stih-yeh-stah, and means "carrying bark," *i. e.*, as the porcupine carries it in his pocket-like jaws from the top of the hemlock where he has been feeding. Captain Bull-head was the purest in blood of any Wyandot who came west with the nation, but he was not a full-blood, as has been supposed. The last full-blood Wyandot was Yah-nyah-meh-deh, clan unknown, who died in Canada about the year 1820. Captain Bull-head was better informed in the legends and tribal history of the Wyandots than any other member of his tribe, and Governor Walker often consulted him on these subjects. He was in Proctor's army in the war of 1812, and always carried a large knife in a brass scabbard, which he swung over his right shoulder and under his left arm by a brass chain. He died in Wyandott county, Kansas, after the year 1860.

24. BAPTISTE PEORIA was the principal man of the Miami tribe.

25. CHARLES BLUE-JACKET was the son of a Shawnee chief of the same name. He was born in what is now the state of Michigan, on the banks of the river Huron, in 1816. His grandfather was Weh-yah-pih-ehr-sehn-wah, the famous Shawnee chief who was associated with Mih-shih-kihn-ah-kwah, or the Little Turtle, the chief of the Miamis, in the battle in which General Harmer was defeated by the Northwestern Confederacy of Indians, in 1790. In the battle in which Wayne defeated the confederacy, Weh-yah-pih-ehr-sehn-wah, or Blue-jacket, or Captain Blue-jacket, as he was called, commanded the allied Indian forces. The ancestors of the Blue-jackets were war chiefs, but never village or civil chiefs until after the removal of the tribe to the West. When Charles Blue-jacket was a child his parents moved to the Piqua plains in Ohio. In 1832 they removed to that part of the Shawnee reservation in the West now in Wyandotte county, Kansas. Here Charles Blue-jacket lived with his tribe. He moved to the Indian

HISTORY OF NORMAL-SCHOOL WORK IN KANSAS.

A paper by ALBERT R. TAYLOR, read before the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-third annual meeting, January 17, 1899.

IN 1823 the Rev. S. R. Hall, pastor of a church at Concord, N. H., opened a private seminary in that village for the purpose of educating and fitting teachers to keep school. He also admitted a class of children which served as a model or practice school. In 1829 his "Lectures on School Keeping," embracing his talks to his seminary classes, was published and had a wide sale in the Eastern and Central states. He afterwards established teachers' seminaries at Andover, in 1830, and at Plymouth in 1837. In 1839 the Plymouth seminary had 250 students and was furnishing teachers to nearly all of the towns in that part of the state. The success of these and similar teachers' schools awakened general interest, and many educators and literary men from Maine to South Carolina assisted in awakening public sentiment to a sense of their value in an educational system. Edmund Dwight offered $10,000 to found a state normal school, provided Massachusetts would appropriate a like sum. The proposition was promptly met, and the school was opened in 1839 at Lexington with three pupils, all women, the regulations providing for admitting women only. In the next fifteen years less than ten public normal schools were established, but one of them being west of New York, that of Michigan. Is it any wonder, then, that when, in 1862, State Superintendent Goodnow suggested that a state normal school would comfort the people of Emporia, who had failed by one vote to get the state university, that it is said a prominent legislator wanted to know, in a blankety blank way, "What is a normal school, anyhow?"

The thrilling incidents accompanying and following the admission of Kansas into the union delayed but two years the organization of her higher institutions of learning, and the university system was completed by the establishment of the State Normal School in the act approved March 3, 1863. The journals of both houses of the legislature give little information concerning the arguments for and against the school, though there seems to have been little opposition to any provision of the act. Representative Eskridge, in the house, and Senator Maxon, in the senate, easily convinced the members that southern Kansas was entitled to one of the higher institutions of learning. The university and agricultural-college grants, from the national government, had been set apart for the endowment of those institutions. The state had received, under the enabling act of congress, seventy-two sections of so called "salt lands," "to be used as the legislature shall direct." Forty-eight sections of these lands were now "set apart and reserved as a permanent endowment for the support and maintenance of the Normal School established and located by this act." The law of 1869 added twelve more sections to the endowment, and the law of 1886 the remaining twelve sections, making a total of seventy-two sections thus set apart.

The original act provided that all moneys derived from the sale, rent or lease of these lands should be invested in certain specified stocks or bonds, to consti-

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territory in 1871. His home was at the town of Blue Jacket, named for him by the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad Company. He was chief always after coming to Kansas. He was an honest man and much loved by the Shawnees, and greatly respected by the white people. He died in December, 1897, at his home, from the effects of a cold contracted while searching for the Shawnee prophet's grave, in Wyandotte county, Kansas, the previous summer. Mr. Blue-jacket was well acquainted with Lah-uh-leh-wah-sih-kah, called, after he became the prophet, Tehn-skwah-tah-wah, and sometimes Ehl-skwah-tah-wah, and was present at his burial in 1836 in Shawnee township, Wyandotte county, Kansas. Mr. Blue-jacket was a Freemason. He was married three times and twenty-three children were born to him. His youngest child was born in 1889.

tute a perpetual fund, the "interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated by the legislature for the support of the Normal School." It was also provided that the legislature might modify the act at its pleasure, "but such alteration, amendment or repeal shall not cause a removal of said Normal School, nor operate as a diversion or diminution of the endowment fund herein provided for."

All of the lands thus granted to the school have been sold, at an average of six dollars per acre, and the endowment thus provided amounts to about $270,000. From it the school has realized as high as $17,000 in interest per annum, though the low rate of interest has now reduced the income to about $13,000.

The act locating and establishing the school provided for the appointment of three commissioners to select and approve a site, which the town of Emporia had agreed to deed to the state. The site was to include a tract of land of not less than twenty acres. It was not until February, 1864, that an act was passed providing for the organization of the school. It placed the management in a board of nine directors, six to be appointed by the governor, and the governor, secretary of state, state treasurer and state superintendent of public instruction. That act provided very fully many interesting details for the government of the board and the school.

In 1874, however, the legislature enacted a general law providing for the government of each educational institution by a board of seven regents, six of them to be appointed by the governor, and the seventh to be *ex officio* the president or chancellor. The special law of 1876 limited the number of members in the board to six, and provided that all should be appointive, and that they should hold office for four years, half of them being appointed every two years.

Four members of the first board were appointed August 19, 1864, namely: G. C. Morse, C. V. Eskridge, T. S. Huffaker, and J. W. Roberts. David Brockway and James Rogers were appointed August 19, 1865. There was much urging on the part of State Superintendent Goodnow and others, but the school was not opened until February 15, 1865. As no building had been provided by the state, the city of Emporia offered the use of the upper floor of its handsome new school building, and there for two years the new institution found a home.

On February 7, 1866, the governor approved the bill appropriating $10,000 for the erection of a building, with the proviso that it should be regarded as a loan and should be returned to the state treasury from the first sales of land set apart for the use of the school! A building 40x60, two stories and basement, was at once erected on the site selected at the head of Commercial street. On February 19, 1867, another bill was approved, with similar provisions, which set apart $9000 for finishing and furnishing said building. In February, 1872, the legislature appropriated $50,000 for an additional building, on condition that the city of Emporia contribute $10,000 toward the erection of the same. This condition was promptly met, and a handsome new structure was erected a few feet south of the first building. It was dedicated June 19, 1873, T. Dwight Thacher making the inaugural address. This beautiful building, along with the other in the rear, was destroyed by fire, resulting from spontaneous combustion of coal, on October 26, 1878. The city of Emporia again came to the rescue, and at an expense of $1000 immediately fitted up two buildings for class use.

The friends of the school rallied to its support, and in March, 1879, the legislature appropriated $25,000 for a new building, on condition that Emporia and Lyon county should supplement said appropriation with $20,800 in addition. Though Emporia had already contributed $12,000 directly to the school, and in 1870 $6000 more to erect Normal School boarding-houses, the heavy requirement above named, burdensome as it appears, was met by a unanimous vote of both

the city council and the county commissioners. Thus Emporia and Lyon county were compelled to create a bonded indebtedness of nearly $40,000 that proper buildings might be provided and the school continued. The new building rising out of the ashes of the old was entered by the school on May 11, 1880, all joining in singing "Hold the Fort!" the same song whose inspiring strains had cheered them as they sang it, with tears in their eyes, on the morning after the fire. The first building on the north was remodeled for a boiler-house.

The increase in the attendance necessitated more room, and the legislature of 1887 appropriated $25,000 for a wing on the west, which was ready for occupancy in February, 1889. Hardly had the new rooms been assigned until it was evident that still more liberal provision should be made for the school, and the legislature of 1893 appropriated $50,000 for a wing on the east end of the main building. It was completed and dedicated on September 4, 1894. The entire structure is nearly 300 feet long, is three stories and basement, and contains eighty rooms—all admirably adapted to the purposes of the school. It is fitted up with modern appliances and in a general way is well equipped for its mission. The assembly-room is probably the finest college hall in the entire West. The site, buildings and equipments are estimated as worth about $200,000, making the total value of the plant, including the endowment, about $470,000.

Before turning to the study of the work of the school, I beg permission to speak here of the other normal schools organized by the state.

An agitation for more normal schools began in 1869 and has periodically recurred at nearly every session of the legislature. On May 3, 1870, what was known as the Leavenworth Normal School was established. The city furnished a building and appropriations were regularly made to it until 1876. It was organized with John Wherrell as president, and in 1874 had about 100 students.

A law approved March 1, 1872, appropriated $2500 for the support of a normal school for colored people in connection with Quindaro University, at Quindaro. I do not find that any appropriations for the Quindaro normal have been made since that time. The school appeared to have attracted few students and interest in it was not sufficient to induce further expenditures.

The Concordia Normal School was established in 1874, under conditions similar to those under which the Leavenworth school was established. E. F. Robinson was appointed principal for the first year, and ex-State Supt. H. D. McCarty president at the opening of the second year. The announcement for 1875 showed eighty-six students for the year.

The miscellaneous appropriation bill for 1876 contained a few items to meet some old normal-school accounts at Leavenworth, Concordia, and Emporia, and the death-sentence of at least two of them, in the following proviso:

"Provided, that these appropriations to the Leavenworth Normal School, the Concordia Normal School and Emporia Normal School shall be received in full for all claims against the state, and that said schools cease to be maintained at the expense of the state, and that under no circumstances shall the regents of said institutions incur any liability or create any debt beyond this appropriation; and the state shall not be liable for any expense in excess of this appropriation; and that the Leavenworth and Concordia normal schools cease to be state institutions."

At the next session of the legislature a strenuous effort was made to reestablish the Concordia school, but the bill was killed in the committee. In 1887 a bill providing for a uniform system of normal schools was introduced in the legislature, but it met the same fate.

Returning again to the State Normal School at Emporia, we take up the administrative side of its work.

The two men whose faith in the school showed itself in never-tiring work in the early years were Rev. G. C. Morse and C. V. Eskridge. Both of them served seven years on the board of regents, and spared no labor to place the school on a permanent footing. Many of their suggestions, even concerning details of administration, were adopted, and still remain as characteristic features of the school. The former was sent to Normal, Ill., to select a principal. As a result of such negotiation, Prof. L. B. Kellogg, a graduate of the Illinois Normal University, was placed at the head of the school, and on February 15, 1865, classes were organized, and the school entered on its mission. Eighteen pupils were present, and the parable of the sower seemed an appropriate reading. Before the year closed the total enrollment had increased to forty-three.

Prof. H. B. Norton, of Illinois, was called as vice-principal later in the year, and the school assumed very much the same atmosphere as that of the university at Normal, after which it was gradually modeling. Probably no men were ever more happily adapted as yokefellows to give character and enthusiasm to an institution of learning than these two. The attendance doubled the second year, and the enrollment for 1870 was 243, or about six times as many as for 1865. The school "was much visited and talked about" in the newspapers; even the Indians made frequent visits of inspection. On May 2, 1865, a four days' institute was organized, and thus was laid the foundation of the great institute system of Kansas. Professor Norton, after ten years' service in Kansas, accepted a chair in the San Jose, Cal., State Normal School, where ten more busy and growing years rounded out a life of wide-spread usefulness. Principal Kellogg resigned in June, 1871, and since then he has devoted himself to the practice of law, holding many honorable positions at the hands of his fellow citizens, among them those of state senator and attorney-general. He has never lost interest in the school and has often been of eminent service to it.

He was succeeded by Dr. George W. Hoss, ex-state superintendent of public instruction of Indiana, a man of fine general culture and of recognized ability as an educator. The change reduced the attendance a little, but the new building erected in 1873 added greatly to the attractiveness of the school. Hardly had Doctor Hoss become acquainted with the field when an offer from Indiana enticed him back to the Hoosier state.

Dr. C. R. Pomeroy, of Iowa, probably the most learned man who has filled the position, was elected to the vacancy. These changes in the administration of the institution were accompanied with more or less friction among the faculty and students, but the attendance in 1875 ran as high as 375. After the legislature withdrew all support from the school in 1876, the board authorized President Pomeroy and such assistants as might desire to do so to continue the school and charge fees for their salaries. The attendance dropped to 125 in 1877, and to ninety in 1879. Intense opposition to President Pomeroy developed in the city, and, though the board unanimously supported him, the trouble became a matter of state-wide notoriety. A tornado greatly damaged the main building in April, 1878; Agent Bancroft embezzled a large sum of money derived from land sales; and internal dissensions also bore heavily upon President Pomeroy. The destruction of the building by fire in October, hereinbefore mentioned, with charges and counter-charges of carelessness, forced him at last to resign, at the end of the school year, June, 1879. The record of these years of self-sacrifice, of misunderstanding and of final defeat is pitiful enough for tears.

Supt. R. B. Welch, of Illinois, was called in August to the position. Almost an entire new faculty was appointed. The endowment derived from sales of lands had begun to bring a little income to the school, the interest for 1879 amount-

ing to $6675.17, and in 1880 to over $9000, thus enabling the school to employ a small faculty, and to anticipate greater things in the near future. Thus the school survived the crisis in spite of the fact that no appropriations were made for 1880–'82–'83, and but a few hundred dollars all told for the running expenses of the school for the years 1877–'78–'79–'81.

President Welch gave additional prominence to the strictly professional subjects, basing them more directly upon psychological laws, and established the kindergarten training class. He visited many parts of the state, awakening enthusiasm and making friends on all sides. The school seemed to be entering upon a career of great usefulness when, to the surprise of its friends, President Welch resigned, in the spring of 1882, that he might enter the practice of law. The present incumbent was invited to fill the vacancy, and entered upon the duties of his office in August, 1882. The impetus given to the attendance by President Welch and his able associates carried the attendance for 1883 to 452, and there has been an average increase of about 100 students in the normal department every year up to the present time. Last year the attendance in the various departments aggregated the sum total of 1957, ninety-three counties and nineteen states being represented.

The mileage system for students outside a radius of 100 miles, adopted in 1883, has enabled the school to cover the entire state. About 200 students now receive mileage each year. In 1884 the legislature had the courage to ignore the proviso in the law of 1871 which said that no appropriations should ever be made in the future for the school, and set apart over $5000 for repairs and other incidental expenses. Since that time it has been making more liberal appropriations for similar purposes each year. The legislature of 1898 made an appropriation for salaries for each of the years 1898–'99 of $28,950, and instructed the regents to use the interest and fees for departmental and other current expenses. The total expenditures for the support of the school, including buildings, apparatus, salaries, and endowment, have been about $1,050,000.

The school is organized in accord with the most advanced plans for conducting such institutions. The normal department provides instruction in all branches which the teachers in the public schools, including high schools, are required to teach, as well as liberal courses in psychology, child study, school law, philosophy of education, history of education, school methods, and school management. The professional branches of course differentiate the school from other higher institutions of learning, but all of these academic subjects are taught with the pedagogical side in view, the work in the common branches being particularly comprehensive and exhaustive. The model school is organized as a typical graded school, embracing the work from and including the kindergarten to the high school. It serves as a pedagogical laboratory to the normal department, and is as essential to it as a chemical laboratory to the department of chemistry. Here pedagogical principles are exemplified and tested and the student given practice in the art of managing and teaching children.

Every candidate for graduation is required to spend one hour per day for one year, or its equivalent, in this school, observing and teaching. The various grades are under the care of experienced critic teachers, whose friendly counsel and advice are of incalculable value to the pupil-teachers. The model school was established in 1867 and reorganized in 1880. Though it is maintained and used as a practice school, and a fee of five dollars per term is charged, it frequently happens that applicants are denied admission for lack of room, showing its high standing and popularity in a city noted for the excellence of its schools.

Even if desirable, time would not permit a brief sketch of the origin and de-

velopment of the different departments of the school. Suffice it to say that, as rapidly as the income would permit, they have been established, until now some seventeen departments are fairly well equipped for their specific work, several of them equaling those of the best colleges in scope and variety. Three years ago child study was added to the curriculum and, combined with the work in elementary psychology and the kindergarten, furnishes a fine basis for the special training of primary teachers. The department of drawing was established as early in 1885 and now occupies two handsome and liberally equipped rooms on the third floor. Last fall the department of manual training was organized and it has already become a popular feature of our work. The natural-science departments have grown to such an extent that they now occupy ten rooms, including laboratories and museums.

No single feature of the school has grown more rapidly than its library. In 1884 there were scarcely 1000 books in the library, everything having gone with the fire in 1878. Now there are nearly 14,000 volumes on the shelves, the average increase since then being nearly 1000 volumes per year. The books have been selected with great care, and as a working library it has few superiors. Four large and well-lighted rooms accommodate the library, and they are usually crowded with stndents.

The department of vocal and instrumental music has grown to an equal prominence with the other departments. In 1882 there was but one piano in the building; now there are fourteen, including the four pianos belonging to the literary societies and those in use in the gymnasium, kindergarten, and assembly-room. There are also several claviers belonging to the department, some of them, as well as some of the pianos, being the private property of the professor of music.

The work in physical training, for a score of years a popular feature of the school, has been made a regular department under an expert teacher.

There are now forty instructors in the faculty, including head professors, associate professors, and assistants, many of them of high standing in state and nation.

It is difficult to discover in a definite way what any school has done for its state. Universities and colleges are usually pleased to point to the number of high officials in state or nation among their graduates, or to the number of eminently successful business or professional men, as if these were the only or even the best tests of their efficiency. If a similar test were to be put on the State Normal School, it would already, though but a third of a century old, be found rich in men and women occupying high positions in educational and professional fields, and even in the business world, though practical business and party politics are not included in its curriculum.

A glance at the alumni register shows that four of them are professors in state colleges; thirteen professors in state normal schools in six different states and territories, one of them being the principal; one is professor of pedagogy in a college of good standing; and several others are professors in good colleges in this and other states, one of them being at the head of the Mennonite college in this state, and one at the head of the Mennonite mission school of Manitoba. Graduates and undergraduates are superintendents of four Indian schools, Haskell Institute and Chillocco, I. T., the most important schools next to Carlisle, being among them. Twelve of the graduates are assistant teachers in the State Normal School of Kansas; twenty-six of them occupy important city superintendencies, including three of the six really first-class cities of the state—Topeka, Leavenworth, and Pittsburg. It is worthy of remark here that no other Kansas college has a representative in these first-class-city superintendencies. About 100 are

principals of third-class-city schools, and about a dozen of ward schools; twenty are principals of high schools, and forty-two assistant principals and teachers in high schools. The principalships of two of the six county high schools are filled by its students, and graduates are teaching in the remaining four. Two hundred of its graduates are teaching in the grades in the city schools, and fourteen former students were elected to county superintendencies in November last. But when we consider that probably not over one student in six graduates at the school, it is easily seen that these figures show in a very poor way the number of graduates and undergraduates at work in the schoolroom and in other learned professions. They also fail to show much that they have been doing in the last third of a century.

It is estimated that there have been, all told, about 10,000 different matriculations in the normal department. Of these, 1115 have been graduated. Nine years since, inquiries brought us the names of over 700 undergraduates, former students, 600 of whom were teaching. We cannot think that there are less than 2500 State Normal School students actually teaching in the schools of Kansas to-day. About one-fourth of the members of the State Teachers' Association are from its ranks. It has furnished two out of every five of the association presidents for the last fifteen years. Three-fifths of the State Normal School students are young women and, in the natural order of things, most of them become home-keepers after a few years of service; and what fine mistresses of the manse does this education make of them! The foregoing showing would be doubled if all of them remained in the schoolroom; and yet scarce a score of its graduates can be fifty years of age and most of them are still to earn recognition in the schools.

But numbers and positions easily mislead, if the inquiry ignores the only true test of all educational work, wider outlook, healthful growth, greater efficiency.

The Normal School stands for a principle. It maintains that all good teaching rests upon a scientific basis; that that basis has been fairly well established and that methods of teaching should be in harmony with it. The Normal School holds that there is just as much difference between modern scientific teaching and ordinary schoolroom instruction as there is between modern methods of treating ores and the old wasteful methods of smelting, or between the modern scientific method of lighting buildings and that which relied wholly upon tallow dips. Far-reaching and brilliant have been the discoveries and advances in medicine and surgery, but they have not been greater than those of pedagogy. The triumphs of scientific warfare in the late war were not more assured than are the triumphs of scientific school keeping.

The Normal School, at its founding in Kansas, undertook to demonstrate and disseminate rational educational principles and to introduce improved methods of instruction. It soon became the center of a great movement. Its students went to all parts of the state carrying a new gospel. The members of the faculty, by lectures and by the public press, aroused a new interest in education. Institutes were organized and the teachers awakened to a sense of the defects of their work and of the value of rational method. So industriously and successfully were these lines pursued through the years, that at last our splendid normal-institute system was established, and now every teacher in the state is required to go through the form, at least, of passing an examination in the theory and practice of teaching.

The Normal School early discovered that a knowledge of elementary psychology, or of the child mind and its order of growth, is necessary to an intelligent understanding of even the simplest problems of instruction, and largely through its

efforts that idea is embodied in every teachers' examination given in Kansas today.

Pardon a personal reference. I came to Kansas nearly seventeen years ago. At that time, in my tours of inspection, I seldom found a teacher successfully using laboratory methods in teaching the sciences. As a member of the state board of education, it fell to my lot to prepare the course in some of them for the county institutes and to prepare the questions on the same. Both course and questions met with general protests, even a member of my faculty insisting that I was asking some impossible things. They were, however, at once worked out in our laboratories, and gradually the teachers throughout the state learned three things: First, that it does not require a university education to make many interesting and instructive experiments in the sciences; second, that a great variety of them can be made with very simple and inexpensive apparatus; and third, that the stimulating as well as the educational effect of these experiments lends a new charm to every subject in which used. Almost at the same time the methods in teaching geography in the state were revolutionized through the efforts of the teacher of geography at the State Normal School. Among the first normal schools in this country to establish a kindergarten was the State Normal School of Kansas. Probably no one will question the statement that in a few years it had, directly or indirectly, elevated and improved the work of nearly every primary teacher in the state. I need not speak of the changes brought about in the teaching of arithmetic and grammar and history and drawing and other subjects. The details, though interesting to us, might not be to you.

In all of these, and in other lines, the school has endeavored to serve the teachers of the state, in season and out of season. It would be unpardonable arrogance for me to claim that the Normal School alone has accomplished all that has been done. No one knows better than I the value of the other forces that have also been at work. Lack of time forbids enumerating them, but their cooperation is gladly acknowledged.

These improvements would not have been possible, however, save for the unyielding and aggressive stand which the Normal School has ever taken with reference to two things: (1) Scholarship as a basis for professional preparation; (2) acquaintance with the theoretical and practical processes of scientific school-teaching as essential to success in the training of children.

The result of all this is seen in the awakened interest in all lines of professional study. At this time there are probably 5000 Kansas teachers making a special study of the child mind under the direction of the teachers' reading circle, a movement which had its origin at the Normal School. It is seen in the state course of study for public schools, which is in accord with the most advanced thought of our times, much of which would have been Greek to nearly every teacher twenty years ago. It also had its origin at the State Normal School, the most modern parts in it having been adapted and prepared by members of its faculty and by its graduates. It is seen also in the awakened conscience of the teaching profession, in the new dignity which has come into the schoolmaster's life, in richer experiences, in wider vision, in more satisfactory service.

But what of the future of normal-school work in Kansas? That must rest in large measure with the legislature. If the safeguards are maintained and more liberal provisions are made, the foundation now so well laid will not fail in giving to the state still higher and higher types of teachers.

THE KANSAS SOLDIERS' MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

An address by COL. W. F. CLOUD, delivered before the Kansas Historical Society, at twenty-third annual meeting, January 17, 1899.

IT may be truly said that history knows no future; scarcely apprehends the present; knows only the past. My theme, nevertheless, requires me to refer to both the present and the future. It might well be divided into two main topics —Kansas soldiers, and a monument for Kansas soldiers.

The history of this great commonwealth shows that she began to battle for the principles which were the involvement of the civil war six years before any other state had raised a regiment. The slavery propaganda—the lovers of slavery more than the union—sowed dragon's teeth on this fair soil, which speedily sprang up as armed men. The pioneers of liberty in Kansas, having such early contentions, were prepared and ready for the final and successful battle for liberty and national unity. In that final contention, Kansas sent more men to swell the ranks of the federal army, in proportion to population, than any other state; she had a larger percentage of her soldiers killed or wounded in battle than any other state.

When the immortal Lincoln called for military aid that he might enforce the laws and repossess national property, one regiment was required from Kansas, and two responded. All other requisitions were filled with patriotic alacrity. Seventeen regiments and three batteries were mustered into the United States service. It was my privilege to know the field-officers and many of the subalterns and enlisted men of all those commands: to join them in parades and reviews, and to be with them in camp, on the march, and in the trying realities of battle. They are the first topic of my theme—"Kansas Soldiers"—they the subject of review.

I will not say, with a distinguished soldier and orator, "The past rises before me like a dream," for the recollections of those times and of those men are too vivid and too real to be classed with the mystic films of which dreams are mostly composed. Oh, the personnel, the characteristics, the style, the achievements and the death of those thousands of men, as they pass in retrospection and review! How they cause varied and commingled emotions to contend for supremacy! Who can so well concentrate thought and gratify emotions as the poet, when he sings his "Echoes of the Old Camp Ground"?

Oh, sing for me to-night these brave and merry songs,
  When bright and warm the cheerful camp-fire blazed.
At twilight's lonely hour, with comrades gathered 'round,
  We gaily sang those oft-repeated lays.
How quickly beats my heart when comes the echoed strain,
  I listen now to catch the faintest sound;
Though other songs are sweet, none are so dear to me
  As the song we sang upon the old camp-ground:
    John Brown's body lies moldering in the grave.

I hear the bugle pealing forth its brazen notes,
  I listen to the rolling of the drum;
The sounding call to arms, the battle's clash and din—
  Like mocking echoes with the song they come.
The fire is burning low, the sentry lonely treads
  With slow and measured steps his weary round;
All these I seem to see, as I listen to the song—
  The song we sang upon the old camp ground:
    Yes, we'll rally 'round the flag, boys, rally once again!

Where are my comrades now? Oh, why am I alone?
Go ask it of the mocking echoes: Why?
Go stand upon the plains and count their lonely graves,
Where on a hundred battle-fields they lie.
Then wonder not that I should love those simple strains,
Though sadder mem'ries cluster thick around;
Though other songs are sweet, none are so dear to me
As the song we sang upon the old camp ground:

Many are the hearts that are weary to-night,
Wishing for the war to cease;
Many are the hearts looking for the right,
To see the dawn of peace.

Tenting to-night, tenting to-night,
Tenting on the old camp ground;
Tenting to-night, tenting to-night,
Tenting on the old camp ground.

Those songs, and marches, and alarms, and battles are past forever. The union soldier achieved and succeeded in all his objects and ambitions. The laws were sustained and government property recovered to lawful custodians. No rebel flag floats to the breeze to-day; no foe to national unity, no advocate of secession, no scheme or desire to reenact slavery. Scarcely a reactionist who would undo aught of the work so well done by the union soldier—the grand volunteer reinforcement who aided the police force of the nation to suppress a rebellion. Never again in the history of this commonwealth will there be a struggle to exclude human slavery—to defeat the slave propaganda. Never again will her patriotic citizens and civil officers be arrested, imprisoned, tried and condemned because of their devotion to liberty and the cause of a free-state organization. Never again will the First and Second Kansas campaign with General Lyon, fight another bloody battle at Wilson's creek, check the march of secession, and save Missouri to the union. Never again will Deitzler, and Mitchell, and Blunt, and Wier, and Montgomery, and Ewing, and McCook, and Jennison, and Judson, and Jewell, and Phillips, and Martin, and 17,000 other soldiers from Kansas, make a history and reputation for loyalty, skill and courage upon bloody battle-fields, so as to justify the maxim of her eccentric but daring general and senator, Lane, in saying, "It has become a proverb: As brave as a Kansas soldier." The true Kansas soldier was never a filibuster: his battles, like those of America, have been fought upon vital fundamental principles, and, with victory achieved, the sword has been sheathed, and the cannon's lips have been allowed to become silent and cold.

So, with the era of peace, the Kansas soldier and his children, and the soldier from other states and his children, have made rapid conquest of the land, and against many difficulties, disasters and hardships have made a great commonwealth, so that the few of a third of a century ago have become the many of to-day.

What will Kansas be a hundred years from now? Or what a quarter of a century from this hour? Shall patriotism continue to be a marked characteristic of her eventual millions? Shall the memory and record of the noble deeds of her first population be an incentive to love of liberty and of country? Shall the deeds of Kansas heroes be appreciated, and thus memories be cherished with emotions of state pride? Will citizen and official, drawing inspiration from history, continue to say, "It is a glorious thing to be a Kansan"?

Although the majority of Kansas soldiers have been mustered out—death having given them their final discharge—and the graves of many have been so neglected or unidentified that they are lost to view and location, it has been

deemed an act of patriotic duty and of justice to provide for the perpetuation of their names and deeds by the erection of a suitable monument which will be equal to any and superior to many erected by other communities. To this end an association has been incorporated, directors elected, a plan of visitation adopted, and an agent (myself) appointed to secure needed funds and organize auxiliary societies throughout the state. In the line of such duties I am here to make these announcements, and to prepare the public for other efforts in behalf of the cause; and now, in the name of the directors, I thank this Historical Society for its recognition of this adjunct to its honorable efforts to preserve names and events in the history of the state.

It is scarcely too much to say that Kansas owes a duty to her distinguished officers and private soldiers, who, in the language of a director of the Monument Association, "helped to make the state what she is to-day, and they should be remembered by an enduring monument. Kansas never gave her soldiers anything. She was poor then. Now she is great and prosperous, and cannot afford to be indifferent to the memory of the men who made her greatness possible." We look up at the sun, we contemplate the solar system, and stand firmly upon the solid earth. We know something of the laws of nature; we think all these to be of eternal duration. But when we think of ourselves and of the citizenship of this state, we know that we are mortal and must all pass away. Still we would perpetuate eras and events, and the names and achievements of men and of armies. How? When the children of Israel ended their wanderings and crossed the Jordan, dry shod, they were bidden to take from the stones of that stream the materials with which they should erect a perpetual memorial of the wonderful event.

It is now proposed that the citizens of Kansas, those who participated in her early trials and triumphs and those who have become citizens by birth or adoption since those times, shall take of Kansas materials and erect upon Kansas soil a suitable monument, so that, some time in the first decade of the twentieth century, and from then on forever, the citizen or stranger who passes through the state upon the great highways of traffic and travel shall, at some suitable place, look upon a shaft which, piercing the skies, shall testify to the deeds and record the names of soldiers who made Kansas to stand in the front rank of the immortal patriots who saved the union; and which shall also immortalize the pioneers of Kansas, who, by successful contention with difficulties, secured for Kansas a place among the states, justifying her motto, "*Ad astra per aspera.*"

SOME PUEBLO RUINS IN SCOTT COUNTY, KANSAS.

By S. W. Williston and H. T. Martin, of the University of Kansas.

INTRODUCTION BY S. W. WILLISTON.

FOR the past fifteen years or more the existence of certain remarkable ruins in Scott county, Kansas, has been known to the people of the vicinity, and to certain others who have visited the locality, attracted by their fame. The writer first heard of them while engaged in geological work in the Smoky Hill valley in 1891, but found it then inconvenient to examine them, though his interest was much excited. While in their vicinity in the summer of 1898 he seized the opportunity, in company with a friend, Mr. W. O. Bourne, of Scott City, to visit the immediate site of the ruins and make such brief examination of them as the time would permit.

The ruins are situated in the valley of Beaver creek (wrongly called Ladder

creek on the maps), in the northern part of Scott county, twelve miles due north from Scott City, and about ten miles south of the Smoky Hill river, as shown on the maps, precisely where the township line touches the most eastern bend of the creek. At this place the valley of the creek, which here runs nearly north, is less than a mile wide, surmounted on either side by high bluffs of Tertiary material. The immediate valley is excavated in the Cretaceous chalk. The result is that here, as elsewhere in western Kansas where like geological conditions obtain, the underflow through the porous Tertiary sandstones, over the impervious chalk floor, comes abundantly into the valley, furnishing a considerable stream of water. Perhaps no stream in the western part of the state offers more favorable conditions for irrigation than does this in its lower part. In the dryest years there is always an abundance of water in the stream, and in the deep pools along its course there are always many fish. About a half mile above the site of the present ruins, the tertiary underflow comes to the surface along the side of a hill in such perpetual abundance that it is utilized in the irrigation of a considerable tract of land.

These two facts—easy facilities for unfailing and extensive irrigation, and a fish- and beaver-producing, perpetually flowing stream—are undoubtedly explanatory of the location of the ruins at this place. The ruins are situated near the middle of the valley, close to the stream, and away from any possibility of ambush by hostile savages. They occupy a small knoll of ground, and, as first seen by us, consisted of a low, rounded heap of soil and stone, perhaps 75 or 100 feet in diameter, the soil wholly overgrown by buffalo-grass. The rocks are the coarse sandstone of the neighboring hills. A small excavation had been made near the middle of this mound by previous explorers, perhaps two feet in depth and of a dozen square feet in area.

The foregoing, together with a brief account of the results of the short exploration made by us, and by persons living in the vicinity, and some conjectures as to the origin of the structure, was read by me at the meeting of the Historical Society in the autumn of 1898, and was published in the *Kansas University Quarterly* for January, 1899. My object at the time was simply to call attention to the ruins, which I was satisfied represented the work of either white men or Pueblo Indians of a time antedating the present century. A newspaper version of my remarks made me say that I believed the ruins to have been the work of Coronado's expedition. My only statement concerning Coronado was: "It may have been Coronado who was here, but that is a conjecture." For this opinion as published I was taken severely to task by Mr. Jones, of Washington. I do not now and never did believe that any of the Coronado expedition was responsible for the construction of the buildings hereinafter described. Nevertheless it is believed by one who is certainly competent to have an opinion on the subject—Mr. Joel Moody—that the ruins do date from the time of Coronado. Such an origin would not be impossible were the ruins of a consistent character, which they are not. In connection therewith, it is of interest to state that in 1887 an old Spanish sword, bearing the inscription

"No me saquer san razon
No me embainer sin honor"

was discovered on the Walnut thirty-eight miles southeast of the ruins, and is now in the possession of Mr. John T. Clark, of Ellis, Kan. Mr. Moody has contended that such relics ought to be found in this region, and the sword goes a long ways toward substantiating his theory that Coronado's expedition entered at the western part of the state and not in the southern, as has been generally believed.

However, my interest in the subject being much excited by the letter of Mr. Jones, as published in the *Mail and Breeze* in September of last year, I requested Mr. H. T. Martin, assistant in the geological museum of the university, and who had long resided in the vicinity of the ruins, to undertake their exploration. Mr. Martin's skill and intelligence in such work of exploration have had the most happy results. In the course of about three weeks he thoroughly excavated the ruins, and made careful collections of all tools, implements and refuse material found there; has carefully measured, photographed and described them all. The material collected has been brought to the university museum, and after careful restoration of the broken objects has been placed for safe-keeping in the university cabinet. I regret that many of the photographs cannot be reproduced in connection with this article.

One fact is established from the explorations—the ruins are of Pueblo origin. Of this there can be no question. The plan of the structure is only such as the Pueblo Indians could have devised and carried out. It is not the work of white men, either Spanish or French, though it is very probable that both the Spaniards and French may have occupied this and other structures at this locality at later times, or even contemporaneously with the Pueblos. The finding of an iron ax, of rude and primitive workmanship, it is true, indicates white men's skill. It is very evident, also, that other metal instruments were used by the occupants. Several of the manufactured articles show clearly the imprints of metal saw teeth.

The origin of the ruins is of course not positively proven, yet I believe that concerning even this there is scarcely a doubt that they represent the old fortified place known as Cuartelejo, founded about 1650 by a party of Indians who fled from the oppression of the Spaniards, from Taos, in New Mexico. The only information concerning this place that I have so far been able to obtain is from works of Hubert Bancroft, vol. XVII, on Arizona and New Mexico, and the succeeding quotation, to which Col. H. L. Moore has kindly called my attention. From the volume cited, it appears that

"about the middle of the century [the seventeenth] there was a backsliding of certain families of Taos, who went out into the eastern plains, fortified a place called Cuartelejo, and remained there until the governor sent Juan de Archuleta to bring them back." (Page 166.) "Captain Uribarri marched this year out into the Cibolo plains: and at Jicarilla, thirty-seven leagues northeast of Taos, was kindly received by the Apaches, who conducted him to Cuartelejo, of which he took possession, naming the province San Luis and the Indian rancheria Santo Domingo." (Page 229.)

This was about 1706.

"A leading event of Valverde's rule was his expedition of 1719, with 105 Spaniards and 30 Indians, being joined on the way by the Apaches, under Captain Carlana, against the Yutas and Comanches, who had been committing many depredations. His route was north, east, southeast, and finally southwest back to Santa Fe. He thus explored the regions since known as Colorado and Kansas, going farther north, as he believed, than any of his predecessors. He did not overtake the foe, encountering nothing more formidable than poison oak, which attacked the officers as well as the privates of his command. On the Rio Napestle, apparently the Arkansas, Valverde met the Apaches of Cuartelejo and found men with gunshot wounds received from the French and their allies, the Pananas and Jumanas. An order came from the viceroy to establish a presidio at Cuartelejo, some 130 leagues from Santa Fe, in the heart of the Apache region; but a council of war decided this to be impossible, believing the viceroy had meant Jicarilla, some forty leagues from the capital, as the site, and that even there twenty-five men would not suffice." (Page 236.)

One hundred and thirty Spanish leagues, which was measured on such expeditions by pacing, are about 450 miles. This on the map, in a direct line from

Santa Fe, brings the locality of Cuartelejo within a score or two of miles of the site of the ruins on the Beaver. Cuartelejo, thus being located north of the Arkansas, must necessarily be within a short distance of the present locality. As there is no other place so well suited for a settlement anywhere within a hundred miles or more of the Beaver, in Scott county, the conclusion is almost certain that the present site corresponds to Cuartelejo.

"In 1727 Bustamente notified the viceroy that the French had settled at Cuartelejo and Chinali, 160 leagues from Santa Fe, proposing an expedition to find out what was being done, and asking for troops for that purpose; but it was decided that such an *entrada* was not necessary, though all possible information should be obtained from the Indians."

The following quotation is from the narrative of Fray Silvestie Velez de Escalante, April 2, 1778, as translated in the *Land of Sunshine*, vol. XII, No. 5, p. 314; the parentheses are by the translator:

"The second of my (reasons) is that in the middle part of the last century some families of Christian Indians of the pueblo and tribe (nacion) of Taos uprose, withdrew to the plains of Cibola (not Coronado's 'Cibola,' but the buffalo plains) and fortified themselves in a place which afterwards for this (reason) called the Cuartelejo, and they were in it until Don Juan de Archuleta, by order of the governor, went with twenty soldiers and a party of Indian auxiliaries and brought them back to the pueblo (Taos). He found in the possession of these revolted (Taos) Indians casques (text, casos, apparently a misprint for cascos) and other pieces of copper and tin, and when he asked them where they had acquired them they replied 'from the Quivera pueblos' to which they had journeyed from Cuartelejo."

DESCRIPTION OF RUINS BY H. T. MARTIN.

Since the reading of Professor Williston's paper on "An Ancient Sod House in Western Kansas," before the Historical Society, the writer has, at his request and under his advice, spent some time in making a thorough examination of the ruins, with most interesting results. Before giving a detailed description of the results, the writer wishes to thank, not only Doctor Williston for his assistance and advice, but also Mr. H. D. Steele, who owns the land upon which the ruins are situated, for his kindness and assistance, with team, plow, and scraper, gratuitously given; and Mr. H. H. Hatheway, for information concerning the probable course of the old irrigation ditch. For an account of the locality and surrounding region, the reader is referred to the preceding paper by Doctor Williston.

In the excavation of the chief structure referred to in the cited paper, all possible care was taken to avoid mutilating the plastering with which the walls were covered, thus permitting the exact size and shape of each room to be ascertained. As now excavated, the walls are about two and a half feet in height. The structure measures fifty by thirty-two feet in size, and stood as nearly due east and west in its greater measurement as it would be possible to locate it with an ordinary compass. The outer walls were of heavy stone, from eighteen inches to two feet in thickness, and were cemented or grouted together, making the full measurement of the building about fifty-three by thirty-five feet. The building site, as has been described by Doctor Williston, was a slightly raised mound, about seventy-five yards from the bed of Beaver creek, which here affords an abundance of water for both irrigational and domestic use. By the side of the building there are two large, hollowed out places, which had probably been used for the puddling and mixing of the adobe employed in the construction of the building. The stone used in the building, all of which had been brought from the surrounding hills, was considerable in amount, and many single pieces are all that a man can lift.

About 100 yards south of the main edifice there is evidence of several other,

smaller buildings, all of which must have been constructed of adobe alone, since no rock remains. These smaller structures, two of which were examined by us, yielded no utensils or other relics; nor could their size and shape be made out with certainty. Both of these buildings, as well as the large one, present evidence of having been destroyed by fire, whether as the result of some accident or by Indian foes one cannot say, of course. From the fact that no human bones were found anywhere about, the probability of design is lessened. That the larger structure had been destroyed by fire there can be no doubt, since the adobe is burnt, and charcoal is thickly scattered everywhere; the stone and bone implements also all show evidence of fire. Rooms IV and VII, as I have designated them, show only slight evidence of the fire, and it is possible that one or both of these rooms had never been covered, and hence contained but little subject to destruction by fire. Room IV had portions of the rotted posts, evidently used as a ladder, remaining.

Charred corn was found in every room except VII, in some places four or five inches deep. In room V there had been four or five bushels of this corn in a slightly hollowed out place at one side.

About twenty-five yards north of the main structure there appear to have been three or four small structures, each separated a small distance in an east and west line parallel with the main building. These structures were apparently circular in outline, and were perhaps tepees.

The most interesting room in the structure is the one I will designate as room I. Its dimensions were seventeen feet by thirteen feet and nine inches. It had a raised dais or platform on two sides, about six inches high: that on the west side five feet and three inches wide: that on the north side two feet. The wider one was doubtless used for sleeping purposes, and the narrower one as a bench. Very near the center of the room there is a box-like receptacle, formed of thin stone set edgewise. Like the others described further on, the bottom of this one was about six inches below the level of the floor, and its size was eighteen by twenty-one inches. It had been plastered at the bottom, and contained, when examined, a quantity of clean wood ashes. The receptacle may have been for the grinding and mixing of corn. In the southwest corner of the room there is a peculiar structure three feet nine inches in length by two feet and one inch in width, inside measurements, built of adobe. Its walls are eighteen inches in height at the west end and twelve at the east end, the slope gradual from one end to the other. The walls, five or six inches in thickness, had been nicely rounded at the top. In the middle, and joined to the west end, is a small platform, about sixteen inches in length by twelve in width, raised about six inches above the bottom of the grooves which surround it. These grooves, shaped somewhat like a U, sloped toward the closed end. This part was filled with ashes, suggesting that the use of the oven was for the baking of pottery. Near the east end was a large hole, twelve inches in diameter and eighteen inches in depth, covered with a flat rock. It contained nothing save fine dust.

The walls and floors were nicely plastered. The plastering gave no indications of finger marks, but seemed to have been smoothed off with some instrument. Stones that might have answered such uses were found in the rooms. In this room was found a small pipe, decorated with horizontal markings. Here also were found a needle or awl for the sewing of hides, several arrow-heads, fragments of pottery, and bone needles. The remains of two posts, about eighteen inches apart, were found in the northeast corner, evidently for the uprights of a ladder for ingress and egress. Similar holes in like positions were found in the other rooms. There were no indications of doors or other openings in any of the

rooms. The roof was evidently made of willow poles or brush covered with adobe, as large quantities of the latter show impressions of twigs.

Room II was sixteen feet and four inches in width by eighteen feet six inches in length, and had both wall and floor plastered. The fireplace was two feet by one foot seven inches in size, and close by it was a hole twelve inches in diameter. On the east end there was a bench, as in room I, four feet two inches in width, and on the north side one two feet in width, while on the other two sides the width was but twelve inches, but raised to about ten inches in height. Close to the fireplace was found a grooved stone maul, ribs with marks of a saw upon them, arrow points, pottery, bone and stone scrapers, and a small pipe. On the ledge at the east end was found the half of an iron ax or wedge. The iron is of course much rusted, and the tool appears to have been split longitudinally and transversely by some mishap. It had a groove near the head, instead of an eye, for the attachment of the handle, after the manner of the stone axes of the aborigines. This room contained more charred corn than did any of the others.

Room III was fourteen by thirteen feet in size, with plastered walls and floor, the corners rounded at the east end and square at the west. It had a fireplace eighteen inches by twenty-four, and a raised bench four feet wide at the west end. The holes for the posts supporting the roof and for the ladder were as in the other rooms. The plastering turned up about the posts showed that this work had been done after the roof had been placed over the structure. This room furnished grinders and several bone implements—scrapers and fleshers—made from the shoulder-blade of the buffalo and deer or antelope. The wall posts were rotted in the ground, and not burnt as in the other rooms, nor were the bone implements partly burned, as was the case with those in the other rooms. In this room, also, was found a part of a musical instrument, a flute or flageolet, made from the wing bone of a large bird; also a bone implement with a serrated edge.

Room V was the smallest in the building, being only ten by fourteen feet in size. It had well-plastered walls and floor, a fireplace seventeen by twenty-two inches in size, a large quantity of corn, arrow-heads, grinders, scrapers, pottery, etc. Close by the fireplace there was a hole in the floor covered by a flat stone that had been undisturbed. At its bottom was found half of a clam shell, which had been sawed lengthwise by a toothed saw, the tooth marks being very plainly apparent. In the northwest corner was a small oven, nine inches in width and sixteen in depth, excavated from the wall of the room and plastered throughout. It contained three or four inches of wood ashes in the bottom. In this were also found three oval and one square adobe bricks, about ten by fourteen inches in size, flattened above and rounded below. They may have been used in the baking of tortillas.

Room VI was ten feet five inches in width by thirteen feet and eight inches in length. The level floor had been plastered, as also the fireplace, which was eighteen by twenty-six inches in size. There was a narrow partition between this room and room V, and since no indications of a ladder were found here it is possible that the two rooms had been connected. Several scrapers, of bone and flint, together with grinders, etc., were found here.

Room VII, thirteen feet square, differed from all others in having no fireplace or plastered walls. Numerous bones of bison, deer, antelope, coyote, badger, etc., were discovered in this room. The only relics were bone and flint scrapers. Probably the room had been used as a sort of storehouse, and not for human dwelling.

The pottery found was in part composed of plaster of Paris, possibly obtained

from the crystals of selenite scattered over the chalk exposures in the vicinity. A number of ribs were found which had been smoothed at one end into a sort of spatula, and had probably been used in the making of pottery or in the plastering of the building. Coiled as well as smooth pottery was found, but only a single piece that showed evidence of decoration. Some of this pottery has been submitted to Professor Hewitt, of Las Vegas, N. M., who has given much attention to the work of the Pueblo Indians. He was of the opinion that all this pottery had been introduced from New Mexico, and had not been made in the vicinity of the building or village. Probably this is the furthest east that such pottery has yet been found.

In one of the rooms were found several squash seeds; some between two pieces of pottery, in good condition, others much decayed.

Mr. H. H. Hatheway informs me that the earliest settlers here utilized what were undoubtedly the remains of an old irrigating ditch in digging their own ditches in the vicinity of the present residence of Mr. Steele, and which ditches he now uses in the irrigation of his garden.

KANSAS IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

An address by Maj. W. L. Brown, of the Twenty-first Kansas regiment, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-third annual meeting, January 17, 1899.

TO write the part that Kansas took in the Spanish-American war would necessarily take a close inspection of the records of the war department. While it is easy to speak of our Twentieth, Twenty-first, Twenty-second, and Twenty-third, this does not include the boys from the Sunflower state engaged in all branches of the service. They were with Dewey at Manila bay; with Sampson and Schley on their fleets, manning the guns that sunk the pride of Spain; they were in the charge at San Juan hill—in fact, wherever on land or sea battle was given, Kansas was representated by her brave sons, who never disgraced their uniforms or the state, all fighting to relieve an oppressed people from the hellish acts of Spain and her tyranny, and to allow Cuban people and their generations yet to come the blessing of breathing the health-giving air of liberty.

When President McKinley, in compliance with the resolution declaring war, issued his call for troops, there was no state in the union responded more quickly than Kansas, and the reason why this is so needs but little explanation. Our characteristic painted stronger than all else is justice and patriotism. In the dark days of '60 and '65 Kansas furnished more troops according to her population than any state in the union. At the close of that war thousands, yea, tens of thousands, of men who wore the blue crossed

> " . . the prairie as of old
> Our fathers crossed the sea,
> To make the West, as they the East,
> The homestead of the free."

Their influence on the generation that took part in the conflict cannot be measured. Patriotism has been taught from the schoolhouse, from the pulpit, from the rostrum, and the beacon lights of the G. A. R. hall. The great soldier state of Kansas was ready for the fray, and had the call been tenfold in number that it was, they would have been equipped and sent to the front with the same energy that sent those three regiments under the first call. Perhaps I could find no words that would describe the condition better than the copy of the telegram

sent by our chief executive at that time, in reply to one from the secretary of war in regard to stating the number we should have under the second call:

"TOPEKA, May 28, 1898.

"*Hon. Russell A. Alger, Secretary of War:*

"In reply to your telegram saying it will require 990 men to fill the organization of Kansas troops already in the field to maximum, will say that the three regiments from Kansas left the state with ranks filled to the maximum according to your instructions. Three thousand men signed the roll, and not one made his mark. If you will give us two regiments under this call, we will fill them with the same kind of men, and any subsequent call will be met promptly, and no draft will ever be needed in Kansas, and if more men are needed in the regiments already organized they will be promptly furnished.

(Signed) J. W. LEEDY,
Governor of Kansas."

The statement made by the governor in regard to any man belonging to the three regiments, which I had the honor to help recruit, is absolutely true, and is attributed to the educational intelligence of our people, and stands unparalleled in the history of the war and the quota from the different states.

I had the honor of being the first officer sworn in the service of the government under this call, and was assigned the recruiting to be done in the seventh district, and raised six companies in that number of days. Whoever says that the boys of the seventh district, and for that matter I can safely say of the state, enlisted for the financial consideration that they would receive, is a prevaricator beyond hope of redemption. I have seen strong men who failed to pass the physical examination sit down and sob like children, and many of the applicants who failed to pass begged for another trial. I can name a score of cases where men gave up jobs that were paying them $100 per month, or better, and enlisted as private soldiers, and the question was never asked, "What am I to receive?" It was patriotism, pure and unadulterated—the patriotism that would give up life if necessary to uphold our flag and national greatness.

There had been differences between the National Guard and the governor, which in some cases hindered members of the guard from enlisting. There were plenty of men ready and anxious to go. Among the officers of the Twenty-first Kansas, fifty per cent. of them were members of the guard, and a large per cent. of the privates had seen duty in that organization.

As to their calling in life, about fifty per cent. were farmers, twenty-five per cent. laborers, and the other twenty-five per cent. represented different professions. It is a boast of our regiment that we had men representing every vocation in life: the doctor, the preacher, the lawyer, the clerk, the student, the telegrapher, the photographer, the jeweler, druggist, printer—in fact, everything, even to the aeronaut who canceled his dates to enlist, as well as the sail-maker who at one time bathed his feet in Massachussetts bay and eked out a livelihood fishing for cod. This was a matter of much comment among army officers. Other remarkable facts were that we were the only state in the union who had nine officers commissioned by the governor who had seen service in the war of the rebellion. There were differences of opinion between the war department and the executive of the state in regard to the right to commission veterans of the civil war. But the governor's idea prevailed, and their presence and experience added materially to the efficiency of the Kansas troops.

Another fact, remarkable as it may seem, held good in the Twenty-first, and I believe in other regiments, that out of the 1300 men of the regiment 800 were Kansans, born and bred. It is needless for me to describe the Kansas soldier as he appeared; you all saw them on Dewey day as they marched through the

streets of Topeka—not like they were later on, when military training had given them the bearing of soldiers, but the raw material from which soldiers are made.

No state in the union had soldiers with better developed forms and hardier constitutions. On the historic battle-field of Chickamauga, at one time, were camped 60,000 men, and the difference in stature, soldierly bearing and hardihood gave our men the sobriquet, "iron men from the wild and woolly West." When with the long hours of drill came the regimental brigade and division corps reviews beneath the burning sun of the southern clime, the Kansas boys would return to camp singing and jollying, while the fellows from New York and the New England states would fall with fatigue by the wayside, fanning themselves, beneath the shade-trees.

While it is true the Kansas volunteers did not all see actual service, yet it is also true that in the line of duty they gained the plaudits of all those with whom they came in contact. At Chickamauga our well-drilled companies, lines straight as an arrow, evoked applause when on review. At the rifle range they led the division by a large per cent. In the words of the commanding general, speaking of the troops under his command: "When I want something done, and am not particular about it, I call on Massachusetts; when there is something to be done that does not matter much whether it is done or not, I call on *New York;* but when there is something I want done and done right, I call on KANSAS." To my memory comes the great review at Chickamauga, where 40,000 wearers of the blue passed in review before General Breckenridge, who had just been assigned to the command of the First army corps. I have seen the time when I was proud to be a citizen of KANSAS, when the great wheat crop dotted the prairies, when our magnificent live-stock resources were exploited, and when we outstripped in the race on certain lines at the great expositions, in competition with the world, but never was I as proud of our own KANSAS as when I witnessed 10,000 people who had remained like statues for an hour watching the different troops march past without approval or disapproval go wild with applause when KANSAS came, headed by the flag given us by the noble women of our state, a tribute to our soldiers in the state of Kansas more eloquent than I can paint in a pen picture.

At Lexington, Kansas was designated to act as the escort of the corps commander. The Twenty-first Kansas was again made the guard of honor on the arrival of the secretary of war during his visit to Lexington on a tour of inspection, and after review, at the request of the commanding officer, he revoked the muster-out order that we were then under.

History records the deeds done by the Twentieth, and every citizen is proud of the record they made. The Twenty-second was an honor to the state, and the Twenty-third did its part. Kansas has no apologies to make for her part in the Spanish-American war. Every battle-field was wet with the blood of her sons. While her citizens may disagree on politics, and differ in religious views, yet when the call to arms comes they are always ready, and always will be. "To the stars through difficulties" we are making our way, but far in advance of any other idea is patriotism, love of country and flag.

THE TWENTIETH KANSAS REGIMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES.

An address by COL. WILDER S. METCALF, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-fourth annual meeting, January 16, 1900.

THIS paper is not in any sense a history. It does not pretend to be anything more than a few remarks about the service of the Twentieth Kansas infantry.

At the commencement of the war with Spain, there were in the state of Kansas two National Guard regiments, partially uniformed and partially armed and equipped. Many of the men were doubtless unable to pass the required physical examination preliminary to muster into the service of the United States. However, there were a number of officers and men in the two regiments who had taken a lively interest in military affairs and who were fairly proficient in drill, and who had acquired at least the rudiments of discipline. There were a few who, in a quiet but none the less earnest and intelligent way, were real students of military science.

On the call for three infantry regiments by the governor of the state, in response to the call of the president for 125,000 volunteers, the existing military force in the state was ignored entirely—perhaps wisely—and recruiting stations were named and dates for enrolment fixed.

In nearly every company as enrolled, there were, however, a few men, and in several companies officers, who had received, either in the National Guard or in the regular army, some military training. It is quite probable that the influence and example of these officers and men, and their knowledge and experience as well, aided largely in bringing the Twentieth regiment to its eventual high state of discipline and efficiency. The influence of the presence of these officers and men upon the molding of the mass was, perhaps, almost unnoticed, but it did its work nevertheless.

The enrolment began on April 29, and the first company camped at the designated rendevouz on April 30. From that date companies were constantly arriving and being physically examined and mustered into the service. On May 11 the companies to compose the Twentieth were announced, and on May 13 the entire regiment was formally mustered into the service of the United States.

Of the thirty-six original company officers, twenty-five had had more or less military experience, and in only one of the companies had none of the three officers received military training; and I must say here that by reason of a very high order of intelligence in both officers and men, and by the unremitting application of its officers to the study of their duties, this company became eventually one of the best in the regiment.

Without waiting for equipment or clothing, the regiment left on May 16 for San Francisco, arriving on May 20. The regiment was in a pitiable condition as to clothing and shoes and blankets, owing to the fact that most of the men left home with their poorest clothes and oldest hats and shoes, expecting to be at once supplied by the government. Under these circumstances, and after over two weeks of camp in rain and mud at Topeka and five days on railroad trains *en route* to San Francisco, the appearance of the regiment can be as easily imagined as described.

While there was much newspaper chaff and many a readable reporter's story at the expense of the regiment, among the men themselves there seemed to be

no complaints whatever. Anything and everything, no matter how disagreeable or uncomfortable, was accepted and endured with the same really surprising degree of good temper. The terrible rain and mud at Topeka, the crowded railroad coaches, the cold fogs and the drifting sands of Camp Merritt, the jibes and abuse of the San Francisco press, were all accepted as a part of the business and endured with the same good-natured equanimity.

Day after day, in strict military cadence and with unwavering zeal, the companies marched the streets near the camp and tramped the beautiful drives in Golden Gate park. Day after day the regiment made its daily pilgrimage to the Presidio hills, a mile away, for battalion and regimental drills.

Clothing and equipment came finally to be abundant and uniform. Day by day the regiment took on a more and more soldierly appearance. While the Kansas regiment was very properly excused from participation in the Decoration Day parade, while it was inspected by General Hughes on June 7 and found wanting, while it received 300 recruits on June 19 and 20, still, by July 4, it was fully the equal of any volunteer regiment in San Francisco in military appearance and discipline. On July 30 it even credited for a few hours a rumor that it was to sail for the Philippines on the Tartar.

On August 4 it gave a public drill in a large pavilion in the city of San Francisco, which drill was admittedly superior in exactness and general merit to any of the many that had been given by the various other volunteer regiments.

Continued disappointments about sailing for Manila caused much dissatisfaction and some clamor to be mustered out and sent home: but the order finally came and the regiment sailed at last, two battalions on October 27, the other on November 9.

Meantime, what had these five months and more of incessant drill done for the Twentieth Kansas? It had changed the heterogeneous mass of recruits into a well-dressed, well-drilled, well-disciplined regiment of soldiers—so well dressed and drilled and disciplined that the Kansas regiment was well-nigh universally recognized, before it left the United States, as one of the very best volunteer regiments, in every particular, that the country ever produced so well thought of by those who knew its history that every brigade commander then on duty in the Eighth army corps wanted the regiment in his brigade, and at least three of them applied for it, and at least one of the three applied many times for the regiment without avail. The regiment was assigned to the First brigade of the Second division of the Eighth army corps, and there it remained until ordered back to Manila from San Fernando, June 25 and 26, 1899.

I wish to say a word about military discipline and the necessity for it. Why not put dependence on numbers and personal pluck? Because history says that pluck with discipline has always defeated numbers without it. Are you aware that no dictionary in existence to-day gives a full and satisfactory definition of military discipline. This shows that it is either misunderstood by, or unknown to, the ordinary man. Military discipline is a tyrant; it is despotic; it is peculiar, and often misunderstood. It cannot be learned from books; its methods are repugnant to democracy. Many people believe it should have for its foundation a majority vote. But the men who know it, and who have it, know its value and importance. Some acquire it with difficulty. It usually percolates slowly and silently into the very soul of a man; he receives it by practice and by absorption, and is usually unconscious of its arrival. He thinks he is learning his drill, but he is at the same time unconsciously acquiring military discipline. Discipline is the process by which a man is transformed into a soldier, and this process must be applied to the officer as well as to the enlisted man. Until the

officer acquires discipline, he is unable and unfit, and unable to assist or compel his men to acquire it. To many, the continual drill, going over and over again the same exercises after they have once been learned, seems absurd. Parades seem a senseless ceremony or an ostentatious display. But parade and drill are training in discipline. Every exercise in which subordinates are required to promptly execute the orders of a superior is training in discipline. Discipline is simply obedience—unthinking, instinctive, prompt and cheerful obedience; it never thinks of dangers or consequences; it never hesitates.

The greatest ingredients of success in war are discipline in the ranks and courage in the commander. The Twentieth Kansas regiment acquired, in five months' of hard work, a high degree of discipline, and when it landed at Manila, on December 9 and 11, there was not in the Eighth army corps an organization more fit to fight for the glory of a great state or the honor of a great nation. I think this undoubted fact was very largely due to superior education and civilization in the homes of the state of Kansas. Is it no advantage to live in the state where there is the least illiteracy of any state in the union? Is it no advantage to be brought up, trained and educated by the most intelligent and refined fathers and mothers in the land? There was hardly a private soldier in the Twentieth Kansas regiment who did not receive and read the principal papers and periodicals of the United States during all his service. There was hardly a man in the regiment who had not clear and intelligent ideas about the Philippine islands and their people, and the relations and duties of the United States toward them.

More worthy of mention still is the fact that hardly a man in the regiment but could express his ideas clearly and forcibly and entertainingly either on paper or by word of mouth. Not a man in the regiment but could write his own name. "Wonderful!" many have said. The great majority of them could write a vigorous and entertaining—yes, a thrillingly interesting—story of scenes visited or experiences undergone.

When men like these submit themselves voluntarily to discipline and enlist themselves in the service of their country—not for livelihood, not for glory, but for love of country, to fight for a principle—shall these fail to give good account of themselves? Well, no! At any rate, not if they come from Kansas.

Kansas was conceived amidst the rumblings and first blows of an approaching mighty conflict. She was born in the heat of battle. Her first sons were all soldiers; at least, so many of them that no other state of the union equaled her in the lavish gift of her sons to the country's service. Is it any wonder that the sons of these men were ready to fight when the country called again?

I know that the ears of Kansas boys have been filled for years and their hearts fired by the stories told by their sires, who

"Tell of valor, and recount with praise
Stories of Kansas."

"Than in our state
No illustration apter
Is seen or found of faith and hope and will.
Take up her story,
Every leaf and chapter
Contains a record that conveys a thrill."

Dozens of times have I heard our boys say to each other, after some interesting or thrilling experience: "Now, won't I have a story to tell the old man! He won't be in it with me at all."

Out of an aggregate enrollment of 1322 in the Twentieth Kansas regiment, more than 1250 were actual citizens of the state of Kansas. I believe that a

large majority of these were Kansas born. I believe that more than half, and probably fully three-fourths of them, were the sons of veterans of the civil war.

The Twentieth Kansas fought well because it was a magnificent body of unusually intelligent men; because the men were well drilled and disciplined; and because they were built that way.

On the evening of the 4th of February, when hostilities began at Manila and the regiments were called upon to reinforce the outposts at ten o'clock on a dark night, this regiment, not more than four or five of whom had ever been under fire before in their lives, rose up as one man and marched quietly and cheerfully out into deadly peril. The sick got up from their beds to go along; those ordered to stay in barracks to guard and protect the government property begged and implored to be sent out to the front.

And in all the hard, continuous fighting, when for five long months hardly six consecutive hours were passed without the regiment being under fire, when every sense was on the alert, when every nerve was held at high tension for every moment of the day and night, until the muscles and nerves began to give way under the severe and constant strain—in it all and through it all the regiment developed but two or three cowards, two or three pairs of weak knees—two or three pairs of "cold feet," as the soldiers expressively term the complaint. Only four men were dishonorably discharged from the regiment. Only three deserted, and they before the regiment left San Francisco. As I think of this scant dozen of cowards, criminals and deserters among 1322 men, I can remember that almost all of them were non-residents of the state of Kansas: some of them I know had never lived in or even seen Kansas. And thus the Twentieth Kansas regiment acquitted itself.

Intelligently, steadily, earnestly, cheerfully, promptly, bravely, even brilliantly, the private soldier from the state of Kansas did his duty, winning fame for himself, glory for his state, and honor for his country.

Only a few days before the regiment sailed from Manila, an old regular army officer of high rank, who had seen the regiment in the city of Manila and who had been frequently in and about the barracks, said to me: "The Twentieth Kansas is the finest looking and best disciplined volunteer regiment I ever saw; I don't wonder at its reputation, and I believe it deserves it all."

The regiment on its voyage home stopped eight days in the large and wonderfully interesting city of Hongkong. Every officer and man in the regiment had in his pockets two months' pay in good United States gold. The entire regiment was given almost perfect freedom during the eight days. To the great wonder of the city, not a man got into the slightest trouble or controversy. The Hongkong papers commented freely on this, to them, wonderful circumstance. It was said frequently that the same number of soldiers from any other land would have painted the city in all the hues of the spectrum.

General Shafter and many other officers, and many citizens of San Francisco, remarked that the Twentieth Kansas presented the finest appearance in review of any of the returning volunteer regiments.

Kansas did well to be proud of her Twentieth regiment, simply and solely because it showed to the country of what sort of stuff her young men are made.

But Kansas has more and greater reason to congratulate herself; for who doubts for an instant that, if given the opportunity, the Twenty-first, or the Twenty-second, or the Twenty-third, if you please, would have done just as well, would have acquitted itself just as nobly, would have honored the state just as much? And furthermore, I know, and you know, and our country knows, that, were there need of them, there are thousands more of the same kind of young men in the

state of Kansas to-day who would quickly and gladly form many regiments, each as good, as brave and as intelligent in its composition as the Twentieth. We are thankful that the Twentieth had its opportunity. The opportunity was all that was needed; the young men of Kansas took care of the rest.

I want to say that, although these remarks are made about the Twentieth Kansas regiment, I believe fully that in large measure the same things might be said of almost any of the volunteer organizations which entered the country's service. The Twentieth was fortunate in having many opportunities; it was grand in promptly and magnificently accepting every one of them.

Where are now those who once composed the Twentieth Kansas? Between 100 and 200 reenlisted and are still serving their country in the Philippines. We hope to welcome them home in safety when their services are no longer needed. Thirty-three died of disease before the regiment was mustered out, and at least three have succumbed to wounds or disease since reaching home. Several more are at this moment hovering between life and death. Thirty-four officers and men were killed in battle. They, men and soldiers, bravely met death, and to their stricken families we offer to-day, and always, heartfelt sympathy and support.

"Nor shall your glory be forgot
While fame her record keeps,
Or honor points the hallowed spot
Where valor proudly sleeps."

The others have returned to the public schools or the state institutions of learning; returned to their clerkships in the stores and offices of the state; returned to their shops or their farms – returned quietly and unassumingly to the paths of peace.

"Each has his work and way,
Each has his part to play,
Each has his task to do.
They are both good and true.
Whether they 're grave or gay
You 'll find them brave and true."

The same intelligent application to duty, the same intelligent obedience to law and obligation, the same energy and courage which made these young men good soldiers, will make, is making them, good citizens. Our state will be richer and better for their fearlessness, for their energy, for their truth, for all their manly qualities.

THE TWENTY-SECOND KANSAS REGIMENT.

An address by MAJ. A. M. HARVEY, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-fourth annual meeting, January 16, 1900.

DURING the months of April and May, 1898, the various companies that afterwards composed the Twenty-second Kansas regiment of volunteer infantry were recruited by the order of his excellency, Gov. John W. Leedy, pursuant to the call of the president. The call was made by reason of the war with Spain, and the service was to continue for two years, or during the war.

LOCALITY.—The governor proposed to make the Kansas regiments representative of the different parts of the state, and to that end established recruiting stations convenient to the various counties. Thus it came about that the companies constituting the Twenty-second Kansas were recruited from localities as follows:

A company, from Neosho and Labette counties.

B company, from Cloud and Republic counties.

C company, from Mitchell and Jewell counties.

D company, from Jackson and Jefferson counties.

E company, from Lyon county and the city of Emporia.

F company, from Cherokee county.

G company, from Norton, Decatur, Rawlins, and Cheyenne counties.

H company, from the various colleges and schools of the state, including the state university, the state agricultural college, the state normal school, and other colleges and high schools.

I company, from Clay and Washington counties.

K company, from Brown and Nemaha counties.

L company, from Atchison county and the city of Atchison.

M company, from Marshall and Riley counties, and the city of Manhattan.

Regimental officers were selected without regard to locality, and were appointed by the governor. The line officers were elected by popular vote of the enlisted men of each company.

Political Complexion.—Following his determination to organize the Kansas regiments without the exercise of political favoritism, the governor commissioned as colonels of the three regiments organized under the first call representative men from the three political parties at that time most prominent in the state. Col. H. C. Lindsey, who was selected as colonel of the Twenty-second regiment, was a member of the political organization known as the people's party. Among the other officers, as well as among the enlisted men, were representatives of the various party organizations within the state. However, a partizan or political controversy was unknown within the regiment during its history, and partizan discussions were so rare that a stranger might have visited within the camp for weeks and, unless he made direct inquiry, would not have learned the political affiliation of a man or an officer.

General Education and Habits.—Every member of the regiment could read and write. It contained about 150 teachers and professional men, and at least 300 students, who had laid aside their books for the service. With few exceptions they were men of cleanliness, industry, and sobriety. Bootleggers had few customers, and no canteen ever thrived for any length of time upon the patronage of the camp. The enlisted men vied with the officers in being gentlemen. A lady was as safe from insult in walking about camp as she would have been in her own home and among friends.

Mustering in.—All of the companies having been mustered in, the entire regiment was assembled on an open field in the southern part of Camp Leedy, near the center of the fair grounds, on the 17th day of May, 1898, at about the hour of twelve o'clock noon, and was then and there mustered in as a regiment.

First Camp.—Colonel Lindsey at once took command and ordered a camp to be laid out in the northeast corner of Camp Leedy, and all of the companies took up their quarters there.

Previous Service.—Colonel Lindsey, Lieutenant Colonel Graham, Major Surgeon Stewart, Captain Hazzard of A company, Captain Charlesworth of C company, Captain Farrell of F company and Captain Ross of I company had seen service either in the volunteer or regular armies. Maj. Chase Doster had received training at West Point and was a finished soldier. A number of the officers had served in the National Guard or had received training in military schools, and there yet remained a large proportion of the officers who, like the writer, had received no military training whatever. A small percentage of the enlisted men had served in the National Guard or regular army.

EQUIPMENT.—Enlisted men had come into camp in their oldest and most worthless clothes, expecting to be provided with uniforms at an early date, at which time they would throw away the clothes brought from home. This brought about a popular demand that equipment be issued at once, and, immediately after mustering in, the officers of the regiment, aided and assisted by Governor Leedy, commenced an energetic effort to secure at an early date a full equipment, or at least an issue of uniforms and clothing. After repeated application, they were informed that the government had determined on equipping the regiments in the mobilization camps, and that no equipment could be issued to the regiment until it reached Camp Alger, to which it had been ordered. The state had no equipment on hand, and no appropriation with which to purchase it, and, even if an appropriation had been available, the state could have purchased no uniforms and have secured an immediate delivery, for the reason that all the furnishing houses were working night and day to fill the governmental orders, which were given the preference. This was a sore disappointment to men and officers, yet it was borne in good part, every one conceding that, in the interest of economy, the government had acted wisely and well, and that the state was powerless to change the situation. After arriving at the mobilization camp the work of equipment commenced, and in due time everything needed was supplied. The rifles furnished were Springfields.

OFF FOR DUTY.—Within a few days after being mustered in, Colonel Lindsey received orders to proceed by rail to Camp Alger, near Falls Church, Va., and preparations were made to commence the journey on May 25. The general call was sounded at twelve o'clock, noon, on the day appointed, and the march to the train was taken up at two o'clock P. M. The regiment was accompanied by an escort of Grand Army men, and the citizens of Topeka turned out and crowding the line of march, gave expression to their good will and sympathy. Many who previously had soldiered with Colonel Lindsey came with their greeting, fitly expressed by Hon. G. G. Gage as he held Colonel Lindsey by the hand, and with tears running down his cheeks said: "Hank, God bless you; how I wish I could go with you."

The Missouri Pacific Railway Company furnished the transportation from Topeka, and landed the regiment in St. Louis on the morning of the 26th. From there the route lay over the Baltimore & Ohio railroad to the city of Washington, which was reached on the 28th of May at about the hour of noon. The train was then run over the Southern railroad to the station of Dunn Loring, about five miles from Falls Church, in the state of Virginia, and about eleven miles from the city of Washington. Considerable delay was experienced in the trip from Washington to Dunn Loring by reason of the track being surrendered to the president's train, which on that day conveyed President McKinley and Secretary Alger to Falls Church. On that day all of the soldiers then in Camp Alger were reviewed by the president and General Alger.

During the morning of the last day of the journey, Harper's Ferry, Va., had been reached, and notwithstanding the fact that the trainmen were in a hurry and had not provided in their schedule for stops at Harper's Ferry, the soldiers of each section of the train insisted on stopping there that they might march round the John Brown monument and with music and song give expression to their love and veneration for the greatest Kansas hero.

Arriving at Dunn Loring at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 28th, the regiment proceeded at once to unload and march to that part of Camp Alger designated for its camp. The regimental camp was laid out and established on the evening of the same day, in the southwestern part of Camp Alger, and this camp

was maintained until the 3d day of August; and, in point of work accomplished, was the most important camp in the regiment's history.

The regiment was at once brigaded with the One Hundred and Fifty-ninth Indiana and the Third New York, both of which regiments were old National Guard organizations and had received a great deal of drill and discipline. Col. John T. Barnett, of the One Hundred and Fifty-ninth Indiana, by reason of his rank, was the first brigade commander. This brigade was the first brigade of the Second division of the Second army corps, and was afterwards commanded by Brigadier General Sheafe. The division was under the command of Brigadier General Davis, now military governor of Porto Rico, and the corps was commanded by Major General Graham, now retired. The Twenty-second Kansas retained its place in this organization until orders were received to proceed to Leavenworth to muster out.

On being established at Camp Alger, the work of equipping, drilling and disciplining commenced. Procuring and distributing equipment, officers' schools, drill of five hours per day, together with other duties of soldier life, made hard work for officers and men. By persistent application on the part of Colonel Lindsey and Quartermaster Lamb, equipment was provided rapidly, and much in advance of many regiments of longer residence in the mobilization camp. During the month of June Colonel Lindsey, with a detail of officers and men, proceeded, under orders, to Kansas, and recruited a sufficient number of men to raise the enrolment of the companies to the maximum. This caused the absence of Colonel Lindsey for a period of two weeks, during which time the command devolved upon Lieutenant Colonel Graham. Colonel Graham's experience and ability made it possible for the regiment to do splendid work during this time, notwithstanding the absence of the colonel.

Camp Alger.—Camp Russell A. Alger extended along the Southern railroad, from Falls Church to Dunn Loring, a distance of five miles, and from the railroad south in the direction of Fairfax Court House about four miles. This same territory had been used for an army and refugee camp during the civil war. It lies about nine miles from the Potomac river and is supplied with water only by wells and springs.

Typhoid.—During the month of July a typhoid-fever epidemic became general in Camp Alger. In the Twenty-second Kansas, Private Park, of E company, and Captain Sherman, of E company, were among the first to be attacked. The regiment suffered less from the disease than any other regiment in Camp Alger, with the exception of the Seventh Illinois, and yet lost two commissioned officers and thirteen enlisted men. Captain Sherman died at Fort Myer hospital, and Quartermaster Lamb at Providence hospital, in the city of Washington. The epidemic became so serious that the authorities determined upon moving some of the troops from the camp, and to that end issued an order, on the 2d day of August, for the Second division of the Second army corps to proceed, at six o'clock A. M. of August 3, and march in the direction of Manassas.

Marching Orders.—The order was received at the headquarters of the Twenty-second Kansas at six o'clock P. M. on August 2. It brought much rejoicing to men and officers, who were tiring of the monotonous drill and discipline of camp. A detachment of 100 men, under the command of Captain Hazzard, remained in camp, and the regiment marched away at the appointed time. The men carried ordnance, shelter tents, blankets, ponchos, and part of their clothing. The wagon train carried part of the government property belonging to the regiment, and a large portion was left with the detachment.

The first day's march was a trial to the enlisted men. The route lay along a

narrow road, with high timber on either side, directly toward the sun, under a high temperature, not the slightest breeze, and the air heavy with moisture. The Twenty-second Kansas marched in the rear of the column, and its march soon lay between hundreds of stragglers. Before evening the One Hundred and Fifty-ninth Indiana, marching directly ahead of the Kansans, became completely demoralized, and went into camp with less than 100 men. The Kansas regiment fared better, and, despite the fatigue of the march and the demoralizing effect of passing so many stragglers, went into camp at the close of the day with only 100 men missing, and the majority of these came into camp within a few hours. This camp was at Burke station, a point on the main line of the Southern railway, south and west from Camp Alger.

August 4 was spent in camp. During the evening of that day Colonel Lindsey received orders to march at five o'clock A. M. on the day following, and that his regiment would head the column. Accordingly, on the morning of August 5, the regiment again took up the march, and proceeded so rapidly that the day's march was completed and tents pitched before ten o'clock A. M., and this was done without any straggling whatever. The camp was near Clifton station, on the east bank of Bull Run river, and occupied part of the ground fought over in the battles of Bull Run. Here the regiment remained until the morning of August 7.

It then marched westward, crossing the Bull Run river. The day was Sunday. The route lay directly through the city of Manassas. Although years had intervened since the city's history had been made, and the evidences of industry and peace were everywhere, it was not hard for one to read in the faces of the townsfolk a dread and dislike of the army. This was further suggested by the next issue of the local paper, containing lines throughout its editorial page like the following: "Federal troops marched through town on Sunday," "The country is full of bluecoats," etc. While riding through Manassas a telegram was delivered to the writer announcing the critical illness and probable death of Captain Sherman. After leaving Manassas, the line of march lay near the large red-stone monument erected by the citizens of that locality in honor of the confederate dead. After one o'clock P. M. the division went into camp near Bristow station, three miles west of Manassas, on the right bank of Broad Run. At this camp a number of typhoid- and malaria-fever cases developed among the men, and it became necessary to establish a division field hospital. Private Throckmorton, of F company, was one of the Kansans left in this hospital. He never rejoined the regiment, but died some days later, on the same day that his brother, of the same company, was seized with a fatal attack of typhoid.

Further orders having been received, the division left the camp at Bristow on August 9, and marched to Thoroughfare Gap. It was an all day's march, the last five hours in a drenching rain. Tents were pitched within sight of the Bull Run mountains and of Thoroughfare Gap. The location of the Kansas regiment proved to be unsatisfactory, and within a few pays it was changed. Here word was received of the death of Captain Sherman and Quartermaster Lamb.

THE DUNCAN COURT-MARTIAL.—While encamped at Bristow station, Capt. L. C. Duncan, assistant surgeon of the Twenty-second Kansas, was arrested by order of General Davis, charged with desecrating certain graves on the Bull Run battle-field on the 6th day of August. On the day charged, the grave of Maj. J. T. Duke, of the Fifth Alabama Cahaba Rifles, was opened and desecrated, as was also the grave of one Humphrey. These graves had been marked with rude tombstones, and were located in an unfenced and unprotected wood. The

desecration naturally aroused the indignation of the citizens of that community and of the officers in command. The parties causing the arrest of Captain Duncan made such emphatic and definite charges against him that General Davis considered it his duty to not only arrest him but to put him under guard. On arriving at Thoroughfare Gap a general court-martial was ordered to convene, and Captain Duncan was brought before it. Brig. Gen. Nelson Cole was the ranking officer of the court-martial, and the other members were detailed from among the highest ranking officers of the division. Lieutenant Colonel Dudley, of the judge-advocate general's staff, and Major Stringfellow, of the Fourth Missouri, were assigned to duty as judge-advocates. Arthur B. Shaffer, first lieutenant of D company of the Twenty-second Kansas, and the writer were permitted to appear for the accused.

The war department and the general officers of the Second army corps took a great deal of interest in the progress of the trial, and the Washington *Post* sent a special correspondent to attend the sittings of the court. A grand jury was called in Fairfax county, and it found a true bill against Captain Duncan without delay. Indignation meetings were held in and about Manassas. The sheriff of Fairfax county demanded of General Davis the surrender of Captain Duncan, and, being refused, lingered about the court-martial during the first two days of the trial. Captain Duncan was served with a copy of the charges and specifications against him at ten o'clock P. M. on the 12th day of August, and was put on trial the next day at eleven o'clock. By special order, the court-martial sat regardless of hours. The trial lasted fourteen days, and about forty witnesses on either side were examined. After this most exhaustive hearing, Captain Duncan was declared to be innocent of the crime charged, but was fined $100 for neglecting to exercise his authority as an officer and arresting certain enlisted men who had been guilty of the desecration. This sentence was set aside and Captain Duncan restored to duty by order of General Davis. It was also shown that the graves had been desecrated by soldiers *not belonging to the Kansas regiment*, whose zeal as relic hunters on the old battle-field had led them into the commission of the crime.

On the 27th day of August the regiment proceeded by rail from the camp near Thoroughfare Gap to Camp Meade, Pa., and there joined the detachment left at Camp Alger on August 3.

CAMP MEADE.—Camp George G. Meade was situated on the left bank of the Susquehanna river, near Middletown, Pa., and lying between that city and Harrisburg. The landscape is high and rolling and water is good and plentiful. While at Camp Meade the Twenty-second Kansas was ordered to be mustered out. The order was received with satisfaction by men and officers. All had taken pleasure in the service as long as the war continued or there seemed to be a prospect of service outside of the United States, but under the conditions then existing the general desire was to be mustered out.

Part of the work of mustering out was done at Camp Meade, after which the regiment proceeded by rail to Fort Leavenworth, Kan., under orders to complete the mustering out there. The journey home commenced on the 9th day of September and Fort Leavenworth was reached on the 13th day of the same month. Camp Lindsey was then established, within the military reservation north of the main wagon road running from the post to the city of Leavenworth, and directly east of the wooded tract. The Twenty-second regiment was the first of the Kansas regiments to return home. The citizens of the city of Leavenworth and the friends and relatives of its members gave the regiment a hearty welcome.

A furlough of one month was given to all the men and officers, excepting a detachment of about 100 men and two commissioned officers, who were left in camp to guard and protect the government property.

On the 14th day of October, the furloughs having expired, the soldiers returned to camp and the work of mustering out was again taken up. This was completed in due time, and on the 3d of November, 1898, the regiment was mustered out and ceased to exist.

It had seen less than six months of service, yet had become well drilled, hardened, and disciplined. It had been favored by being composed of strong, vigorous and intelligent men, and by a spirit of generosity, harmony and desire for cooperation among the officers. Without having sighted an enemy and without having fired a hostile gun, its record was made, and is finished.

ORGANIZATION AND SERVICE OF THE TWENTY-THIRD KANSAS REGIMENT.

An address by LIEUT. COL. JAMES BECK, read before the State Historical Society, at twenty-fourth annual meeting, January 16, 1900.

I SUPPOSE what you want along this line is facts that do not appear of record in the war department or the adjutant general's office. To commence with, I rather think that the idea to raise colored troops for the Spanish-American war originated with me. They did, so far as I know, I having called on the governor and talked the matter over with him, and made certain requests of him long before I ever heard any one else speak anything of this matter. I talked to several colored men in the state, just after the blowing up of the Maine, and told them that I believed that we was going to have a war with Spain, and ought to have some colored troops, as it would not be practical to mix the colored and white boys in the same regiment. They seemed to think well of the proposition, but, because of the political faith of the then governor of the state, they feared that their influence would not have much effect, so I was unable to interest them to any extent. So I went at it alone. I interested such men as Hon. H. S. Landis, Judge Doster, of the supreme court, the Hon. David Overmyer, and others. All of these and many others agreed that it was no more than just and right that the colored boys should have a chance to show their patriotism, if they wanted to, and so, after a good deal of talking, persuasion and argument *pro* and *con*, the governor decided, under the second call, to give the colored boys a show, and right here comes in one remarkable fact about the raising of this regiment.

I was appointed major on the 22d of June, 1898, and authorized to raise troops. I commenced recruiting on the 27th, and by the 14th day of July had been appointed lieutenant colonel to command these two battalions; so you will see by this that with the small colored population in the state of Kansas to recruit from that these troops recruited faster and were turned over to the government quicker than any of the other Kansas regiments. The fact is that every negro republican politician, with one or two exceptions, and every republican paper in the state of Kansas did everything they could to make it a failure, and one of these exceptions, that I want to refer to, was that of the Hon. Corvine Patterson, of Wyandotte county, and the only Nick Chiles, of Topeka, Kan. These two exceptions pulled of their coats and did everything they could do to help me recruit this regiment, and get them ready for the service. Now then I want to give you some unwritten history and will endeavor to give you the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Soon after this regiment was formed the armistice was declared between our government and the Spanish government, and, so far as fighting was concerned, the war was over, and it looked as if our troops was to be mustered out in Camp Leedy without ever leaving the state, because of a certain difference between Governor Leedy and General Alger, the then secretary of war. I have every reason to believe that it had been decided, on the part of the secretary of war, not to allow any Kansas troops to leave the country, and, to bear me out in this statement, you will remember, that all the papers in the state had criticisms of all the men and officers of the Twentieth Kansas then in camp at the Presidio in California, and you will only have to refer to the back numbers of the Topeka *Capital*, and the other Topeka papers to verify this statement. So I called my officers together and told them that in my opinion there would have to be something done, and we would have to do some wire pulling, or we would never see any service outside of the state. At this meeting all the line officers were present, I think, and can verify everything stated and done at this meeting. I told them that if they consented and authorized me, I thought I could arrange to get the troops out of the country, either to the Philippines or Cuba. The majority of them wanted to go to Cuba, so they all with one voice said, "Do the best you can, and we will back you both financially and morally."

I then went to certain influential parties and told them what I thought the situation was, and that if the matter was carried directly to the president and properly presented to him that we could be sent out of the country; and, to show you how well I succeeded, I had an order in my pocket four days later to report with my command to General Lawton, then at Santiago. I got my troops ready and we embarked from Topeka on the 22d day of August, 1898, arriving in Santiago on the 1st day of September following.

Now, to show the state of discipline that we had perfected with these men in the short space of time elapsing since the 27th of June to the 22d day of August, we carried every man through from Topeka to Santiago without losing a single man in any way. When our roll was called for muster on the 1st day of September in the harbor of Santiago, every man that left Topeka answered to the roll-call. This beats the record of any other regiment, so far as I know, that left the country. During the Spanish-American war some of the regiments that left for service in Cuba lost fifteen or twenty of their men *en route;* some of them did not reach their command for two months, and some never came, having deserted. So you can see how surprised we were when we got the first news in the Topeka paper, after we arrived in Santiago, stating that when we got the order to leave Topeka our men deserted us, running in every direction to escape the trip, and so on.

One of the facts that we wish to show is the long mooted question as to whether or not the colored men were capable of disciplining and commanding their own people, and we can show this by the organization and service of this regiment. I think this Twenty-third regiment was the best disciplined regiment that went to the Spanish-American war, without any exceptions, having went across the United States from home, clear across the continent to the seaboard, and then back again, without any trouble with any one. This, I believe, no other regiment of volunteer soldiers ever did. Out of nine regiments of colored troops, four of whom were part of the regular army, I think the Twenty-third was the only one that did not have some kind of governmental investigation. The Twenty-third had less court-martials, and a smaller death rate, than any other regimental service that was in Cuba, having lost only eleven men during the six months that we staid there, and reported a larger list for daily duty than the

regiments that were camped in the United States were reporting, and this can be verified by the reports in adjutant general of the army's office.

Now, this regiment was the first regiment from Kansas to leave the country, and I honestly believe that if it had not gone to Cuba, the Twentieth never would have gone to Manila, because, I think, the fact, as I stated before, had been decided by the secretary of war because of the controversy between him and the then governor of the state, Leedy, to allow no Kansas troops to leave the country, and after the Twenty-third succeeded in getting away, I am satisfied that some of the same influences that was used by us was adopted by the friends of the Twentieth, although General Funston might not have been aware of this fact; so you see that I have an entirely different idea of the influence of those politicians than General Funston has. I know that we never would have seen Cuba if it had not been for the influence of some of these politicians that he refers to, and if he expects very much in the future, he will have to change some of the sayings that the public press ascribe to him.

While we were in Cuba we performed all kinds of garrison duties as would naturally be demanded of troops in that country at that stage of the war, and how well we succeeded in pleasing our commanders, I herewith hand you exact copies of two letters given me when we were ready to leave Cuba, one from Brigadier General Ewers, and one from Major General Wood, under whom we served nearly all the time we was there, as General Lawton was succeeded by Wood a very short time after our arrival.

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DISTRICT OF MAYARI,
SAN LUIS, CUBA, February 9, 1899.

Lieut. Col. James Beck, Twenty-third Kan. Vol. Inf.: DEAR SIR—I take pleasure in stating that while you have been under my command I have found you willing and anxious to obey and execute all orders. You have always seemed to take a deep interest in the welfare of your regiment and, so far as I know, no one has any just cause for complaint. The papers and reports pertaining to your regiment have been rendered more promptly and correctly than any of the other three regiments under my command. Very respectfully,

E. P. EWERS,
Brigadier General U. S. V., Commanding.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF SANTIAGO,
ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, SANTIAGO DE CUBA, February 26, 1899.

Lieut. Col. James Beck, Twenty-third Kan. Vol. Inf.: SIR—As your regiment is about to leave this department to return to the United States for muster out, I take this opportunity of expressing to you my appreciation of the good and faithful service you have rendered. The officers of your regiment have taken great interest in all military matters, and particularly in the comfort and general welfare of the men, and as a result the men have been contented and the discipline good. On leaving for your homes you may feel assured that you carry with you the good wishes of the department commander, and of the troops that have served with you in Cuba. Very respectfully, LEONARD WOOD,
Major General, Adjutant Department.

I want to say, in conclusion of this little sketch, that I honestly believe that no finer body of men was ever recruited for soldiers in the United States, and I lay this largely to the fact that seventy-five per cent. of the men that composed this regiment of colored boys were raised and educated in the public schools of Kansas, and they were a very much higher type of soldiers than any of those that served with them in Cuba. We were brigaded with three other regiments two of which were colored, one the Eighth Illinois and one known as the Ninth Immunes.

A FILIPINO BATTLE FLAG.

An address by LIEUT. J. R. WHISNER, of company B, Twentieth Kansas regiment, presenting a captured Filipino battle flag to the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-fourth annual meeting, January 16, 1900.

WHEN hostilities were precipitated, on the night of February 4, 1899, by the Filipinos on the outskirts of Manila, company B, of which I had the honor of being a member, was placed upon guard duty in the Tondo district. All that night and up to the morning of the 7th we lay upon our arms, awaiting patiently for order to go upon the firing line. Upon the morning of the 7th, Lieutenant Alford (the only commissioned officer then with the company) asked Colonel Funston to send us to the front. He promised to do so, and, upon the afternoon of the 7th, our hopes were realized, when we received orders to move out upon the line. Up to that time we had not fired a shot.

Shortly after our arrival at the front, companies B, C and I were ordered to clear a bamboo thicket some 300 yards in front of our main line, from which the Filipino sharpshooters had been annoying us to a considerable extent by their fire. A skirmish line was formed; company B was placed in the center, with C and I on either side; the order was given to advance, and we had advanced but a few yards when they opened up on us with a terrific fire. It was our baptism of fire, yet I am proud to say the boys conducted themselves like trained veterans and advanced without a waver. Scarcely had the fire commenced when Lieutenant Alford was hit under the eye by a Remington bullet and fell mortally wounded, dying before he could be taken to the rear. John W. Gillihan, Dan. S. Hewett, and Chas. A. Kelson, of our company, received wounds in this engagement, none of which, however, proved fatal.

The order was given to charge, and being then in command of the company, I repeated the command and we advanced rapidly, falling to fire, rising and charging ten or fifteen paces, then falling again to fire another volley. It did not take us long to reach the thicket, where a hand-to-hand encounter was engaged in. While thus engaged we discovered a stand of Filipino colors. It is useless to say that a charge was made for it; such a charge I will venture to say as had never before been experienced by the enemy. It was a desperate struggle for supremacy for a short time; bayonet thrusts were made, guns were clubbed, and volleys fired at such close range that the powder from the guns burned the bodies and faces of opposing forces. At last we reached the stand of colors and found scattered around it the bodies of twenty-nine dead insurgents who had fought gallantly, and given their lives in its defense. The commander, doubtless inspired by an almost divine sense of patriotism, had wrapped the flag around his body and died a hero's death. Tenderly and almost reverently Corporal Willing and Private Baker unwound that blood-stained, bullet-pierced flag from his body.

We cleared the thicket in a short time and were ordered back to our line. Need I say how proudly we bore back the fruits of our victory? Even now I can hear the cheers that greeted us upon our return, as we marched back bearing that captured stand of colors; but mingled with our pride over our victory was an overwhelming sense of sorrow for the loss of our brave lieutenant, and as we crossed our line under our own flag we doffed our hats in respect to one of its brave defenders who had died but a short time before, leading his company to battle in its defense. This was the only stand of colors that had been captured up to the time the Twentieth left the island.

And now, on behalf of company B of the Twentieth Kansas regiment, United States volunteer infantry, I desire to present to the Kansas State Historical Society this flag captured upon a bloody battle-field in a foreign land—a land that has been stained by the blood of American soldiers—that it may be safely preserved through the years to come, and stand as a monument to the patriotism of those who helped to make the name of Kansas and its Twentieth regiment famous.

THE NEUTRAL LANDS.

An address by EUGENE F. WARE, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-fourth annual meeting, January 16, 1900.

I.—THE CHEROKEE NEUTRAL LANDS.

THE Cherokee Neutral Lands, or, as they were originally called, the Osage Neutral Lands, is a tract of land fifty miles long from north to south and twenty-five miles wide, the eastern boundary of which coincides with the eastern boundary of Kansas, and the southern boundary of which is about two and a quarter miles north of the southern line of the state.

The Neutral Land tract includes all of the territory in the present county of Cherokee, nearly all of Crawford county, and a strip about six miles wide nearly across the southern part of Bourbon county: approximately 800,000 acres—to be exact, 799,615.18 acres.

II.—LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

The territory included in the Neutral Lands was a part of the Louisiana purchase, made in 1803. At that time it was occupied by the Great and Little Osage Indian tribes, which also occupied territory in northern Arkansas and southern Missouri and the territory west thereof. They hunted thence east to the Mississippi river and up to within twenty miles of St. Louis, in 1803.

In 1804 the northern part of the Louisiana purchase, including the territory now known as the Neutral Lands, was organized as the district of Louisiana, and all laws then in force were continued in force until altered or repealed. (2 Stat. at Large, 283 287.) The governor of Indiana territory was given jurisdiction over the district, and the judges of that territory were required to hold annually two terms of court in the district.

The district of Louisiana extended down to about 150 miles south of where Memphis now is. Below that the territory was called the territory of Orleans.

This northern territory, called the district of Louisiana, was annexed to the territory of Indiana for governmental and judicial purposes.

The capital of Indiana territory was then located at a town called by the French Vincennes, and by the English St. Vincent. It now goes by the former name and is a well-known city. Indiana Territory had been organized May 7, 1800. (2 Stat. at Large, 58.)

St. Louis, in 1804, was a place of less than 200 houses, occupied mostly by Europeans and mixed races. There were very few American families. It was established in 1765 and was called "The Northern Capital."

In 1812 the district of Louisiana was organized as the territory of Missouri, which was the first year that steamboats were introduced on the Mississippi river. The first steamboat was begun at Pittsburgh, in 1811.

In 1820 Missouri became a state, at which time there were sixty-three steamboats on the river. Of these steamboats, the United States was the largest, 500 tons. Next was the Columbus, 400 tons, next the Ohio and the Alabama, 300 tons

each. Over half the number were under 200 tons, and the smallest were of forty tons each. The average was about 150, making the whole tonnage of the Mississippi basin under 10,000 tons—about equal to 500 freight-cars. Yet the emigration was so tremendous that in that year the amount of money paid for carrying passengers and freight was at the time computed at two and a half million dollars.

III.—OSAGE TREATY, 1825.

By a treaty made in 1825 between the United States and the Osage Indians, the latter ceded all of their lands in Arkansas and Missouri and all of their lands between Texas and the Kansas river, except a strip fifty miles wide, and running as far west as the Osages had formerly claimed. And between this strip fifty miles wide, north and south, and the state of Missouri, there was laid out a "buffer" district, fifty miles north and south and twenty-five miles east and west. It was afterwards called the "Neutral Lands," and in the treaty was described as follows:

"Beginning at a point due east of White Hair's village, and twenty-five miles west of the western boundary line of the state of Missouri, fronting on a north and south line, so as to leave ten miles north and forty miles south of the point of said beginning, and extending west with the width of fifty miles to the western boundary of the lands hereby ceded." (7 Stat. at Large, 240.)

The Neutral Lands are the lands between the strip of land so reserved by the Osages (which afterwards became known as the Osage ceded lands, Osage trust lands, and Osage diminished reserve) and the western line of Missouri. The Indian name for White Hair was Pahusca. Towns have since been named after him.

Neither Indians nor white settlers were allowed to remain on the land. It was intended to be a barrier between the Osages and the settlers in Missouri. This gave it its name.

The title to the land so remained for ten years.

The Osages, although very numerous and occupying a vast territory, were not a great or warlike Indian nation. They were a thieving, pestiferous set, and yielded readily to the impact of civilization.

The site of White Hair's village was near where Oswego, Kan., now stands.

IV.—CHEROKEE TREATY, 1835.

In 1835 a treaty (7 Stat. at Large, 478) was concluded between the United States and the Cherokee Indians at New Echoto, Ga., by which the Cherokees ceded to the United States all lands held by them east of the Mississippi. In return the United States granted to the Cherokees 7,000,000 acres of land west of Arkansas, and "a perpetual outlet west, and a free and unmolested use of all the country west of the western boundary of said 7,000,000 acres, as far west as the sovereignty of the United States and their right of soil extend."

In addition to the above, the Cherokees were granted the Neutral Lands, the clause of the treaty by which this was done being as follows:

"And whereas, it is apprehended by the Cherokees that in the above cession there is not contained a sufficient quantity of land for the accommodation of the whole nation on their removal west of the Mississippi, the United States, in consideration of the sum of $500,000 therefor, hereby covenant and agree to convey to the said Indians and their descendants, by patent, in fee simple, the following additional tract of land, situated between the west line of the state of Missouri and the Osage reservation: Beginning at the southeast corner of the same and runs north along the east line of the Osage lands fifty miles, to the northeast corner thereof; and thence east to the west line of the state of Missouri; thence with said line south fifty miles; thence west to the place of beginning—estimated to contain 800,000 acres of land; but it is expressly understood that if any of the lands assigned the Quapaws shall fall within the aforesaid bounds, the same

shall be reserved and excepted out of the lands above granted, and a *pro rata* reduction shall be made in the price to be allowed to the United States for the same by the Cherokees."

The third article of the treaty of 1835, by which the Neutral Lands were ceded to the Cherokees, provided as follows:

"The United States also agree that the lands above ceded by the treaty of February 14, 1833, including the outlet and those ceded by this treaty [Neutral Lands], shall all be included in one patent executed to the Cherokee nation of Indians by the president of the United States, according to the provisions of the act of May 28, 1830."

V.—EARLY SETTLEMENTS.

In 1820 a Presbyterian mission was established a few miles northeast of the Neutral Lands, on the Marais des Cygnes, and another a few miles south, on the Neosho.

In 1842 a site was selected for a fort on Spring river by United States troops, but as the half-breed claimant of the site wanted $4000 for it and the troops were authorized to pay out but $1000 it was abandoned, and the troops were stationed at Camp Scott (now Fort Scott), nearly fifty miles to the north.

The tradition is that the Indians objected to any government fort being built on the Neutral Land. Half-breed Cherokees and whites who had married into the Cherokee tribe selected places on the Neutral Land, picking out a few of the best places, and settled there years prior to the war. But the settlements were not many, and were confined to the southeast and northeast corners, called respectively "Spring river" and "Drywood," [the Indian names].

In 1847 the Catholic Osage mission was established in what is now Neosho county, a few miles west of the Neutral Land. The site became the city of Osage Mission, and afterwards the county-seat of Neosho county. The name of the town was afterwards changed to St. Paul and the county-seat removed to Erie.

The priest who did a great work there among the Osage Indians was named Poncilleoni. I saw him during the civil war and saw his mission house before the whites settled in the Osage country. The girls made their own clothing, and very tasteful artificial flowers with which to decorate the chapel. The priest told me his name meant "the bill of a bee." He was an Italian.

VI.—M'GEE COUNTY.

From 1835 the "buffer" tract was called the "Cherokee Neutral Land."

When Kansas was organized as a territory, the tract was called McGee county, the name being given in honor of one M. W. McGee, a man who was elected by fraudulent Missouri votes in the fifth district. He was admitted, after a contest, to the first session of the "bogus" legislature, 1855, which sat at Pawnee.

He was a great pro-slavery man, and submitted the majority report in the session of 1855 upon "House bill No. 79, exempting slaves from execution." In the report he makes a stump speech. (H. Jour. 1855, appendix, p. 19.)

"Is it 'fraud' to prevent the household servants of the young bride from being sold to pay the debts of her profligate husband? . . .

"The design of the bill is *not* to compromise with Northern fanaticism. . . . How long will they continue to abuse our patience? Is there not room enough for them in Liberia, Jamaica, and the Danish islands? . . .

"Let the wild heresies of the East succeed in Kansas, and who shall arrest the career of Goths and Vandals and knightly pilgrims of the North, led by some modern Attila, Alaric, or Peter the Hermit?

"They look upon Kansas as a mere resting point, where their exhausted forces may regale themselves and prepare for future rapine. Let them succeed, and the

proud columns of our national fabric will crumble into ruins. The minstrels of the South will drop the lyre and grasp the harp of woe, and wake the mountain echoes with its wail. Respectfully submitted."

This was a bad start for the Neutral Lands, and misfortune followed it for twenty years.

The name of McGee county was afterwards changed to Cherokee, and afterwards the tract was divided and became Cherokee, Crawford, and part of Bourbon. (Laws 1867, ch. 32, p. 50.)

VII.—ENCROACHMENTS BEFORE CIVIL WAR.

The settlement in the Neutral Lands was not satisfactory to the Osages. It deprived them of their protection from encroachment. In 1858 a few whites began to move in and make settlements in the Neutral Lands. In 1859, at the solicitation of the Cherokee Indian agent, and by direction of President Buchanan, these settlers were driven off by United States troops under Captain Sturgis, and their houses burned. The object and intention was to clear the land. This was demanded by both Cherokees and Osages. Fort Scott, with a military garrison, was situated five miles north of the Neutral Land, and Captain Sturgis was there stationed.

This is the Sturgis who, from Kansas, joined General Lyon in the Springfield campaign in the summer of 1861, and afterwards became a major general. He was a very efficient officer when not too full of whisky.

After the war, I had a talk with a soldier who was engaged in 1859 in putting the settlers off the Neutral Land. He said they took a big wagon train, and made trips down into the Neutral Land, and when they came to a house they carried all the household property out and put it into a wagon, and then burned the house, and hauled all the stuff and all the people who wanted to be hauled with it to Fort Scott, and dumped them down at a camp ground near the fort.

But those who were expelled went back again, and the population, when the civil war broke out, was said to be, men, women, and children, 1500, but this is doubtful.

VIII.—NEUTRAL LAND, CIVIL WAR.

During the war the Neutral Land was raided from end to end. Down on Spring river, in the southeast corner, a government post was planted, called Baxter Springs. This was after the Pea Ridge battle and the conquest of northwest Arkansas. But southwest Missouri and northwest Arkansas were swarming with guerrillas, bushwhackers, and outlaws, and what one did not take the others did. The Neutral Land was campaigned over by both sides during the civil war, but no important engagement took place thereon. But raids were incessant from the Indian territory, Arkansas, and Missouri.

The so-called civilized tribes of Indians down in the territory had disagreed among themselves. Some of them joined the confederacy and some of them were loyal to the government, but the greater part were with the confederacy, because the confederacy had been long planned, and the assistance of the Indians against the government had been looked after at a very early date. In fact, as soon as the civil war was under way the Confederate States made an offensive and defensive treaty with the national council of the Cherokees, which treaty was, after the occupation of Arkansas and much fighting on the border, repealed in 1863 by the Cherokee council. It is stated that Col. Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee, was chairman of the Arkansas convention of secession.

IX.—CIVIL WAR—BAXTER SPRINGS.

The most serious of the many raids upon the Neutral Land was that which resulted in the battle and massacre at Baxter Springs on October 6, 1863. The

following is the account of this massacre, as given in Greeley's Conflict, vol. 2, page 452:

"General Blunt, having been on business to Kansas, was returning with a small cavalry escort to Fort Smith, when he was struck, near Baxter Springs, Cherokee nation, by Quantrill, with 600 guerrillas, and most of his small escort killed or disabled. Among the eighty killed—nearly all after they had been captured—were Maj. H. Z. Curtis, son of Maj. Gen. S. R. Curtis, and several civilians. [General Curtis named Fort Zarah for this son.] General Blunt, rallying some fifteen of his guard, escaped capture and death by great coolness and courage; their persistency in boldly fighting creating a belief that they were the van of a heavy force. A considerable train that accompanied them was sacked and burned. The attack was made very near the little post known as Fort Blair, which was next assailed; but its defenders, though few, were brave, and well led by Lieutenant Pond, Third Wisconsin cavalry, who beat the enemy off, inflicting a loss of eleven killed and many more wounded. General Blunt and his remnant of escort kept the prairie till night, then made their way to the post. They had not ventured thither before, apprehending that it had been taken."

A longer and more detailed account, by Dr. W. H. Warner, of Girard, is to be found in the History of Kansas, A. F. Andreas & Co., Chicago, 1883.

X.—NEUTRAL LAND IN 1865.

I first went over the Neutral Land, the whole length from north to south, while in the army, in 1865. We passed the settlements on Drywood creek, but in the whole Neutral Land I saw no habited house, but saw several standing chimneys. The Neutral Land, in the beginning of 1865, was entirely an unsettled country. There was a road through it leading from Fort Scott down past Baxter Springs to Fort Gibson and to Fort Smith.

We camped at one place, now in Crawford county, where there were holes in the prairie which appeared very strange, and an examination showed that there was a large coal bank close to the surface, and that prairie fires had burned out the coal bank, which was from four to six feet thick, and that these holes had filled up with water and retained it on the surface of the prairie. The "holes in the prairie" were well known camping places. The grass was exceedingly tall and rank, which was explained by the fact that it had never been plowed or cultivated, and that very few cattle had grazed on it. During the war it would have been impossible to have held any cattle within that territory without a military guard. Deer, prairie-chickens, quails and other game were very abundant, and continually in sight.

In the southern portion of the tract the forests of Spring river and the Neosho were very dense and heavy. I remember in many places where aged black walnut trees had grown up, and in their maturity had fallen over, and their trunks, four and five feet in thickness, were lying on the ground. We camped on both the Neosho and Spring rivers, and there seemed to be a vast amount of the seasoned black walnuts lying there, apparently indestructible.

I made up my mind that when the war was over I was going to the Neutral Land and enter up some land, which I afterwards did. It seems that many other soldiers with like experience came to a like conclusion.

Late in 1865 settlement began again, hostilities having ended during the summer.

The year 1866 was a devasting-grasshopper year, and there was but little emigration to the Neutral Land.

XI.—NEUTRAL LAND IN 1867.

In 1867 I started from Iowa for Kansas. There being no railroads nearer than Kansas City, the trip had to be made in wagons. With a party in emigrant

wagons from Iowa, which party I had joined in Missouri, I entered the Neutral Land from the east about June 1, 1867, coming from a point near where Carthage, Mo., had stood. Southwestern Missouri had no appearances of civilization except blackened chimneys. Carthage had disappeared, except as to some ruins, but as we came through there were two or three native lumber buildings going up, a little sawmill having been brought into the country. But we could not lay in supplies there, and the party with which I was traveling determined first to go in and select land and then go and get supplies afterwards. The first "store" we found in the Neutral Land was on the road leading west to Cow creek. The store had been established but a very short time, and a blacksmith shop made out of native lumber was being built. It was called Neutral City, and was situated, as near as I can now judge, in the northeast part of Cherokee county—I would say about section 3, township 32, range 25.

There were quite a lot of covered wagons at the store when we arrived, one bright, beautiful morning, after a heavy rain. Everybody carried from one to two revolvers strapped on, and every man wore some part of a government uniform—cap, blouse, or pants. We traveled south toward Shawnee creek and camped near a house. I went up to the house to get some directions in regard to travel, and found it belonged to Doctor McDowell, with whom I got acquainted at that time. He subsequently became a very important personage in the affairs of the Neutral Land. The old Neutral City, which afterward became a village and post-office, must not be confounded with the station of "Neutral," on the Gulf road, between Columbus and Baxter Springs. They are two entirely different places. From Doctor McDowell's we crossed to the west side of the county over territory entirely uninhabited. At a place called Millersburg, in the forks of Cherry creek, there was a little log cabin recently erected, and a garden, and a shanty with the sign "STORE" on it. A person who was working in the garden came up and unlocked a padlock and opened the store. We wanted some matches. An inventory of the store would have shown about $150 worth of goods. When we got our matches, the man locked the store up with his padlock and went off to his work. His name was Whitcraft.

We camped west of where Hallowell is now located. There were a few new settlers on Cherry creek. Over on the Neosho there were some farms. After taking up our "claims," of which there was ample opportunity to satisfy any one, and bacon being fifty cents a pound, corn-meal six cents a pound, and flour fifteen cents a pound, we determined to go over to Missouri and buy a wagon-load of provisions. It was a very long trip. Southwestern Missouri was a desolated area, and southeastern Kansas had been eaten up by grasshoppers the year before. We had to go up on the Osage river, and succeeded in buying and having corn-meal ground for a dollar a bushel, and buying bacon for twenty-five cents a pound; other things in proportion.

There was at that time some discussion in regard to the Neutral Land question, and as to whether it would soon "come in"; that is, be open to homestead settlement.

I had scarcely returned with my party of four from the Missouri trip after provisions, when one of my new acquaintances came to me and told me that a preacher named Buckmaster, down towards the Neosho, was going to get up a posse to come up and lynch me. He said that I was a "reb." and a guerrilla in Missouri, and that he had shot at me by moonlight when I was trying to steal his horses, and that they did not want any horse thieves and rebels in Kansas. The feeling was exceedingly bitter in regard to Missouri bushwhacking and guerrillas, and, as the emigrants were almost all soldiers, and everybody wore a

revolver, it was a dangerous thing to be considered a Missouri bushwhacker. I concluded that the best thing for me to do was to hunt Mr. Buckmaster up immediately. So, getting onto a horse, I started. When nearing Mr. Buckmaster's I saw a man putting some clapboards on a log-cabin stable. As he seemed to be an old settler, probably having been there a year, and, supposing he would know the old settlers of the neighborhood, I rode up to him and asked him whether there were any Iowa soldiers around anywhere. He looked at me for a short time, and then said: "No, I do not know any Iowa soldiers, but I know you." I asked him whom he thought I was, and he said: "You were an officer on Gen. Bob. Mitchell's staff, and I saw you at 'such and such a place.'" I said to him: "You are right, and I was there"; and he said: "When I see a man I never forget him." So I took his name, and went down to see Mr. Buckmaster, told him who I was, and referred him to this man; took supper with Mr. Buckmaster - paid him twenty-five cents for it—and he said I had a narrow escape. This Buckmaster turned out to be one of the most furious, flaming, ranting preachers of the period. He was a great frontier expounder, exhorter, and hunter. He was spiritually minded like a goat.

The country rapidly filled up; almost every man a soldier. The official history of the Neutral Land, which gives clews to some of the events which took place, is as follows:

XII.—OFFICIAL HISTORY—ACT OF 1830.

Returning now to the official history of the Neutral Land, we find that the act of May 28, 1830 (4 Stat. at Large, 411), provided that the president of the United States might cause so much of the territory west of the Mississippi river not included in any state or organized territory, and to which Indian title had been extinguished, as he might judge necessary, to be divided into a suitable number of districts for the reception of such tribes as might choose to exchange for such districts the lands then occupied thereon.

Section 3 of this act is as follows:

"*And be it further enacted*, That, in the making of any such exchange or exchanges, it shall and may be lawful for the president solemnly to assure the tribe or nation with which the exchange is made that the United States will forever secure and guarantee to them and their heirs or successors the country so exchanged with them; and if they prefer it, that the United States will cause a patent or grant to be made and executed to them for the same; provided, always, that such lands shall revert to the United States if the Indians become extinct or abandon the same."

The patent provided for in this section was executed by President Van Buren December 31, 1838. It followed substantially the provisions of the treaty of 1835. A copy of the patent may be found at page 44 in the congressional report, bound in a volume in the Kansas State Historical Society entitled "Cherokee Neutral Laws" (Lands), which book and report I will hereafter quote as "C. N. L."

XIII.—CHEROKEE TREATY OF 1866.

By the treaty of July 19, 1866, the Cherokees ceded "the Neutral Lands" to the United States *in trust*, the language of the section of the treaty by which the land was granted being as follows:

"The Cherokee nation hereby cedes, in trust, to the United States the tract of land in the state of Kansas which was sold to the Cherokees by the United States under the provisions of the second article of the treaty of 1835, and also that strip of land ceded to the nation by the fourth article of said treaty, which is included in the state of Kansas: and the Cherokees consent that said lands may be included in the limits and jurisdiction of the said state.

"The lands herein ceded shall be surveyed as the public lands of the United

States are surveyed, under the direction of the commissioner of the general land office, and shall be appraised by two disinterested persons, one to be designated by the Cherokee national council and one by the secretary of the interior, and, in case of a disagreement, by a third person, to be mutually selected by the aforesaid appraisers: the appraisement to be not less than an average of $1.25 per acre, exclusive of improvements.

"And the secretary of the interior shall, from time to time, as such surveys and appraisements are approved by him, after due advertisements for sealed bids, sell such lands to the highest bidders for cash, in parcels not exceeding 160 acres, and at not less than the appraised value; *provided*, that whenever there are improvements of the value of fifty dollars made on the lands, not being mineral, and owned and personally occupied by any person for agricultural purposes at the date of the signing hereof, such persons so owning and in person residing on such improvements shall, after due proof, made under such regulations as the secretary of the interior may prescribe, be entitled to buy, at the appraised value, the smallest quantity of land, in legal subdivisions which will include his improvements, not exceeding in the aggregate 160 acres; the expenses of survey and appraisement to be paid by the secretary out of the proceeds of sale of said land; *provided*, that nothing in this article shall prevent the secretary of the interior from selling the whole of said Neutral Lands in a body to any responsible party, for cash, for a sum not less than $800,000." (14 Stat. at Large, 115–120.)

By amendment, the last proviso of this section was changed so as to read as follows:

"Amendment 2. Strike out the last proviso in article 17, and insert, in lieu thereof, the following: Provided, that nothing in this article shall prevent the secretary of the interior from selling the whole of said lands not occupied by actual settlers at the date of the ratification of this treaty, not exceeding 160 acres to each person entitled to preemption under the preemption laws of the United States, in a body, to any responsible party, for cash, for a sum not less than one dollar per acre." (123.)

XIV.—AMERICAN EMIGRANT COMPANY.

On August 30, 1866, James Harlan, then secretary of the interior, sold the Neutral Lands to the American Emigrant Company. This was a Connecticut corporation, incorporated in 1863, with an authorized capital of $1,000,000, by Andrew G. Hammond, Francis Gillette, John Hooker, Franklin Chamberlin, and Henry K. W. Welch, of Hartford, Conn.; Samuel P. Lyman, of New York; and Ferdinand C. D. McKay, James C. Savery, and Tallmadge E. Brown, of Des Moines, Iowa. At the time of the attempted purchase of the Neutral Lands the directors of the company were Harris, Chamberlin, Williams, Savery, and Hooker. It was a great and dishonest act. It was done by Secretary Harlan just as he was about to retire from office, and the newspapers were full of complaint against it as being a dishonest, corrupt, boodling transaction, and it, among other things, assisted in retiring Mr. Harlan from the United States senate, and raising a great outcry against him as a dishonest man. There were some who stated that he did it at the instigation of Mr. Pomeroy, the United States senator from Kansas. Such charge was probably true. Pomeroy and Harlan enjoyed, in the newspapers of that time, a similar notoriety. Both of them were intentionally devout. Both of them worked under ministerial influence to the fullest extent, and both of them were charged with bribe taking and bribe giving, and both of them went out of office under the same kind of a cloud.

A copy of the Harlan contract will be found in the book above cited, C. N. L., page 47. It was a sale on credit, before the land was surveyed, and provided for only $25,000 down.

It was openly charged at the time that the Harlan contract was made under strained circumstances. The story goes that Mr. Harlan was to go out of office at twelve midnight, September 1, 1866, and that his successor, Mr. Browning,

was waiting patiently in the anteroom to take possession. (He had been appointed July 27.) The political situation was very squally. Mr. Harlan had all of his clerks up at night, and he was finishing up business at a furious rate. After midnight, it is claimed, Mr. Harlan signed the Neutral Land contract, dating it two days back, and sent it out for record in the department. Mr. Browning did not get the surrender of the portfolio until about one A. M., and the first thing he did was to intervene, hold up the contract, and ask a ruling of the attorney-general thereon.

XV.—OVERTHROW OF THE HARLAN SALE.

On October 4, 1866, Atty.-Gen. Henry Stanbery rendered an opinion (12 Op. Attys.-Gen., 57) on this sale, to the effect that it was void because made on time and not for cash, while the treaty with the Cherokees provided that the sale of the land should be made for cash. Acting on this opinion, Secretary Browning, Harlan's successor, set aside the sale, although $25,000 of the purchase-price had been paid.

This was the condition of things when I entered the Neutral Land. Everybody supposed the land would be government land: it had been deeded to the United States. The Osages had sold to the United States that portion of Kansas adjoining the Neutral Land (and running thirty miles west), by treaty made September 21, 1866, proclaimed January 21, 1867. (14 Stat. at Large.)

At the date of the promulgation of the treaty of August 11, 1866, there were on the Neutral Land 1031 families. At the fall election there were 322 votes, which shows that most of the settlers had not been on the land long enough to vote.

XVI.—JOHNSON'S NEW CABINET.

When O. H. Browning got in as secretary of the interior, the settlers demanded of Senator Pomeroy and Congressman Sidney Clarke that they be on the alert and not let the land be sold again. The promises were made and repeated, and the newspapers of the state, as a rule, sided with the settlers. Both Pomeroy and Clarke were unreliable, and worked together. One was the senior senator. The other was the only congressman. Either one of them was able to prevent a sale. Either one would talk business with the lobby. I knew them both personally. Congressman "Sid." Clarke made a speech in Fort Scott in the summer of 1867, at which time he sent for people to come up from the Neutral Land to hear him. I came up and heard him. He promised the settlers their land for $1.25 per acre, and was much applauded by his audience. He put in the balance of his time defending President "Andy" Johnson, who had then started to develop "my policy," that was to bring about his impeachment.

The soldier settlers of the Neutral Land were all opposed to President Johnson's policy; they feared it would reopen the civil war, and they suspicioned Clarke.

The president had fixed up a new cabinet in July, 1866, but its members did not all get to work soon. Kansas was not with the president, and, politically, the people of the Neutral Land were opposed to Browning, the new secretary of the interior, and well they might be. Stanbery came in with Browning, on President Johnson's new deal, as attorney-general, and the administration stood together, and when the term closed none of them were ever heard of afterward.

XVII.—BROWNING, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

In a congressional report (C. N. L., p. 9), we find the following comments on the new secretary of the interior:

"There are many other as cogent reasons why the [Harlan] sale was void, which were not submitted to the attorney general, and hence never passed upon.

"How long Secretary Browning retained this opinion does not appear of record and cannot be deduced from the facts, but on the 9th day of October, 1867, something over eleven months after he declared the *sale* by Harlan void, he undertook to make one [sale] of the same lands to James F. Joy, of Detroit, Mich. But he too violated the provisions of the treaty of 1866. He gave no official or 'due advertisement' of an intention to sell. He did not sell 'all of said lands in a body,' as the Cherokee strip was not included. He did not sell under 'sealed bids,' as the treaty contemplates. The best explanation of what he did do may be ascertained from the official statement that he himself made to the house (see Ex. Doc. No. 85, XLth Cong., 2d ses.), as follows:

"'I suggested and urged at the last session of congress that the United States should become the purchaser at one dollar per acre and issue bonds in payment thereof. Such a proposition was, I believe, submitted to congress but not accepted.

"'After the adjournment of congress, I authorized an unofficial statement to be made in newspapers that the proposals for the purchase of said lands in a body would be received at the department until the 1st of October.

"'Early in October, Mr. James F. Joy, of Detroit, Mich., proposed to take the lands in a body at one dollar per acre, and pay the cash for them.

"'No other offer was made. I accepted Mr. Joy's, and concluded a contract with him, from which all lands occupied by actual settlers at the date of the ratification of the treaty were excluded. A copy of the contract is herewith furnished.'

"There were no bids under this 'unofficial statement in newspapers.' . . .

"There was no attempt by either Harlan or Browning to sell in parcels to settlers or purchase under sealed bids, as provided by the treaty, or official notice for competition in bids for the whole in a body."

XVIII.—PRESIDENTIAL PROMISES.

The iniquity of the Joy sale was increased by the fact that it was openly and generally charged that Browning and Joy were brothers-in-law. The last sale was more villainous than the first. The population had increased to over 5,000, and their rights were being taken away.

Pomeroy and Clarke were hand in glove with the "Joy purchase," and were being flagellated by the newspapers. "Browning and his brother-in-law" was the text of many Western editorials, and nobody believed but that the whole transaction would be set aside. It was also claimed that Kansas men who had called in Washington upon the president had been assured that the settlers would get the land. And letters were claimed to have been written by the president containing the same statement to settlers on the Neutral Land who had formerly been officers of the army, and who knew Andy Johnson during the war, at Nashville, while he was military governor of Tennessee.

The Leavenworth *Times*, under charge of Col. D. R. Anthony, was very fearless in its criticisms of both Pomeroy and Clarke.

XIX.—BROWNING SALE TO JOY.

The contract between Browning and his brother-in-law, Joy, was dated October 9, 1867. The fact did not get into the public prints as soon as it should, but in the meantime the land had been officially surveyed. A more inaccurate or dishonest job of surveying was probably never done before that time in the public surveys. The survey took place hastily between the two sales.

I remember coming onto a township corner in 1867. It was a green cottonwood stick about one inch in diameter and five feet long, stuck into the ground. The stick was whittled flat on one side, and the boundaries marked on with a lead-pencil. My companion said: "We must select our land quickly, before the boundaries get away."

A copy of the contract of sale to Joy will be found in C. N. L. page 10.

Question as to the validity of the Joy title was raised everywhere, and Pomeroy and Clarke said that the sale was void, and they tried to explain how it could have taken place without their knowledge.

On June 6, 1868, the American Emigrant Company transferred to Joy all of

its rights under the Harlan sale. (A copy of this transfer, together with a copy of the charter of the company, will be found in C. N. L. pp. 47, 48, 49.)

Settlers on the Osage lands, on the west, were having trouble with their lands, and a Fourth of July (1868) was arranged at which Pomeroy and Clarke were ordered to be present, but they did not come.

XX.—FOURTH OF JULY, 1868.

But a Fourth of July episode did occur at Baxter Springs. A town had arisen near the old government post. It was a "wide open," lawless town. It was the toughest town then on earth. It was near "Battle Corners," as Noble Prentis called that territory near which Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas and the Indian territory cornered. The guerrillas and outlaws of the civil war were then alive and in their prime. Baxter Springs had become an outlet for Texas cattle.

James F. Joy went down to see the people of Baxter Springs, and made them the same speech that he had made at Fort Scott and other places on the line. He told them of the immense capital that was back of him, and how he was going to build a railroad that would make them all rich. He depicted to the lot-owners how property would rise, and what a metropolis Baxter Springs would become.

The owners of town lots had no sympathy with settlers on public lands, and they espoused the cause of Mr. Joy.

The Baxter Springs *Herald* of July 4, 1868, gives an account of a visit to the town of Mr. Joy and Congressman Grinnell, of Iowa, and of a meeting at which the following resolutions were adopted:

"WHEREAS, The citizens of Baxter Springs have had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Joy and Mr. Grinnell—Mr. Joy being the purchaser of the Cherokee Neutral Lands: therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we are fully satisfied with the plan marked out by him by which the settlers on said lands are to be dealt with, and we deem said plan to be just and liberal in the highest degree, and will finally result more beneficially to the settlers than any other heretofore proposed plan.

"*Be it further resolved*, That we are in favor of the early completion of the proposed railroad, and will give him our united support in favoring the great enterprise."

So Baxter Springs placed itself in antagonism to the settlers. It wanted to be the county-seat, but the settlers voted for a piece of high prairie, where Columbus now stands. I was one who went with a party to pile up stone to mark the site where the county-seat should be. The antagonism between Baxter Springs and the settlers was bitter and enduring. It lasted until Baxter Springs was dead and a reminiscence. It disappeared like an exhalation; and years afterwards was refounded by other men, under other circumstances, and under better auspices.

Armed men rode into Baxter Springs and took what public records there were and moved them to the new town of Columbus, the county-seat, and more than once the former town was in danger of invasion and destruction. Those in Baxter Springs who favored the settlers left Baxter Springs, and either moved to Columbus or out of the county.

But Baxter Springs was very prosperous for awhile. People with money invested there, and they also invested in Fort Scott, on the strength of Mr. Joy's speeches. A man then, who afterward became a client of mine, invested $30,000 in Baxter Springs lots. Years afterward, as his agent, I sold the whole business, with three deserted dwellings and one large store building, for $126. The store building absolutely rotted down, and was not even used as fire-wood, so great was the desolation that overwhelmed Baxter Springs.

Messrs. Joy and Grinnell, after so visiting Baxter Springs, had to return to Kansas City, Mo., by horse power, there being no railroad.

I was breaking prairie the next forenoon with some very ill-tempered mules, which took up almost my entire attention. I heard a voice, and, looking around, I found two men in a buggy, with a large, strong span of horses close behind me. I immediately recognized one of them as Mr. Grinnell. He had been my father's guest in Iowa. I knew him well. He did not recognize me, and I did not want to be recognized. I noticed Mr. Joy carefully, and knew who he was by a picture I had seen in a large print. They were driving across a trackless piece of prairie through the high grass, and were trying to find a road running to the northwest.

Two or three hours afterwards a detachment of horsemen came along trying to find and overtake them. It was the arrangement of an impromptu party to capture them, but it did not succeed. The party had watched another road too long.

XXI.—THE SUPPLEMENTAL TREATY.

Although the American Emigrant Company did not transfer its interest to Joy until June 6, 1868, a supplemental treaty was made by the United States with the Cherokees, ratifying the Harlan sale and ratifying the transfer of the emigrant company under the Harlan sale to James F. Joy, *and this was done on April 27, 1868*, which shows that the government of the United States knew on April 27, 1868, that a transfer was to be made June 6, 1868, *and, considering it was made, ratified it.*

And then, upon June 6, 1868, the United States senate ratified the treaty containing the said provisions; and on June 10, 1868, the treaty was proclaimed by the president.

Said so-called "treaty" sets aside the Joy sale, but specifically gives Joy full rights to all of the land *under the Harlan sale.* This was necessary so as to scoop in the land occupied in the meantime by about 3000 people under the public-land law. The law gave a homestead on five years' occupation, but service in the army was counted in, and the soldier who had served three years got title in two years, but with the right to buy the land at $1.25 per acre.

The "treaty" ratified by the senate cut off these rights from all settlers coming in after July 19, 1866. This precious document is found in 16 Statutes at Large, page 727.

In 1871, being in Washington on some business, I met a public man whom I well knew, who told me that that act went through the United States senate when but three persons were present, that it was done at a night session, that there was no formal report, and that the subject was never examined by a committee in the United States senate, nor did the United States senate know anything about the matter as a proposition, nor take any action in a legitimate way, but the matter was run through by Mr. Harlan and Mr. Pomeroy, who managed it.

XXII.—CONGRESSIONAL ACTION.

While these matters were taking place, and while the Kansas representatives were silent and getting their pay, a Mr. Julian, from Indiana, caused to be passed a house resolution, as follows:

"*Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:*

"That the president of the United States be and he is hereby directed to withhold the issuing of patents to the purchasers of lands heretofore sold, or which may hereafter be sold, under and by virtue of the treaty between the United States and the Cherokee Indians concluded on the nineteenth day of July, in the year

eighteen hundred and sixty-six, and the treaty between the United States and the Great and Little Osage Indians, concluded on the twenty-ninth day of September, in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-five, or under any Indian treaty which may hereafter be concluded, until otherwise provided for by law.

"Passed the house of representatives June 3, 1868.

"Attest: EDWARD MCPHERSON, *Clerk.*"

Three days after the efforts of the Indiana congressman, the Kansas member succeeded in getting Mr. Joy through the senate as above set forth.

Thereupon a joint resolution was passed by congress (house of representatives) June 13, 1868, demanding that all persons settling in the Neutral Lands prior to June 10, 1868, should have their lands for $1.25 per acre. (A copy of the resolution is found in C. N. L., page 21.) The president paid no attention to these matters. He persistently ignored all suggestions from the house of representatives. They were in the way. They were against "my policy." He placed himself defiantly against them. He was making reasons why he should be impeached. He was wholly reckless, was impeached, and was saved by one vote, and it was the vote of a new Kansas senator (Ross). Why should it be strange that the nemesis of fate should pursue that Kansas senator. He as well as Pomeroy and Clarke were exiled from the state by the imperial decree of public opinion.

XXIII.—MR. JOY'S EXCUSE.

James F. Joy was at that time the president of the Michigan Central railroad. In an argument before the committee of the house on Indian affairs, he made the following statement regarding his connection with the transaction:

"I will give a short history of my connection with these Cherokee Neutral Lands. I am engaged, as some of you know, as the agent of gentlemen in the eastern section of the union, who are engaged in building railroads in the West. I commenced with them in Michigan, and in the progress of events these operations extended till they reached Illinois and Missouri and Kansas City. At that point it was my design to stop and never proceed any further. Having succeeded in bridging the Missouri and completing roads so that we could reach the road in Kansas, it was my design to stop. But when we reached that point there were other interests found beyond, and I was importuned, on behalf of gentlemen in Kansas, to take up the border-tier road in Kansas, which runs through the Neutral Lands, and thence down through the Indian country, so as to make a great route for an outlet for the productions of the country to the Gulf. Kansas is some 800 miles nearer the tide-waters by this route to the Gulf than in any other direction, and the interest of that section requires this outlet. My friends importuned me to take up that road and build it. It was the natural direction for a road; and, although it was not my purpose to take it up, yet in the progress of the discussion and in portraying the advantages from building it, they brought to my mind this tract of land called the Neutral Lands. It is fifty miles long and twenty-five miles wide. It was represented to me, and by some gentlemen now on this committee, that there were few settlers there; that it was almost entirely destitute of population, but a good country; and that there might be a sufficient inducement for capitalists to take hold of it, because the lands might be of such value that they would make it best to build the road. They thought they would, however, build the road if they could get the lands, and they thought that if I would allow them to use my name in the proposition for that land to the department at Washington they could purchase it.

"I said to them, after great hesitation, they might do so; and Colonel Coates, of Kansas City, the president of that railroad company, visited Washington during the last administration, and made a proposition to Mr. Browning to purchase this land. That was in the month of June, 1867, I think. Mr. Browning said to him: 'I will not accept the proposition now, but I will publish an informal notice in the newspapers that they are still in the market, as, on account of some informality in the treaty, the former contract was declared invalid.' He said that propositions would be received for them until the 1st of October following, and then he said: 'If you come to Washington and make a proposition that I think I can accept, I will do it.' Mr. Coates went home, and he made a proposition for the lands in my name, and Mr. Browning accepted that proposition.

An informal contract was prepared. I did not then intend to have these lands, nor to take up this road, but the parties were exceedingly anxious to have the road, and I so far permitted them to use my name.

"In the meantime these lands had been sold to what was called the American Emigrant Company. When the contract was made with me in behalf of this railroad company, that emigrant company rose into life and published all over the world that they owned these lands, and they should contest the sale.

"I wrote immediately to Mr. Browning, stating the nature of the contest, which I did not want to be involved in, and requesting him to cancel the contract with me. I had never dreamed of any controversy with the settlers in these lands. Mr. Browning wrote back that he thought he had done the best thing for the Indians, as they would lose the lands if they were not sold, and he held me to the contract; and the result was a controversy between the emigrant company and myself.

"My contract was with the department, and they were made powerless by the emigrant company disregarding their title. Nothing could be done. So it remained till June, 1868, when the emigrant company, some of them, came to me and requested that a compromise should be made, and that we should pay them something. I declined squarely. I said there was no money made out of it, and if there was to be a controversy we were not to be involved in it. This led to a good deal of discussion and negotiation. The contract made in my name was for cash, and money was worth eight or ten per cent. Their scrip was taken at five per cent. annually. They sent to me a proposition and said: 'You can afford to pay something as the difference between your contract and ours. If you take our contract and have it sanctioned by the Cherokees there is the difference between seven and five per cent. Figure that out and we will go to the Cherokees and have a new treaty; and if the government sanctions it, we will have the lands transferred to you.' In the position in which we were it was for my interest to have it accepted, and, after considering the question and consultation with my friends in Boston and New York, I concluded to accept the proposition. They came here and consulted with the Cherokee delegation. They were glad to have the difficulty settled, so that they could receive the interest for their money, and the result was a new treaty, embodied in this document."

XXIV.—W. R. LAUGHLIN.

One day in 1868 a report was circulated that there would be a meeting in a log schoolhouse which had recently been put up near the mouth of Cherry creek. I rode on horseback eight miles to attend the meeting, and met several of my old-soldier friends there. Mr. W. R. Laughlin was sitting in a chair, and on an extemporized coarse table, made out of a packing box, there burned two tallow candles. The room contained the heads of nearly all the families for several miles around. Mr. Laughlin got up and said that he lived over near Neutral City, and that a couple of weeks before he and his neighbors were penning some Texas steers that had been driven in, and that it had been very tiresome work, and that they had sat around on the top of the rail pen and had got to discussing this Joy matter, and had come to the conclusion that something ought to be done, and that they had delegated him to come around and talk in the various settlements in the Neutral Land and tell them how it was understood to be.

Then he made a little talk in regard to what the homestead laws were and the acts of congress which gave to every soldier a homestead or a right to purchase for $1.25 per acre, and he said that the people of the Neutral Lands were all soldiers, and each one was entitled to a homestead, and that they must resist the giving away of the land to speculators, and that they ought to organize and appoint committees for the various localities, so as to be able to get up meetings and act together, and he said that this was the first meeting that he had called. Mr. Laughlin spoke about half an hour. He was very plainly dressed, rough bearded, coarse, awkward as a dromedary—hesitating, confused. He could not get himself together. He was talking, and spitting all over the floor, kept his hands in his pockets, and when he pulled them out he pulled out a jack-knife and played

with it in his hands while he talked. The light in the room was very dim. He snuffed the candle with his fingers and rubbed it on his pants, which were stuffed into his boots, on which were a big pair of Texas spurs, his boots being very coarse and about up to his knees.

In the discussion which grew up around I took no part. I had seen so many good speakers that it was painful for me to listen to Mr. Laughlin, who was so rude and ignorant and boorish. I came away with a man who had become a great friend of mine. He was a captain in Birge's sharpshooters, one of the celebrated regiments of the civil war a very capable and intelligent man. As we rode away we both agreed that no movement would come to anything that would have such an ignoramus to head it as Laughlin, and we discussed the propriety of getting up an organization and getting some lawyer from Fort Scott or Kansas City. Strange as it may appear, Mr. Laughlin organized the Neutral Land well and put matters into good working order.

I would not have stated this episode were it not for the fact that he afterwards went to Washington and made speeches, and for the further fact that he came back and made speeches through southeastern Kansas, and one particularly that I went to hear, which was as fine an effort as any man need aspire to. I listened to him with absolute surprise. In three years he had become a polished orator, and he swayed a large crowd with an eloquence and adroitness that perfectly captivated me. I never made such a speech in my life as he made, and never could; and if I had to wish, I would only wish to be able to make as great a speech and as effective a speech as he made.

After the cause of the Neutral Land was lost in the courts, I had the honor of supporting Mr. Laughlin as a nominee for congress. Shortly after his nomination he was taken with a violent sickness in the form of typhoid, and during his whole candidacy he remained hanging to life by a thread. He never was able to leave his house during the whole campaign, and was beaten. Shortly after, having occasion to visit his part of the country, I inquired near his house whether he was still living there, for I wished to visit him. The person of whom I inquired said that Mr. Laughlin had left the country. I asked him where he went to. The man, pointing to a distant hill, said: "All any of us know is that he went up over that hill, going west. He did not have any money, and he got everything he had into a covered wagon, and one of the whippletrees needed a ferrule, and he said that he was going to go until he left Kansas, and that he was not going to spend a cent fixing anything until he got outside of the state." That is the last I ever heard or saw of Mr. Laughlin.

XXV.—AMOS SANFORD.

But during the term in which Laughlin became a leader there grew up an opposition leader by the name of Amos Sanford. His gift of oratory was not acquired nor built up by hand work. He had a natural gift. He could arise upon all occasions and talk upon all subjects. He could not say anything, as far as ideas went, or give anything new, but he had a wonderful flow of talk. Speech-making came as easy to him as breathing. He always desired to be talking. He never was satisfied unless he was talking. He called himself "the Patrick Henry of Kansas"; billed himself as such in speeches. Afterwards he went to the legislature. He was the bitter opponent of Mr. Laughlin, and tried in every way to break him down and dispose of him. There were very many who believed that Mr. Sanford was sincere, and Mr. Sanford succeeded in making a great many people believe that Mr. Laughlin was insincere. Cruel and mendacious stories were circulated about Mr. Laughlin having been "fixed" by the railroad company, and having been "fixed" by Mr. Joy. I took the side of Mr. Laughlin, because I saw that

he was improving and believed him to be an honest man and considered Mr. Sanford unsound. In fact, my idea of Mr. Sanford was that he was a blatherskite, and, at a private meeting between us which lasted a couple of hours, he endeavored to persuade me to join his forces.

I had been present at the founding of the county-seat at Columbus; had written the first will written in the county; had sat on the first jury, and was acquainted with a great many people in the county. His idea of binding me to him was that I should hold some county office, but this I did not care to do, and told him that if the fight came to a finish between him and Laughlin I should do my best to overthrow him, and support Laughlin. About four weeks after that, while absent from my shanty on the prairie, for it was only a shanty, where I was "keeping bach," I came back and found a piece of paper stuck up on my door ordering me to leave the county within forty-eight hours, and signed "Vigilance Committee." I thought it was some neighbor who was perpetrating a joke, but a couple of days after that a person who lived a couple of miles from me said: "What were all those people doing over to your house?" and then told me that he had seen a body of about sixty horsemen ride up to my house, and ride around it. I immediately struck out to find what was the matter, and, after riding about four miles in the direction which they were said to have gone, I came onto the fact that this body had been around notifying several Laughlin men to leave the county; and it seems as if that sort of a plan had been devised as a sort of a scare, for nothing came of it.

In 1870, while matters were very much perplexed, I was sent as a delegate to a county convention from the township in which I lived. Mr. Sanford ran the county convention. When the committee on credentials reported the names of the delegates, my name was omitted. I arose to demand why my name was not on the list, and was told that a Mr. So and So had been recognized as the delegate. Thereupon I told them that I knew Mr. So and So, and that he was not a resident of my township. Thereupon another man arose, and said that he knew that was so, too, but that this man had come in from the other township with a load of wood to sell, had been asked to take my place, and that I was being taken off the list, the same as he was. The Sanford scheme went through all right, and I was excluded from my seat, as were others. Mr. Sanford afterward left the state and went to preaching, and afterwards, I am told, went into an insane asylum.

XXVI.—THE LEAGUE.

The league soon became an important factor and dominated the entire Neutral Land. Mr. Laughlin was sent to Washington with money raised from public subscription. Baxter Springs continued to fight. Men were hired to come into the Neutral Land to talk and fight for "the Joy side." Newspapers were attempted to be established for that purpose, and much money was spent by "the Joy side," as it was called, to manufacture public opinion. Factions grew up in the league, but did not disturb its purpose. It dominated everything in politics and affairs of its territory, but no organized resistance to the rights of Mr. Joy and the railroad company was made until an attempt was made to take possession of and construct a road through the lands.

Late in the year 1868 John T. Cox, who had been one of the appraisers named to appraise the value of the improvements of the Cherokee Indians under the treaty of 1866, was put in charge of the land-office of the railroad company.

On December 18, 1868, notice was given to all persons who had settled and continued to live on the lands between August 11, 1866, and June 10, 1868, that they might make entry of the lands before a certain time, and thus prevent the

sale of the lands to other purchasers. All other lands except those settled upon prior to August 11, 1866, were to be open to preemption.

The survey of the road was made early in 1869, and with the beginning of the survey the actual trouble began. The organization known at first as "The Land League" and afterwards as "The Neutral Land Home-protecting Corps," was at first a peaceable and good-tempered organization, whose object was to keep a delegate in Washington to look after the interests of the settlers in congress, and to raise money to fight the railroad company in the courts. Many acts of violence were, however, done in the name of, or were at least ascribed to, the league. I never belonged to either organization, although I always subscribed money when needed. There was much opposition to the building of the road. On April 30, 1869, an engineers' party was attacked, their instruments destroyed and their wagons burned, and the engineers themselves whipped and warned to leave the country.

Late in June, 1869, about 400 ties belonging to the railroad company were burned, and early in August of the same year about 1600 more were burned.

Township assessors were warned not to assess the land of the railroad company for taxation, and in some cases the returns of such lands by the county clerks were taken away from them.

In April, 1869, J. W. Davis established a land-office for the railroad company at Columbus, but was notified to leave town, and did so.

In February, 1869, the land-office at Baxter Springs was raided.

In April, 1869, State Senator Voss, of Fort Scott, was driven from a public meeting in Columbus.

XXVII.—FOURTH OF JULY, 1869.

On July 4, 1869, a grand rally was called at Jacksonville, which was a town where four counties cornered. The settlers on the Osage lands were having trouble with "land-grabbers." A grand convention and national holiday celebration was organized. Pomeroy and Clarke were requested to come and make speeches. The Leavenworth *Times* had said: "What was Pomeroy doing when one of his warmest political and personal friends was selling to a company of foreign speculators 800,000 acres of the choicest lands in Kansas?" Sid. Clarke had been reelected in November, 1868, but it was for the last time. A public print of the day published his picture, labeled: "The essence of pure bribery and corruption."

Sid. Clarke came to the Jacksonville Fourth of July celebration. Three or four thousand people were there in wagons, camping. Clarke came in a covered farm wagon. I saw him get out. It is said he made a speech; I did not hear him. I was told he made a short one full of promises, and left instanter. I remember speakers occupying the platform and denouncing him violently. One of the best speeches made was by a young lawyer from Crawford county, C. Dana Sayres. In the evening a strange bonfire took place on an open square—an effigy of Pomeroy covered over with bean vines was publicly burned. Pomeroy went by the name of "Old Beans," owing to some of his early transactions while acting as agent for supplies during the Kansas famine. He was ostentatiously devout, and did not like the name of "Old Beans."

After the 4th of July, 1869, the "Joy purchase" was the prevailing question.

XXVIII.—THE UNITED STATES SOLDIERS.

The acts of violence and the growing disorder were the cause of a request by Governor Harvey that United States troops be sent to the lands to preserve order. His reasons for asking for federal troops instead of calling out the militia

were stated by him to an investigating committee appointed by the senate of Kansas in 1870, as follows:

"It [calling out state militia] would have involved the state in a great expense, and might have led to very unpleasant complications, for the reason that the controversy involved the question of title to a large tract of lands, both the parties claiming to have title from different departments of the United States government: the question being susceptible of settlement only by the United States authorities, I deemed it proper to ask that the military representative of the government be sent there for the preservation of the peace and the protection of the persons and property until the question at issue could be settled by the proper authority."

At the time when Governor Harvey requested that the troops be sent, he requested, to quote him again, "that instructions be given to take no part in the controversy as to title, but to assist the civil authorities to maintain the peace and protect persons and property." These instructions seem to have been given, and about the 1st of July, 1869, a company of infantry was sent to the lands, which was followed by other troops, until there were four companies of infantry and one of cavalry stationed on the lands, all in command of Maj. James P. Roy, of the regular army.

While it was claimed that the action of the governor in asking for the troops was irregular, it must be admitted that their presence went far to preserve order and prevent bloodshed on the lands. The railroad was built through the Neutral Land under military protection. The troops were there about four years. It cost the United States a million dollars to carry out the sale to Mr. Joy.

The government could have bought the land, given it to the settlers, and still saved money. As it was, the settlers were robbed and the government was robbed.

XXIX.—CONGRESSIONAL ACTION, 1869.

In 1869 a bill to "dispose of the Cherokee Neutral Lands in Kansas to actual settlers only" was introduced in the national house of representatives, and referred to the committee on Indian affairs. After hearing argument by Mr. Joy and Gen. James Craig, on behalf of the railroad company, and by W. R. Laughlin for the settlers, the majority of the committee reported to the committee on public lands their conclusions against the bill, and in favor of the railroad's title, as follows:

"1. That the title to that portion of the 'Neutral Lands' conveyed by the United States by the several patents hereinbefore referred to, under the contract of James F. Joy, is valid and indefeasible.

"2. That the 'settlers' who entered upon the Neutral Lands after the ratification of the treaty of 1866 are trespassers who have no title which they can maintain against the patents issued pursuant to the contract with said James F. Joy."

But the minority made a report in favor of the settlers. It is too long to copy here, but it will be found in full in C. N. L., page 39.

This report brought up a "conflict," as it was called, "between the law-making power and the treaty-making power," and declared, "there was not only no authority, but there was no excuse for the sale. Its only purpose seems to have been to *capitalize* this land in the hands of speculators. It was done without authority and without necessity, and is void."

In the house, the *minority report prevailed*, in spite of the secret work of Sid. Clarke to defeat it.

The house, on April 5, 1869, passed a joint resolution annulling the various sales and transfers, and directing the land to be sold to actual settlers for $1.25 per acre.

Mr. Pomeroy attended to the suppression of the joint resolution in the senate. A copy of the said minority report and joint resolution can be found in C. N. L., pages 22, 39.

The president took no notice of the acts of the house. He claimed they were attacking "the treaty-making power," and he entrenched himself behind "prerogative."

The settlers sent one delegation after another to Washington, but could accomplish nothing. Everything seemed barred against them.

XXX.—MR. JOY'S LETTER.

June 12, 1869, Governor Harvey wrote James F. Joy, stating that the settlers on the Neutral Lands "were willing and anxious to go into the United States courts for the settlement of the controversy concerning the title to the lands there," and expressing an opinion that the institution of legal proceedings would allay excitement. Mr. Joy replied in a letter which shows what a cold-blooded proposition the whole matter was to him. After stating that the land would be worth eight to fifteen or twenty dollars per acre, he says:

"Why should we, *who shall have opened the country*, given it the advantages of railroad accommodations, and given it this value, . . . sell it to the men who have been our enemies and given us all this trouble for a quarter of the price which others will be glad to pay us."

In other words, Mr. Joy got $8,000,000 worth of land, to be paid for with $800,000 and the building of the railroad, which cost through the Neutral Land $500,000, and when the railroad was built he owned the railroad.

Mr. Joy's letter is worth reading. It is found on page 132, report of Kansas house committee, Public Documents, 1870. *It is the argument of a pirate.*

Exactly thirty years (to a day) after I had seen Mr. Joy when I was breaking prairie, I saw him at the club-house on St. Clair Flats, near Detroit. I was there as a guest. He was sitting off by himself, gazing steadfastly into the water. I did not disturb him; he looked like a sick vulture.

XXXI.—LOCAL POLITICS.

The dissent of the settlers was not evidenced by physical resistance alone. The dispute between the settlers and the railroad company became one of local political importance.

At the Cherokee county convention held September 25, 1869, the following platform was adopted:

"WHEREAS, The settlers of Cherokee county, Kansas, acting upon the suggestion contained in the settlers' resolutions of July 29, 1869, adopted at the Jacksonville mass meeting, have formed a 'settlers' union' in each township in this county for the purpose of uniting together, without regard to existing party relations, in opposition to land monopolies, corruption in office, and wrong and oppression of every form; and

"WHEREAS, This convention was called for the purpose of nominating candidates for county officers: therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we, the delegates to this settlers' union convention, representing the views and sentiments of the people of the several townships, are in favor of the principles contained in the immortal declaration of independence: of equal and exact justice to all, special privileges to none; of the developments of the country and its resources; of the same protection to productive industry that is given to non-producing capital; of the building of railroads in any legitimate way; and in favor of giving (not selling) the public lands of the United States to actual settlers only, in limited quantities.

"*Resolved*, That we are opposed to monopolies, imperialism, aristocracy, and any combination of power that tends to subvert the 'will of the people,' which is or should be 'the law of the land.'

"*Resolved*, That we will not submit to the demands of the Missouri River,

Fort Scott & Gulf Railroad Company for a mortgage upon our labor for years to come; and that our refusal to purchase our homes from said company is based upon the belief that the sale of the Neutral Lands to James F. Joy is void; that any patents issued to him are void; that the said railroad company have derived no title to the Cherokee Neutral Lands by the conveyance from the said Joy; and that purchasers from said company can acquire no valid title.

"*Resolved*, That we are willing to submit the questions involved in the Neutral Land controversy to the courts, and that the assertion that we are a band of lawless men who would not submit to the decision of the courts is an insult to the intelligence of our people.

"*Resolved*, That in our opinion it is the duty of congress to pass an act annulling the pretended sale of said lands to Joy, and opening the same to settlement and entry under the homestead and preemption laws of the United States.

"*Resolved*, That it would have been better policy for the United States to have purchased the above-mentioned lands from the Indians at one dollar per acre and given them to actual settlers than to put the country to the expense of furnishing troops to aid railroad companies for the purpose of oppressing the people and intimidating them into submission to the demands of a landed monopoly.

"*Resolved*, That the sending of troops upon the Neutral Lands is an outrage upon our citizens and an insult to the American people, and that the certificate of one Wm. G. Seright, a resident of Linn county, claiming to be sheriff of this county, of the 17th of May last, upon which the governor's application for troops was based, is false, scandalous, and malicious.

"*Resolved*, That we tender our thanks to the working men of the United States for their expression of sympathy, by resolutions passed at the late session of the National Labor Congress.

"*Resolved*, That we require of every county officer in our county in the future a strict observance of the duties imposed upon him by law, and the exercise of strict economy, so that taxation may be as light as possible upon our citizens.

"*Resolved*, That all officers of our government are but the servants of the people. The rightful sovereigns should hold them responsible for violations of their trust, and that none but honest, capable and temperate men should be elected to fill any position of honor or profit in the future."

Similar resolutions and platforms were adopted at other conventions. Petitions were filed in all quarters. In 1870 a petition signed by about 1000 settlers was presented to the secretary of the interior asking him to review the action of his predecessor, Mr. Browning. Petitions were filed in the state legislature and in congress.

Everything was done that could be done, but the Kansas delegation in congress was not with us. The combination of brains and money was too great to be overcome. The president could have saved us; any member of the Kansas delegation could have saved us; none of them tried.

XXXII.—LEGISLATIVE ACTION.

February 4, 1870, the house of representatives of Kansas adopted a resolution appointing a committee consisting of John T. Burris, E. H. Le Duc, John K. Wright, Amos Sanford and J. H. Snead "to investigate the matter of sending United States troops there and to ascertain whether or not there ever existed any necessity for the aid of the military arm of the government on said lands, and if so, whether or not that necessity still exists."

The majority report of the committee sustained the action of the governor in having the troops sent to the lands, and recommended that they be retained there. Sanford and Snead made minority reports. Mr. Sanford had been elected to the state legislature from Cherokee county, but he was an unfortunate selection. His personal vanity and his unfortunate make-up deprived him of the power to make friends and carry things through. His calling himself "the Patrick Henry of Kansas" ruined his efforts.

XXXIII.—MANIFESTO AND PETITION.

In 1870 there were estimated to be 3500 families claiming title to the lands on which they had settled under the preemption laws of the United States. Three-fourths of the men were estimated to be ex-union soldiers. In a "manifesto," issued by them about the year 1870, they made the following representations, among others, as to why they settled upon the lands:

"During the rebellion, the Neutral Land was held alternately by both parties, the settlers not being able to remain safely at their homes.

"Thousands of union soldiers campaigned back and forth over these lands, and when the war was over thousands of them brought their families here to make homes. . . .

"In March, 1866, President Johnson wrote to us: 'Go on and settle it up, and make a country of it, and you shall be protected in the homestead and preemption right.' Senators Lane, Pomeroy, and Ross, by many letters, some of which are yet preserved, stimulated our occupation of the country, and assured the settlers of their safety under the land policy and laws of the nation."

In a petition to congress, signed by 1700 settlers, they made the following representations:

"We, the undersigned, residents of the 'Cherokee Neutral Lands,' in the state of Kansas, would respectfully represent that the settlement of these lands has been made under assurances from President Buchanan before the war, and President Johnson since the war, that the Indian title would be extinguished by the United States, and that we would get titles to our homes from the government, under the laws of congress; that our own senators have always written to us in such a manner as to encourage the settlement of this country, and to assure us of titles from the government at government rates; that the Cherokees had ever since the war earnestly encouraged settlers to locate here, and that the general government has exercised complete jurisdiction here ever since the war, and the state of Kansas since the treaty with the Cherokees of August 11, 1866. And further, that there are now about 3500 families who have located here, expecting to make permanent homes for themselves: that most of us have expended all of our means in necessary expenses for living and in improving our claims; that two-thirds of us have been soldiers in the union army; that our settlement of the Neutral Land has been made under unusual difficulties, which we have borne, trusting the government to protect us in the rights accorded to settlers of the new parts of our country by the preemption and homestead laws.

"And further, that the title to this tract has never in any instance passed from the United States by any act of congress.

"We, therefore, respectfully petition the congress of the United States to declare by law that all assumed sales or conveyances of this tract, purporting to have been made by virtue of any treaty or treaties, are null and void, and to declare the 'Cherokee Neutral Land' public land of the United States, to be opened to settlement under preemption and homestead laws."

XXXIV.—SUITS IN THE FEDERAL COURTS.

In the winter of 1869–'70 two suits—Joy *v.* Holden and Joy *v.* Warner—were commenced in the United States circuit court for the district of Kansas with the understanding that the title of the Neutral Lands should be settled by the decision in these cases. On May 27, 1870, they were decided in favor of the railroad company and appealed to the United States supreme court. Here they were elaborately argued by William Lawrence and by Gen. Benjamin F. Butler for the settlers, and B. R. Curtis and W. P. Hale for the railroad company. In an unanimous opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Clifford, in November, 1872, the decision of the circuit court was affirmed.

The suit against Holden was the main suit. The suit against Warner was a suit against a "Joy man," Mr. Warner having been employed by the railroad to live in Girard and edit a paper there. His paper was the *Press*. He is the one referred to in section VIII hereof.

The law firm of McComas & McKeighan, of Fort Scott, did the most of the work. The brief of Mr. Lawrence said all that there was to say on the subject. It was a volume of 152 pages, octavo, and a copy may be found in congressional library, chapter 18, No. 2.

The case was decided in favor of "the treaty-making power." The grand scheme had been planned and consummated in a strictly legal form. There has never been a time since then, in the history of the United States, when it could be done again. The decision is found in 17 Wallace, 211. Public honesty has greatly improved in the United States since the '60s.

XXXV.—CONSTRUCTION OF THE RAILROAD.

During all the time after the soldiers came, the construction of the railroad and the sale of the lands, although delayed by the opposition of the settlers, was being pushed forward. The railroad was opened to Fort Scott on December 6, 1869, and to Baxter Springs on May 2, 1870. The report of the directors of the the railroad company, made in June, 1871, states that at that time 283,000 acres of the Neutral Lands had been sold for a sum aggregating more than $1,700,000.

It so happened that, about the time of the Joy purchase, a right arose, by act of congress and treaty, to the first railroad that should reach the Indian territory. Such railroad should be given a right of way through the Indian territory to Texas. Two railroad companies competed for this right—the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf, and the Missouri, Kansas & Texas railroad. The former road had the start and the advantage. The settlers upon the Neutral Lands annoyed and bothered "the Joy railroad," as it was called, so that it could not make progress, which enabled the Missouri, Kansas & Texas to build rapidly and to get within striking distance within the time required. Then a mistake on the part of the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf railroad gave the other road an advantage and it reached the Indian territory first, although by an exceedingly roundabout way, and the result was that the former road lost its right of way through the territory and was defeated, and the settlers on the Neutral Land burned bonfires and felt happy, and the incident was closed.

XXXVI.—THE END CAME.

During the period between 1869 and 1872 the presence of United States troops seems to have prevented, to a certain extent, a recurrence of the lawlessness which prevailed during the first half of the year 1869. On July 15, 1871, however, the office of the Girard *Press*, at Girard, Kan., was burned by the anti-Joy men. This seems to have been the last act of violence of any account.

The Neutral Land legal question became a very prominent one, and became a matter of general discussion over the United States, and here began the general dissent which resulted in limiting the diversion of the public lands of the United States. The question entered into the political debates of conventions, and a sentiment grew up all over the United States against further "land-grabbing" and against "subsidies." While slow to get into power, the sentiment finally became a prominent question in the United States. No part of Kansas since its organization was in a longer or greater turmoil than the Neutral Land.

But these questions have long since vanished. Its beautiful, well-watered territory supports a dense population. Its coal-banks and its mines make it the richest and most prosperous part of the state, and so perhaps will it always be. I do not care to go into the bitterness of the past and recall what took place in the Neutral Lands during its bitter period. But there was great violence, great dissension, some bloodshed. There was the presence of the United States troops. There was the example of fraud successfully carried out. The fraud debauched

public sentiment. Thousands of the best men left the Neutral Land who had come to make a home. But finally emigration and wealth poured in; the past was relegated to the past; the new comers had no grievances; they took things as they found them, and bought of the railroad company. Titles became fixed and settled. New questions came up. All the public men who betrayed the people met their doom.

Finally the matter became history and the great fraud became outlawed, and now all is buried beneath an overshadowing prosperity.

In closing, I wish to express my gratitude for the assistance I have received from a bright young Kansas lawyer, J. L. Hunt, Esq., of Topeka, who is better informed upon the minutiæ of the official history of the Neutral Land than any man in Kansas.

MEMORIAL ON FRANKLIN G. ADAMS.

Report of committee, read at the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Historical Society, January 16, 1900.

IT is a remarkable fact that two organizations connected with the state and supported by the state, although utterly divorced from political influence, neither of them depending for officers on appointments by the governor and confirmations by the senate, are inseparably connected with the life of Franklin G. Adams. I allude to the State Agricultural Society and the State Historical Society, the two strongest and most useful institutions that we have. The agricultural society was founded by Judge Adams, and he was its secretary three years—years of poverty, but years of power. That society kept Alfred Gray in office as long as he lived. It will keep F. D. Coburn in office as long as he consents to serve. The idea of founding the Historical Society and basing it upon newspaper influence did not originate with Judge Adams. The first secretary, Floyd P. Baker, reluctantly held office for a brief period, when Judge Adams consented to assume the position. Mr. Baker and the founders of the Society gladly and unanimously elected him. Samuel A. Kingman was the first president. From that day until the present meeting, Judge Adams has always been unanimously elected by a board containing men and women and every shade of political belief. It was Adams who built the Historical Society, who collected these hundred thousand volumes, who made the institution the pride of this state and of all other states; an institution more complete than most of the old states have to-day; an institution that the new states have copied and are copying; an institution imperishable. It is not possible to conceive of a time when the people of Kansas, composed of the best races of Europe, will cease to do brave and honorable deeds, or fail to be proud to have the record of them preserved. If our day of decay comes, the race that conquers us will glorify the record of the Kansas pioneers, even as we to-day write the biographies of Columbus and the histories of the Spanish islands.

Franklin G. Adams was born in Jefferson county, New York, May 13, 1824. His father was a native of New Hampshire and served as a soldier in the war of 1812. While a young man our friend removed to Cincinnati, taught school there, studied law, and was there admitted to the bar in the year 1852. In March, 1855, he settled in the present Riley county, before any county in the territory had been defined or named. Early in 1856 he removed to Leavenworth, where his brother, Henry J. Adams, was so prominent an anti-slavery man that he was next year elected mayor of that city.

In 1856, while the freedom of the territory was in great doubt, Adams served as a free-state soldier with Capt. John Wright, with Col. James A. Harvey, and, later in the year, with Maj. James B. Abbott and Capt. John Brown, at Lawrence. In 1857 Adams removed to Atchison county, and was one of the men of influence who took that county out of the pro-slavery ranks. In 1858 he was elected probate judge of that county, those officers having been given large civil and criminal jurisdiction by our first free-state legislature for the purpose of allowing free-state men to have courts not controlled by the pro-slavery national government at Washington.

The details of his life are given below as supplementary to the report of your committee.

The editors of Kansas are his biographers and eulogists. They have paid thousands of tributes to him from every county and every village in Kansas, and they come from men of every variety of political opinion. They pay tribute to his unfailing courtesy, his amazing industry, his love for the entire people—men, women, and children, black and white, of all creeds and of no creed. It was Adams who was the first of men anywhere to collect and preserve every newspaper and periodical published in a state. The eulogies of these editors, now in the archives of the Society, show that Franklin G. Adams was fully known by his contemporaries. During all his work here in preserving the history of the state and the lives of its worthy people, he never had it in his power to collect for any other person such a multitudinous mass of encomium and appreciation as has covered his own grave with garlands during the past six weeks. They call him "the grand old man, beloved by all who came in contact with him."

In his "Fable for Critics," published in 1848, Lowell says of Theodore Parker:

> "For he 's seized the idea (by his martyrdom fired)
> That all men (not orthodox) *may be* inspired."

At that time Adams was a free-soiler and a land reformer. When Cincinnati became the headquarters of phonography and phonotypy, Adams lived there and "took in" those reforms. One of the very few who studied phonography at that date, Adams continued to practice it through life, and wrote a neat and beautiful hand. You will see his curves and hooks in unobtrusive notes and comments on half the books of the library. His espousal of the cause of complete political rights for women must also date from half a century ago.

Such a young man could not be kept out of Kansas, or kept from having a mind hospitable to new causes as they came along. As an Indian agent, he treated the red men as he did white and black. He was long a member and an officer of the Kansas State Grange, and took a special interest in the education of the children of farmers. Judge Adams inaugurated kindergarten work in Topeka. Sociology—a new name for an old study—had attractions for our open-minded and sympathetic friend. Free from bonds himself, he wanted to see the bodies and minds of all humankind also free.

As an editor, author, and publisher, Judge Adams had the opportunity to make his thoughts known and to influence public opinion. His interest and activity in politics and in these questions brought him into contact with nearly all the pioneers of Kansas, and this intercourse, relationship and friendship became of immense value to Judge Adams during his long career as secretary of the State Historical Society; a value and worth now the possession forever of the whole people.

Chief Justice Kingman, who knew Judge Adams so well, calls him, as our

secretary, "a great gatherer in." This library could not have been started, this collection gathered, except by one who knew the whole people and who was honored and esteemed by the whole people. It is the flower, the development, the embodiment, of a precious life. And those who have the power to gather in for others cannot gather for themselves—nothing but character.

The library is now the resort of county, state and national students of history. The history of the civil war cannot be written without the examination of the manuscripts, papers, and books, the sources gathered in by Franklin G. Adams.

It may be asked in other times and in other places: "Did his contemporaries appreciate this founder?" The reply is: As well as such men are ever appreciated; better than they have usually been appreciated. We kept him poor and worried; but when he died there was not one voice raised save in honor and love.

Daniel W. Wilder,
Samuel A. Kingman,
Floyd P. Baker,
Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF FRANKLIN G. ADAMS.

[Supplementary to the report of the memorial committee.]

Franklin George Adams was of New England parentage, being a descendant of Henry Adams, of Devonshire, England, who settled with his eight sons in what is now Braintree, Mass., in 1634. His grandfather, Samuel Adams, born in Braintree in 1753, a shoemaker by trade, left his native village at his majority and settled in the neighboring town of Dedham, where he joined the First Church. In April, 1775, he answered the Lexington alarm, and later volunteered in a Massachusetts regiment. During the war of the revolution he removed with his young wife, Sarah Felt, to Packersfield, N. H., now called Nelson. Here he again became a soldier, and on his muster out, in April, 1783, had served his country three years. His son Joseph, born at Nelson, married there Miss Azuba Henry, July 7, 1811. The next year he served three months in the war of 1812, and in 1815 removed to a farm in Jefferson county, New York. Here, in the town of Rodman, Franklin George Adams was born, May 13, 1824, the eighth of ten children. His mother died in 1832, after a long illness, through which she valiantly endeavored to sustain her part as mother and wife. Of her, the child's most vivid remembrance was her insistence on his attending school. On the second marriage of his father, the family removed to a farm in Penfield, Monroe county, New York, where Franklin attended the short terms of district school. He arranged and systematized his farm chores so as to secure time for reading. The family regularly attended the Congregational church, of which the father was a member, and Franklin often mentioned his father's habit of occupying the intervals of rest in the field in relating Old Testament stories. William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* was read by the family, and excited a lively sympathy for the black, leading Franklin to uphold the rights of a colored schoolmate. He early became an advocate of temperance through the knowledge of the misery brought upon a neighboring family by drink.

In September, 1843, he followed his brother, Henry J. Adams, to Cincinnati, his father having relinquished the hope of interesting him in farm life. Here he was thrown among cultured people, his social life and surroundings contrasting greatly with his previous life on the farm. It was a school which he always regarded as having been very useful to him. He secured from Dr. Joseph Ray a school certificate, and taught in the schools of Hamilton county and Cin-

cinnati until 1852. During this time, by private study and public lectures, he continued to increase his store of knowledge. Following the bent of his early training, he became a member of the Cincinnati liberty club, of which his brother was secretary. Salmon P. Chase, Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, Dr. W. H. Brisbane, Samuel Lewis, Thomas Morris, and others, were active members, and instilled into the mind of the young man the political principles to which he adhered through life, and which made him eventually a republican. Although not a church member, he regularly attended the services of Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher. In 1847 he mastered Pitman's phonography, and ever after gave it daily use. He also espoused the cause of phonetics, becoming chairman of the committee on phonetics of the Ohio State Teachers' Association. While interested in these studies he prepared a "Key to the Pronunciation of Geographic Names," and a little volume on "The Lives of the Presidents," which were printed in phonetic type. He took a partial course in medicine, but finally, in 1852, graduated from the law department of the Cincinnati college, being admitted to practice at the Ohio bar the same year. Shortly after he undertook a collection in Nicaragua, Central America, for Elias Longley, which gave him some experience, but ended in a severe attack of Panama fever, which so reduced his savings that he was obliged to resume the old vocation of teaching for the next two years.

During this time the agitation in congress over the Kansas-Nebraska bill greatly interested the young man, and determined him to settle in Kansas. To this end he joined an organization known as the Kentucky colony, and reached Kansas in March, 1855. Their settlement was called Ashland, and was situated in what is now Riley county. But the extreme dryness of the season lessened his ardor for husbandry, and after hauling some flooring from the Missouri river for the territorial capital at Pawnee, he returned to Cincinnati, and taught another term of school. Here, September 29, 1855, he married Miss Harriet Elizabeth Clark, a native of Cincinnati, born May 18, 1837, the daughter of John Hawkins Clark and his wife Margaret Allen, who had emigrated during childhood with their parents from New Jersey to Hamilton county, Ohio. Miss Clark had been thoroughly educated in the private and public schools of Cincinnati, finishing with a term in the Wesleyan Female Institute. Though but a mere girl at the time of her marriage, she bravely bore the privations and hardships of a pioneer life with her husband. Energetic, conscientious, cheerful, and industrious, a loving wife and wise mother, she always lent a willing hand to further the literary enterprises of her husband. She died at Topeka, December 13, 1886.

In April, 1856, Mr. Adams returned to Kansas and settled on a farm near Pilot Knob, Leavenworth county. His father, Joseph Adams, joined him in Kansas, and remained a member of his family until his death, at Kennekuk, May 2, 1867.

The year 1856 was one of great excitement throughout the territory, and particularly so in the border county of Leavenworth. Here the pro-slavery element dominated everything, making it impossible for the free-state settler to remain peaceably on his farm or engage in any lucrative employment. Immediately after the Leavenworth city election of September 1, when all free-state sympathizers were driven out of town, Mr. Adams fled by night with other fugitives to Lawrence. Here the free-state men had gathered from all parts of the territory. They were organized into three regiments. Mr. Adams attached himself to a Leavenworth company belonging to the regiment of Col. James A. Harvey, which, after capturing some stores at Easton, and Captain Palmer's Alabama company, at Slough creek, were in turn taken prisoners by order of Governor Geary, after the battle of Hickory Point, and lodged in prison at Lecompton.

Mr. Adams fortunately had returned to Lawrence after the Slough Creek affair and escaped arrest. There he found that Governor Geary's proclamation had led most of the free-state men to disband and return thankfully to their homes. However, before returning to Leavenworth he witnessed the arrival at Lawrence of the 2700 Missourians, took part in their reception, and rejoiced at their dispersal.

During his sojourn at Lawrence he first came in contact with two of the prominent free-state leaders, Gen. James H. Lane and Capt. John Brown.

In the fall of 1856 the settlers of Leavenworth county laid aside their political differences and joined in an effort which enabled them to secure titles to their farms on the Delaware trust lands. The eighty acres of land then secured by Mr. Adams and his brother were sold later in the season for seven times the original cost. The money thus obtained, with other capital, was used in opening the City Bank of Leavenworth, H. J. Adams, president; A. C. Swift, cashier, and F. G. Adams the company, under the firm name of Adams, Swift & Co. During the financial crisis of 1857 the bank was closed, with serious losses to the partners.

In the early months of 1857 the Adams brothers invested, with three other gentlemen, in real estate in the (until then) pro-slavery town of Atchison. The company purchased the *Squatter Sovereign* from Robert S. Kelly and Dr. John Stringfellow, Robert McBratney being associated in the publication with F. G. Adams, and changed the tone of the paper from a fierce pro-slavery advocate to a moderate free-state organ, whose highest aim was to encourage the building up of the town and the opening of schools and churches. Later in the year the paper was sold to S. C. Pomeroy. Mr. Adams joined with the other free-state men in forming a party organization, and afterwards became chairman of the county central committee.

Although it was tacitly understood that the town was open to free-state settlement, the more rabid pro-slavery citizens were unwilling to yield to the new element the right to maintain a political organization, going so far as to forbid the holding of free-state meetings in Atchison. In defiance of this mandate, the county committee called a meeting and invited Gen. James H. Lane to speak, and secured the attendance of a number of free-state men from Leavenworth. This roused the ire of the pro-slavery citizens. They patrolled the streets in warlike attitude, and prevented the holding of the meeting. Mr. Caleb A. Woodworth, sr., and Mr. Adams were attacked. The pacific attitude of the free-state men alone prevented a serious disturbance. It was on this occasion that Mrs. Adams came to the rescue of her husband, as related with some inaccuracies on page 44 of the little volume entitled "Reminiscences of Pioneer Life in Kansas," by Rev. James Shaw. General Lane did not speak, but some weeks later addressed a large audience in the country, on the farm of Archibald Elliott.

At the spring election of 1858 Mr. Adams was elected probate judge of Atchison county. This office at that period was also endowed with the duties of the district court. At the time of this election he was also chosen a delegate to the Leavenworth constitutional convention, in which he served, and under the provisions of which his brother Henry was elected governor. Mr. Adams was always proud of the fact that he took the initial step for the organization of public schools in Atchison. In August, 1859, Mr. Adams and Chas. M. Leland formed a partnership for the practice of law. Later, John J. Ingalls joined them, and the firm became Adams, Leland & Ingalls. They continued together until the spring of 1861. At this time Mr. Adams was appointed register of the land-office at Lecompton and retained the position until the spring of 1864. In September, 1861, he

removed the office to Topeka. He was active in the formation of the State Agricultural Society and became its first secretary, in the spring of 1862, serving until 1864. In May, 1863, he began editing the *Kansas Farmer*, the monthly organ of the society. By resolution of the legislature, Mr. Adams prepared the marginal notes and index to the Compiled Laws of 1862, and arranged the chapters for the printer. In August, 1862, he became part owner, with S. D. MacDonald, of Topeka, in the *Kansas State Record*. In February, 1863, he sold his interest to F. P. Baker. In September, 1863, he was appointed clerk of the United States district court, under Judge Delahay.

In the spring of 1864 he gave up his various enterprises at Topeka and returned to Atchison. Here he established, in May, the *Daily Free Press*, and, in the following spring, associated with him Frank A. Root, his brother-in-law, a practical printer. The same spring he was appointed United States agent of the Kickapoos, and removed his family to the agency at Kennekuk, in the northwest corner of Atchison county. He retained this office until 1869. During this time he continued his editorial work for the *Free Press*, until, in August, 1868, the paper was consolidated with the Atchison *Champion*. In the fall of 1870 he removed to Waterville, Marshall county, and edited the Waterville *Telegraph* from January, 1871, until August, 1872. The following winter he published "The Homestead Guide," a volume of 312 pages, giving the history and resources of northwest Kansas.

In the spring of 1875 Mr. Adams returned to Topeka, becoming a clerk in the treasurer's office under Samuel Lappin and his successor, Hon. John Francis. The following February, the directors of the newly formed State Historical Society chose Mr. Adams for secretary, Mr. F. P. Baker having resigned that office for want of time to give it needed attention. He at once set about the work of organization. Believing that there was need of such a society, he pursued with steady effort every avenue which he thought capable of adding to its growth and usefulness. He edited the first five volumes of its transactions and the first to eleventh biennial reports, besides some minor publications. The day of the annual meeting, January 16, 1899, he was attacked with the grippe, and was unable for the first time to attend the annual sessions of the Society. Recovering somewhat, in February he returned to his work, and remained until after the close of the legislative session. He then made a short visit to Battle Creek, Mich., but, finding no encouragement, returned home early in April, desiring to be with his family, and from that time slowly faded away, dying at his home, in Topeka, surrounded by his family, December 2, 1899.

From 1875 to 1894 he was chairman of the educational committee of the Kansas State Grange, and published reports advocating industrial training and the study of the sciences in the public schools.

In 1877 he assisted in the passage through the legislature of the act creating county normal institutes.

He was an earnest supporter of high license during the early temperance agitation in the state, and later an ardent believer in prohibition. In 1867 he assisted in many ways in the woman's suffrage campaign, and always held in high esteem the friends then made—Miss Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, Henry B. Blackwell, Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols, and others. He was as heartily in sympathy with the later movements led by Mrs. Laura M. Johns for municipal suffrage, in 1887, and the second attempt for full suffrage, in 1894. In 1888 he issued, with Prof. W. H. Carruth, of Lawrence, a pamphlet of 112 pages, containing the vote of Kansas women at the municipal elections of 1887 and 1888, with press comments.

Mr. Adams took the initiative steps for the formation of the Kansas Society

of the Sons of the American Revolution, which was organized in March, 1892, serving as secretary, and later as registrar.

His religious faith was simple—the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the forgiveness of sins. Creeds were distasteful to him. Although from childhood a churchgoer, he never united with a church until May, 1890, when he joined the Central Congregational Church of Topeka, during the second year of Rev. C. M. Sheldon's pastorate. The new experience was a very helpful one to him, and made his last years the happiest of his life.

In 1892, through his efforts, the Tennesseetown kindergarten for colored children was organized. He was a charter member of the Topeka Kindergarten Association, and urged before the legislature the adoption of that method of primary education into the common-school system of the state.

He liked to teach. His early mode of livelihood crystallized into a principle of life as he matured. He taught his children at home. He encouraged the clerks at the office to learn. He used what influence he possessed in trying to widen and deepen the means of education for the children of his beloved state.

One who knew him well wrote: "He was absolutely free from faults and bad habits. He never in his life uttered an oath nor said a vulgar word. He never listened to scandal or criticized the failings of any one. In his long life he never defrauded a human being. He lived up to the tenets of the golden rule, and obeyed the ten commandments literally."

THE NATIONALIZATION OF FREEDOM, AND THE HISTORICAL PLACE OF KANSAS THEREIN.

An address by Col. Richard J. Hinton, of Brooklyn, N. Y., before the Kansas State Historical Society, at twenty-fourth annual meeting, January 16, 1900.

It was Leon Gambetta, molder and maker of the third French republic, who, during a memorable speech in its earlier days, said: "Take down the grand old violin (history), and strike once more its master note—liberty!" With what a mighty sweep did he draw the bow of his superb eloquence across the vibrant strings, as he set thrilling over again the story of revolutionary France. The thrones that toppled were all there. The heads that fell were once more ghastly. The smoke of burning chateaux obscured the vision. The Bastile walls were rent in twain. The marching people shook Europe with their tread. The "right divine" of kings tumbled to the dust, as stable-boys and troopers leaped from soldiers' saddles to chairs of state. What matters the errors they made? What matters even the crimes they committed? These must be counted against those who had first used them as wild beasts, and so turned them by oppression into raving furies. But they changed the map of Europe and made civilization a possibility. Henri Martin, French historian, has shown that more lives were lost each year in Paris during the twenty years that preceded the fall of the Bastile, from preventable causes, such as hunger, pestilence, and exposure, than were taken by the maddened people during the whole reign of terror. And it was the lust, waste and corruption of court and government that thus enraged the people.

We, too, are playing on the violin of history in these days. Nothing is plainer than the increasing interest Americans are taking in the past of their own country. Let its loudest and most vibrant notes always be those of liberty. Let them always be drawn forth as a reminder of both past service and present duty.

I ask your attention, then, while I seek to evoke some memories from the great past wherein this state has taken so large a place. I ask it as one who can claim a modest share in your glory—who gave freely of his services, and still is glad thereof—

As the dust-drawn valves of memory dim
Swings slowly unto the rhythm of that hymn
Which time is chanting now! I see the dawn
That, when freedom's low notes were piping slim,
With all the future still in doubtful pawn,
Made rugged men but gird their loins more grim,
Until thro' the night's gray shades so forlorn
We heard the breathing of the growing corn.

I see the fields so fair that toil hath won;
I hear glad voices that grow with western sun;
I know the wilderness in blood made quick,
And roads that human feet are thronging thick;
So here I feel the youthful service sweet,
And learn such gifts their rip'ning fruits shall greet.

The true struggle for the nationalization of freedom did not begin in reality with the gun that woke the echoes at Concord bridge, for the nation had to be created! It began when, in 1787, the congress of the confederation passed the Northwest ordinance, and so declared that the territory which the treaty, then fresh from the hands of Great Britain and our own negotiators, should be forever free. The demand of the colonies, the several bills of rights for the new states, the grand declaration of independence, with the superb preamble to the American constitution, stand as supreme evidence with this act to show the faith and the sentiment of the American people. Civilization has ever been molded by sentiment and built by faith into institutions. Compromises that hinder come with the making of laws and through the administration that followed. Mr. Seward said truly, in the great debate that opened this territory: "The equilibrium between freedom and slavery, as a force to control the federal republic, was destroyed by the Northwest ordinance."

From 1804 until the admission of the territory of Kansas into the union and the subsequent firing of the first gun at Sumter, the struggle between the forces which should control the American continent—those of slavery or those of freedom, those of chattel and those of free labor—was fiercely carried on. Two men whose action as political leaders had great and molding force in the progress of this struggle were born but five years before the Northwest ordinance passed—one was John Caldwell Calhoun and the other was Thomas Hart Benton. I have selected these two names as individuals around which to make a rapid review of the struggle that culminated in Kansas and triumphed at Appomattox. Benton was the older by six days, but he died ten years later than Calhoun. Benton was born an aristocrat—that is, as the term is now accepted. He was a slaveholder by inheritance as well as by accumulation, while he traversed a long life of brilliant and audacious political action. Calhoun was of that wondrous Irish-Scotch blood that has dominated the whole Appalachian range from New Hampshire to the lower part of South Carolina: that gave us Jackson, and Abraham Lincoln—whose name is thrice blessed. Calhoun was born of parents who were of the poorer class—farmers rather than planters—owners probably of but a few slaves. They represented most vividly the prejudices of race, and that of its cowardice, too, which demands law to protect the "superior" white from the "inferior" colored.

By the force of his logical brain and the idealism of a perverted intellect, Calhoun readily became the master mind of the slave power. An upright personality aided him. The Jefferson administration purchased Louisiana; territory from which we now have garnered twelve states, and which some day will bring to our flag at least two more; territory of which Kansas once formed a part; territory which, as I believe, under the treaty and the proper interpretation thereof, should never lawfully have had a slave within its borders. France had abolished all chattel slavery in her colonies and possessions. When in the United States senate we ratified that treaty, we ratified also the laws of France not in conflict with our own. About the time that treaty was made the cotton-gin was invented. A few years after the period set for the extinction of the slave trade came around. More power was obtained through the conflicts of the Georgia planters with Creeks and Seminoles over the return of fugitive slaves the latter had sheltered. Its first effect was the seizure of the Florida peninsula; its second, the unjust Seminole war. Then came the enforced removal westward of the five civilized Indian communities, to be followed immediately by Creek raids on the Seminoles and their marooned allies. The flight of Osceola to Mexico with a number of those people forms a dramatic historical episode which sheds no credit on our name or fame. Till quite recently it has seemed likely to be repeated by another forced Indian migration to our republic. And the effects of all these transactions are strangely seen in the growth of a new commonwealth wherein the Indians as landowners are wrestling with the presence in their midst of 300,000 whites who are practically landless.

When Calhoun took his place in public life he was a whig, a protectionist, and a conservative—a nationalist in the largest sense of that day. But within ten years thereafter he declared for nullification and state sovereignty; he assumed the federal government to be but a mere agent for the states, and asserted, also, as to slavery, that it was a normal condition of human life that belonged by right to the superior race, and that chattel slavery was a measure of civilization for all the so-called inferior ones. "I take the ground," he said in congress, "that there has never yet existed a wealthy and civilized society in which one portion of the community did not in point of fact live upon the labor of the other; and I assert that this forms the most solid and endurable foundation upon which to rear free and stable political institutions." Quite recently we hear, in the roar of slaughtering guns, the same monstrous declaration.

Among the most instructive things for a political student, either one beginning to learn, or one looking back over the history of this great land, is the record of this remarkable statesman, political idealist, and economic philosopher. However mistaken he was in affairs, he stands as one who was perfectly upright in private life, kind and agreeable to his associates, yet cold, stern, and unalterable in his contempt for all forces that make a genuine free people. At last, too, he was willing to face the destruction of the American union in order that he might increase the export of cotton and the market value of slave labor. Through nearly the whole of his public life, you will find Calhoun declaring against the right of petition; affirming that the states had a constitutional veto upon the action of the federal government and its legislation; asserting the rights of the states to regulate the mails and to decide what postal matter should be distributed. You will find him, as the public lands are being sold, demanding a division of the proceeds thereof among the states, while opposing by every process the settlement by a free people of these land areas. You will find him deliberately creating the causes of war, that more slave territory could thereby be brought into the union. You will find him demanding more and more, as

Michigan, Iowa and Oregon came into the union, that southwestern territory be admitted with slavery, as a balance against their free votes. In every sense, in every form, under all circumstances, he was the servant of a narrow and provincial agricultural community. He was always the originator and embodiment of the forces that we met and overcame upon the prairies of Kansas.

Benton, on the other hand, while declaring the right to own chattel slaves, was also found holding, with Jefferson and others of the older patriots, that slavery itself was an evil; that its extension was an error; that its enforced entrance into the public territories would be a crime. Nearly all the things which Calhoun approved, Thomas Hart Benton, during his more than thirty years of service in the United States senate and the house of representatives, always opposed. He was a continental nationalist from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head. When the Louisiana purchase was weighed in the larger policies of the land, he declared that the Mississippi, from all its sources to its mouth, should be under the sovereignty of the United States; that the statesman who should surrender one drop of water or one inch of soil would be forever destroyed. He demanded later, as Abraham Lincoln did, that—"The father of waters should run unvexed to the sea." When you come to put aside the prejudices of party and again examine, and judicially, the details of history, you will put Benton on a lofty pedestal as one of the saviors of the American union, as one of the leaders of free thought, as one of the bravest defenders of the average (which is the true) idea of the American republic.

I bring these two names together, then, also because both of them were men who deemed it their right to plot. Calhoun plotted for the defense of slavery; Benton plotted for the freedom of the continental republic. Oregon and California first, and Kansas next and greatest, were the high rewards he obtained. Those that followed are green leaves in the laurel wreath of his fame. When Calhoun wrote the famous "South Carolina exposition," in 1828, affirming the doctrine of state sovereignty, of federal subordination, and practically of the right of secession, there grew into existence a conspiracy, which, from that time on until it culminated at Fort Sumter, marked and controlled the larger part of our current history. It wrote into the text-books of men educated at West Point the doctrines that Calhoun had set forth. It put into Southern university and college its own agents. It filled the faculties thereof with its teachers. It placed its chiefs in power at Washington. It put into all minor departmental offices the men who were its servants. From 1830 until the first blow struck in Kansas began to be heard around this continent, there was barely a man employed in the Indian service but who was of Southern birth and opinion. I have traced but one Northern-born man as an agent, and he was among the earliest victims of the free-state struggle in Kansas. I refer to Mr. Gay, then the agent of the Shawnee Indians. Go over the long roll of the Indian bureau, and you will find that even teachers, blacksmiths, farmers, so employed—in fact, all of the persons used in that service—were advocates of or subservient to the extreme Calhoun party and conspiracy. You will find that the great freighting trade of our mid-plains was mainly in the hands of their agents also. All army and Indian contractors were of the same stripe. You will find that army officers detailed to Western service, not in Kansas alone, but clear across the continent, were chosen for their fidelity and adaptability to the purposes of the great conspiracy; that when Oregon was made a territory it was openly declared that the property of the slaveholder should go under the protection of the flag into every acre of the national territory. For years I have been looking up departmental and administrative history on these and other points of a convincing character.

Thomas Hart Benton said in 1843, in the senate, that payment for Indian lands, unnecessarily made in the interests of slavery, but mainly, for their removal from the Southern states and to place them across the central portion of this continent as a bar to the movement of free emigration, had amounted, between 1800 and 1843, to no less than $86,000,000. The Louisiana purchase, first and last, used in those years almost wholly for the advancement of slavery, amounted in all to $26,000,000. The purchase of Florida from Spain cost $18,000,000. The payment for other lands—a part of Texas and that which is now the territories of New Mexico and Arizona—cost more than $48,000,000. At the time, this expenditure was designed only to advance slavery. The eleven states that were made out of the early Northwest territory did not, in this sense, cost one dollar to the American treasury. That region was ceded to the former colonies of Great Britain, and passed, by the action of the original thirteen states, into the possession of the general government. Whatever money they have cost was spent for their administration only.

All Indian tribes, during the thirty years of Calhoun's rule and conspiracy, that had lived in the South or the central portion of the West, were removed by force or equivalent intrigue, until over the western two-fifths of the American continent, of which you are the eastern *avant garde*, where but comparatively few Indians were theretofore found, there was, when Kansas was opened, not less than four-fifths of all the Indian race. Nearly 200,000 were moved or concentrated, first and last, into this mid-western region. We have forgotten these things. It is very convenient to do this in the rush of material success. We are too apt to forget that encroachments upon liberty and attacks upon free institutions generally arise from the administration of careless or corrupt men in power, and out of the industry and profits handled by governments are the means found to make these attacks a source of serious danger. They are not merely the result of the mob politics; not the passions only of clashing opinion; but rather, effects of the corruption or carelessness of men who were interested in and profiting by institutionalism. Sometimes unconscious cerebration, by what it feeds upon, becomes conscious treason, as it did with Calhounism.

The admission of Missouri was the first definite point in the great struggle. There is no need here in Kansas and in this presence to go into details thereof. But, it is well to recall that the result was a distinct compromise, by which all territory north of a certain latitude was to be forever free. It is well to recall, also, that that compromise did not say that the territories south of the latitude thereof should forever or at any time be slave. It is well to recall that the men who made that compromise within sixteen years violated it by the Platte (Indian) purchase. It is well to recall that within eight years the admission of Iowa, not embraced at all in the compromise, was resisted by the slave power. It is well, also, to remember that the admission of Michigan was made by Calhoun the basis for the boldest declaration of state sovereignty that had been uttered—that is, that the recognition by congress of Michigan as a state made her such, whether she entered the union or not. It was the dispute over a boundary line which brought forth that declaration. It was one of those things which, in the progress of the anti-slavery agitation, almost made some of the free states secessionists also. In Michigan and Wisconsin we once came very near adopting the doctrine of state sovereignty in defense of the personal rights of fugitive slaves. The personal-liberty laws of the Northern states were liberty's echoes to the forging of Southern chains.

We came along, step by step, to the borders of Kansas. Events were happening in the four years or so preceding the passage of the organic act which had,

also, a momentous effect upon the results of our struggle. In 1842 a young South Carolinian, who bore a name that we have charmed with — John Charles Fremont — entered this continental wilderness on the first of his great exploring expeditions. Before that, a Presbyterian missionary by the name of Whitman had carried a thousand members of his denomination across the bleak and desolate mountain wilderness until he had landed them in Oregon and along the foot-hills and the western slope of the northwestern Rockies. By so doing he barred the road of both Great Britian and Russia to the possible capture of California, Oregon, and Washington — possibilities which hung then trembling in the balances of time. Fremont became Senator Benton's son-in-law, and his widow still lives in the "City of Angels," in southern California.

I can never forget my first meeting with Fremont. I was on my road to Kansas, one of a party of seventy-two young men. A former free-soil democrat, he had just been nominated as the first candidate of the republican party for president of the United States. He was temporarily residing, I believe, in the same house on Fifth avenue, New York, in which many years afterward he died alone, unattended, and almost a stranger. I shall not delay what further I have to say by describing our call, but I do want to tell you how as a people we so easily learn to forget. I stood behind the speaker's chair in the republican convention, at Chicago, that nominated Benjamin Harrison as its candidate for president. By my side, and accidentally, there stood Frederick Douglass. While we chatted, John Charles Fremont came up. He was a broken man; the fire of those beautiful eyes – the genuine eagle eyes — was almost quenched. He was almost unnoticed, even unknown, in that body. After General Harrison was inaugurated president, I was in New York again, and a large public procession was in progress there. A stand had been erected in Madison square. Ex-President Cleveland and President Harrison were both present. Looking down from that stand, at a place in the rear of the crowd, I saw a man worn in face and appearance, as the marching procession went by and the shouting multitude gave forth their loud acclaims for embodied power and prosperity. I saw then, I say, the still erect form of Gen. John Charles Fremont, and could not resist the temptation to interrupt the flamboyant proceedings with a cry to "invite the first candidate of the republican party up to the platform." The men who managed knew that he was there, but they had not asked him to come on the platform. When the people heard, however, they brought him to the front. Some months later he died suddenly, unattended and alone, in a New York dwelling unoccupied during the summer time.

John Charles Fremont early became, because he knew from the inside the movements of nullifiers and secessionists, the agent through whom Benton acted to save the western portion of this continent. In 1846 Fremont went on his last exploration — a private one. The end thereof was — California! Evidence has come out within a few years which shows how, before he started, George Bancroft, then secretary of the navy, and Senator Benton had held a conference. When Fremont left the Missouri river, he did so with the understanding that at a probable time and under certain circumstances he would receive a private dispatch from Washington, and that he was then to seize upon the Mexican territory of California. There was another movement on foot among senators and others that were close to Calhoun. That movement had already prepared, through chosen military and naval officers — probably unconscious directly of what they were to do — to also seize upon the Pacific region in aid of a movement to make one or more new slave states. The balance of votes in the United States senate was swinging again in favor of freedom. Fremont, however, got ahead of these

agencies. Lieutenant Gillespie, of the United States navy, met him in northern California. The instructions that he brought have never been known as to their letter, but their spirit, and the fact that he brought such instructions, is sufficiently made clear and plain to be now asserted. We all know the subsequent story. We know how California became free. We know, as a result of the struggle between the slave power and the anti-slavery forces, that Fremont became senator after he had been, because of his service, dismissed by nullifiers from the army of the United States.

There are many things to talk about. I recall, as I pass, the story of Nathaniel Lyon. Early in his life, there is evidence to show that Lyon, a young army officer, recognized as able, was devoted (and his devotion was returned) to a lady belonging to the Custis Lee family. He never married. He was refused the hand of the woman he loved, barred in his profession, and long kept below the rank that he should have properly received, because he was known to be distinctly in favor of the political success of the free states, and against the extension or expansion of slavery. Expansion is a word to conjure by, but ghosts as well as soul may come at its bidding. We, in Kansas, should ever. and do, bear his name in grateful memory. Among a few possessions of mine which will some day be in the collections of this Historical Society, I have two memorandum books of Nathaniel Lyon—one containing an essay on slavery: the other, part of a military diary and also an account of his campaign in Mexico.

From the clews these documents gave, and from what I have since learned, I have found reasons to assert that, in the progress of this conspiracy, most army officers of Northern birth and blood who did not surrender to the slave idea or to the Southern social fascination were marked and ostracized men. If those who can remember the days before Sumter will carry their memories back, they will recall that nearly every regular army officer who afterwards became prominent on the union side had, years before the rebellion, abandoned and resigned from the United States army. You can count them by the score—names that we now bow to, honor and reverence as those of fighting saviors of the American union. They were practically driven out, consciously or unconsciously, by the conspiracy which had possession for slavery of the American government. The wealth, the education, the power, as it then stood in this country, was, directly or indirectly, upon the side of the South. It is at first too often found upon the wrong side of freedom's ledger. "Eternal vigilance" always must remain "the price of liberty."

Agitation for and against slavery, as an institution, began with the declaration of the colony of Massachusetts against its existence in their midst. It was but a shadow there when that declaration was made. It began before Concord, and it has followed steadily all down our history until it culminated in emancipation.

When the Missouri compromise was passed and the state was admitted to the union, there came into manhood a man whose name, not perhaps in power of intellect, must, in character and in earnestness of purpose, be regarded as the opposite of Calhoun. It is that of a man whose single act officially shivered the walls of slavery, so that the citadel parted from rampart to foundation, and the marching hosts of the North went through. It was John Brown, born in Torrington, Conn., but hero of Kansas and Harper's Ferry! I take John Brown to represent as faithfully the real Northern idea as John Caldwell Calhoun did that of the slaveocracy and its expansionists. There are many curious bits of testimony in regard to these matters. Among these worth noting, I find that in 1853 Webster wrote to a close friend, one Mr. Perry, declaring that "on De-

cember 28, 1828, I became convinced that the plan for a Southern confederacy had been received with favor by a great many of the political men of the South."

I have called your attention to the peculiar manner in which the army and Indian services were handled—matters then of the gravest regional importance. These were always in the hands of the slave power. Three months before congress met to decide upon the Douglas-Richardson-Squatter-Sovereignty-Nebraska bill, the administration negotiated secretly with the Indian tribes along the border of Missouri and the valley of the Missouri now lying within the area of Kansas. The subsequent Indian trust sales, which older men here remember, were one result. The men who managed these affairs were the followers of Atchison and the enemies of Benton, as six years later was destined to prove they were enemies of their state, also, and of the whole land. Missouri demonstrated, by her great army of union volunteers, that the people therein were, when aroused, faithful to the principles of Benton.

The story of the Missouri compromise is long. The fight over California was most severe. That over Oregon had been carried successfully, and without overmuch internal disturbance, because of the trouble with Great Britain. But the struggle over the admission of California was so vital that it came near bringing about an armed conflict. Every effort was made to make it a slave state. Failing in that, they tried to divide the territory by the mountains that divide the southern section and the San Joaquin valley. They tried to bring Utah, Nevada and this portion of California in as a state, hoping thereby to make a counterbalance to the freedom of the other portion. There came also from California, with the discovery of gold, a potential force that has changed the world's civilization. We should not be here to-day in the force and power we are but for that discovery. No one of the battles and wars that have arisen since 1849 would have probably occurred but for that gold discovery. The union itself might not have been successfully defended. There would doubtless have been other wars, but they would have been wars like those of the latter part of the last century; conflicts for the overthrow of old governments, not for the building of a new force, a new form of life. The gold of California has remade civilization, for good or for ill, and we have only just begun to perceive something of the character and nature of that change.

What followed, then, the opening of Kansas to the advance of emigration is of sufficient power and majesty to give the name of this state a place unparalleled and incomparable in the history of our American union. No other state, not even the old colonial ones, filled with refugees from the religious and state tyranny in Europe, can equal it. Kansas stands as the Plymouth Rock state of the continent—a molder, maker and organizer of freedom. She stands as the jeweled crown upon the brow of the commonalty; of Abraham Lincoln's "plain people." The fight made here was made by the mechanics and farmers of the free North and by the farmers and laborers of the border states. For there was brought into it, the free-state democrats of Kentucky and from Missouri, just as we brought the anti-slavery politicians of New England and the representatives of labor and trade from New York and Pennsylvania. It was truly the fight of the common people. In the world's greatest civic struggles, the uncommon results have been all won by the common people. As a rule, too, they produce their own leaders. John Brown and Abraham Lincoln are in proof thereof. Luther was of the yeomanry; Erasmus was not.

This country stands alone in the history of the world so far, for its greatest struggles have been struggles of labor, of enterprise—not those merely of priesthood, statecraft, or dynasty. Nearly every mistake made, if any have been made,

began in right motives and purposes. Each issue—every movement that we have so far made—has, in some shape or form, grown out of conflict for the advancement of free labor and the destruction of hindrances to its progress. Human history, so far, knows no other land whereof that can be unqualifiedly said, except this—the splendid, majestic, continental republic, which has 65,000,000 of educated persons within its borders, and within whose days of resplendent history the world has marched from four millions or less of people in privileged schools to 100,000,000 or more of scholars in public and common schools, as is now seen throughout the earth. We have moved from ignorance to knowledge. We have marched over institutions that destroyed the masses unto institutions that, at least, make material progress.

In Kansas—this state which made final triumph of political freedom an American certainty—the people have borne and worn an honorable, persistent and consistent record. I was greatly tempted to-day, meeting old associates and thinking over old times, to throw aside this topic and indulge in the crowded reminiscences of my young manhood; but I resisted, and here I am. I determined not to spend your time or my own upon a review of the direct history of Kansas, or of the men that were engaged in it. But they were great folks, who suffered and never faltered; they endured and they won! Think, then, of your record, Kansans! There were 4000 Missourians or thereabouts within the borders of this territory before congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska act. Five days before it passed the house the first emigrant aid society was established—not in Massachusetts but in the city of Charleston, S. C. A few days after the president signed that measure, Eli Thayer and his associates formed and put into operation the Massachusetts or New England Emigrant Aid Company. Our great, massive and national migration across the center of this continent had bars to meet at the Mississippi river. Missouri as a slave state, with the fear of Indians beyond, had theretofore practically closed the path. Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin, in their northern and somewhat inhospitable conditions, climatically speaking, had been occupied in advance of what might otherwise have been the case. But the men of the North came at the call of their public men—came at the call of duty. They soon showed the metal of which they were made. Robinson was here then, a conservative but sagacious leader and business administrator. Later came General Lane—brilliant politician, fiery orator, and untamed demagogue, if you will. But remember there are two forces connected with and two characters involved in the use of that term. The demagogue may be the leader of a people, and whether he is or not he must take his lesson and his cue from those whom he wishes to serve or command. And no man led more closely or served more truly during the most perilous period of our early Kansas life than James Henry Lane. He deserves honor, not vilification, therefor.

Think, then, of what you have won! I do not propose to burden or weary you with statistics, but to a man who, during forty years past, has been constantly moving backward and forward across this continent, knowing of the progress made, who remembers when there were less than 400 miles of railroad west of the Mississippi river, when there was not 1000 miles of telegraph, when there was barely a town, when the entire white population was numbered by less than 200,000, inclusive of California, it is something, indeed, to recall and to bring to your mind now that there are 90,000 miles of railroads within this two-fifths of our American continent that the fighting Kansans saved to free institutions; that our telegraph wires number over 150,000 miles, and our telephone wires are nearly as extensive; that the electric street-railways alone of this region are treble the mileage of both rail and wire that existed in 1854. It is

something to remind you of, then, that our trans-Missouri population must now be nearly 9,000,000, and that it was but 178,818 in 1850, and 763,865 in 1860: that at the last census it was six million and some odd thousands. It is well to remember that there are in this vast region at least 550,000 farms, embracing 123,000,000 acres in cultivation or pasture. Yet I recall the fact that Jefferson Davis signed a report prepared by George B. McClellan, prefacing fourteen huge volumes of Pacific railroad explorations, which contained the statement that, in all the country west of Fort Riley and east of the foot-hills of the California Sierras, there was not 400,000 acres of available arable land. To-day there are 9,000,000 of acres of land under cultivation by irrigation alone, and the dry farming in wheat or other food and forage crops must exceed in area over 40,000,000 acres.

Kansas to-day stands among the foremost in fields of farm and pastoral life, just as she stood first in the fight for freedom. Better than the farm and field, however, is the fact that the schools of Kansas are also foremost. There are nineteen collegiate institutions within this state, out of seventy-odd within the continental area under consideration. Devotion to free institutions has set the seal of liberty upon Kansas. She has a larger proportion of pupils enrolled and in attendance upon her public schools than any other state in the union. It has as large a proportion of teachers also. The whole body amounts to quite a respectable army of over 50,000 persons, and it pays them, on an average, better than any other community in the United States. These are your jewels! These make true your renown. All of it came from that great fight out of which this state was born. They are the evidences of the folly of men who fought against liberty, and are proofs of the grandeur and sagacity of those who stood by freedom! What matters, I say again, if they made mistakes? Let us take John Brown. I am conscious of the things that are said *pro* and *con*; but what of them? What, indeed, shall I say of this Puritan idealist, who believed in God, while others only talked about Him? What more than what your president, Ironquill, the poet of Kansas, has so fittingly said—

"John Brown, of Kansas:
He dared begin;
He lost,
But, losing, won."

What more than, that few people consider Erasmus when liberty of conscience is named; but all who know aught thereof glow and burn before the mighty figure of Martin Luther nailing his theses against the church door! Liberty won, whether he lost or not. We see his great deed. Do not rake the gutters for mire to pelt him with. Do we think of a statesman who was behind William Tell when he threatened to shoot Gessler? Do we think of a general as commanding the Swiss army when Winkleried drew, as though they were but sheaves of grain, the pikes of the enemy into his breast, making a gap for his fellow soldiers to pass through and win the liberty of Switzerland? Do we recall the names of the men of Holland who put the beggar's bowl and wallet upon their flag and upon their sleeve as a symbol of fight against Spanish oppression and religious intolerance? No! We remember the rude beggars of the sea who broke down the dykes, deluged their own property, and thus raised the siege of Antwerp, while destroying the savage rule of Spain! Do we recall, as we read, the names of generals who have ordered forlorn hopes? No! It is the volunteers of death that remain in sacred archives! And so, when men talk of our struggles, when men who write complain and criticize the rudeness of the free-state settlers, when they sneer at the known or the unnamed hero, when they deride

John Brown, let us ask whether they won or whether John Brown won; whether it was the man who sneered or the man who fought that has carried the freedom of Kansas down the "sounding galleries of time." Even the sagacious ex-governor who failed to get a senatorship, that it might have been as well he should have won, had no right to bear a jaundiced brain and turn the history of a great state into a spittoon for his disappointed ambitions. Do n't forget your work! Do n't forget what it means! Do n't forget the men who made it! Do n't forget liberty!

Wave-like your prairies roll. Billowed as the ocean are the great plains, yet fixed as are the mountains. The scant green has become the golden grain, the tasseled corn, the blossoming clover and alfalfa. Ride over these ocean-like stretches. Beneath the wind's breath they seem in ceaseless motion. But, while the winds blow and the surface changes, the land is fixed and forever immutable! So must it ever be with a free state! Beneath the clash of party, and the conflict of opinion freedom must stand—unchanging, immutable, impartial!

My task is done. This sketch, however incomplete, must remain. It is at least an echo from the old violin of liberty that Kansas played upon so powerfully. The nationalization of political freedom on this continent was, I repeat, the People's work. It came through the road hewed by industry and enterprise. It is the crown of our common effort. In the world's largest strife, it is always the common struggle that produces the uncommon result. And it is equally as true that those who benefit most by the sacrifices made, breed also the arrogance of power which tries to subserve the triumph to class and personal advancement. Your past has, indeed, been wonderful. It has been crowned in freedom. It is armed with education It is to be girt with economic security. The light is on the path and victory is sure, however rough the road and dangerous, too, with pitfalls!

Macaulay, the English historian, said that democracy carried no romance with it. We point to the story of free Kansas as an all-sufficient reply. We give the history of our continental union as a refutation of that piece of class arrogance. No warriors clad in pot iron ever bore themselves with more of chivalry than did the ragged settlers of Kansas. No men in gilded suits of chain mail ever showed more devotion or heroism than the volunteers from forge and plow who saved the union or have otherwise defended the land. What more masterly or majestic presence has ever stood within the mighty portals of history than the armed and educated democracy we bring to crown the life of the age? What holier victory can come than "government of the people, by the people, for the people"? That "trade follows the flag," is the English boast. Let ours forever be, that freedom and justice shall prevail where our stars shine, and that our radiant bars make luminous the skies alike of dawn or night! If we do this, we may face unflinchingly a loftier and vaster future than has yet marched on the kibes of a victorious nationhood. Our fruits will not then be as those of Sodom, dead ashes on the lips; but sweeter than the apples of Hesperides and more mellow than the honey of Hymetus. If we answer that future and its demands, we shall not fail.

We must learn truthfully and think righteously. Privilege is a plotter. Caste is a breeder of treason. Scorn of the people is the road to anarchy and oppression. Liberty is threatened wherever injustice prevails. Freedom is undermined where social inequity is buttressed by law and class control is accepted as a normal condition. A republic must be color-blind and caste free. A democracy is true only to its own genesis when the "better class" is that alone which gives public service and protects the poorest from inequity. The slaveholders'

chivalry—one which plundered the cradle and sold a woman's joy to pay its gambling debts—is a hideous falsehood. The spirit of greed which assails a mother's womb, so that the unborn child is mortgaged to toil before training, health and knowledge have come, is no better, though its approach is more indirect. Let us

"Give to all men justice and forgive—
License must die that liberty may live.
Let love shine through the fabric of the state—
Love, deathless love, whose other name is fate."

When we stand absolute upon the equal human right,

"We cannot fail—
The vision will prevail.
Truth is the oath of God, and sure and fast,
Though death and hell hold onward to the last."

This mighty present we achieved alone upon the plane and by the forces of democracy. The massive reward of our republican endeavors is the mighty continental union. Let the vaster issues that crowd upon us be met in the spirit of those who fought the fight of Kansas. Ragged, unkempt—fit, as a learned sneerer has writ, for "wolf meat"—poverty worn, hunger racked, fever stricken, as they often were, they never faltered or wavered, climbing to the luminous end, through blood and smoke, unto the stars. Let us emulate them! Man is one, though men may differ. Liberty is always single, full-orbed and planet-swung, though policies are, as always, diverse. Forever and forever let the republic live, and grow by its living! The story of Kansas must be forged as a flaming sword—a weapon with which to slay the foes of freedom! It must be a light upon the paths of the oppressed for all the days to come! So shall it be said that "the multitude that fight Ariel, even all that fight against her and her stronghold, and that distress her, shall be as a dream, a vision of the night."

As such were the Calhounites. What, now, is left of their vain imaginings, their weird plottings, their bald treason, their racial cruelties? "Lest we forget," however, the high gods and the solemn truths they teach, we must forever remember how we made it possible to sing that,

"Henceforth to the sunset, unchecked on her way,
Shall liberty follow the march of the day."

BIOGRAPHY THE BASIS OF HISTORY.

CHARLES ROBINSON.

Prepared by PROF. F. W. BLACKMAR, of the University of Kansas, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

TO be well born is a fortunate circumstance in the foundation of a great character. It is a vantage-ground in a life struggle where the fittest, who are the best, survive. To be well educated to meet the conditions of one's own generation is an essential means for the completion of character building.

Charles Robinson was blessed with both of these conditions. He was of old New England blood of pure stream that lost none of its vigor in its onward flowing. His father, Jonathan Robinson, was a farmer and zealous anti-slavery man of decided religious views, whose ancestry is traced back to the John Robinson of Plymouth Rock fame. The social atmosphere of New England in early days was a character builder. The frugal home life, with its discipline, its religious fervor, and sweet companionship, ever appealing to self-sacrifice, furnished an excellent training. Perhaps the home life in New England, with its frugality, discipline, earnestness, and close sympathy, was the best quality of the education of the times. It has been the saving quality of the New England life, and as well of that larger life which has moved westward and filled the valleys and plains and enveloped the mountains of the continent. Perennial and sweet, the hallowed influence of the homes of the olden time comes to us in retrospective fancy, ever prominent in the philosophy of nation building!

His mother's name was Huldah Woodward. Of these parents were born ten children, six boys and four girls, to whom they desired to give as good an education as the country afforded. The mother of the family looked carefully after the Sunday-school lesson, and every Saturday night the flock of children gathered around the table to learn all the lesson could teach of morals and religion. There the mother, with the great old Bible in her lap, was filled with the blessed spirit of the Christ, as she pointed out the beauties of its vivid style and the moral and religious teachings fitted for daily life.

Charles Robinson was a strong character in the old New England home; he was a pleasant companion, a lover of music and books, and a lover of man and nature. His philosophy began early, as he roamed alone over the fields, through the forests, or by the brookside, or followed the instruction of the country schools of his time. Born at the quiet town of Hardwick, Mass., on July 21, 1818, when school privileges and books were more rare than at present, he had ample opportunity for thought, which, to the observing, thinking man, is education. At the age of seventeen it was necessary for him to strike out for himself, and from that time on he bore at least a large part of the expenses of his education. Academies and seminaries were the great blessings of New England youth in those days. They made Amherst, Yale, Harvard, Williams and Dartmouth possible to thousands of young men. He entered Hadley academy, where he remained a year, after which he entered Amherst academy, and there he again exercised the privi-

lege of self-support. The authorities gave him the privilege of making new desks and seats for the academy; therefore in the basement of the building he established a workshop, where he wrought at carpentry to pay for his tuition, and where at intervals he pondered over the principles of philosophy.

It was but a step from Amherst academy to Amherst College, although he had remained but a year at the academy. After remaining a year and a half at the college his eyesight gave out, and he found it necessary to walk forty miles to Keene, N. H., to apply to Dr. Amos Twitchell for aid. Always on the lookout for opportunities, as every active youth must be, he decided to accept an opportunity to study medicine under Doctor Twitchell. Possibly it would have been better for him to have remained at the academy and subsequently at the college before entering upon his medical studies. However, he did what many another person has done, who, lacking the proper direction of others, sought his own course in his own way.

After remaining with Doctor Twitchell six months, he attended medical lectures at Pittsfield, Mass. Doctor Childs, who afterwards became lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, was then president of the institute. After the course of lectures was completed at Pittsfield, he studied for a time with Dr. Isaac Gridley, at Amherst, and subsequently attended lectures at Woodstock, Vt. Dr. Rush Palmer, much celebrated in his day as an eminent physician and lecturer, was at the head of the Woodstock institution. Robinson finally returned to Doctor Gridley, and remained with him until his medical education was completed. His educational career would be considered rather an erratic course for a medical student of the present day, but it served to give a full medical education of his time. His peripatetic education, as far as possible, furnished what the youth of to-day finds concentrated in the modern medical college with hospital attached. It appears, at least, that his education was considered thorough and sufficient for practice in his time.

In 1843 Doctor Robinson commenced the practice of medicine at Belchertown, Mass., a town of the old New England type, covering a large area, being fourteen miles long and ten miles wide. Doctor Robinson's practice was very large, and, as the town was situated in the hill district in Hampshire county, his numerous visits required excessive labor. Once settled in Belchertown, Doctor Robinson took his place as an active citizen of the town. He was enthusiastic, not only in administering to the ailments of the people, but also in advocating the practice of proper sanitation. He would not join the medical society, because he did not wish to be bound down to its cast-iron rules, and because he thought he could learn something from the practitioner of any school.

On Thanksgiving Day, 1843, he was married to Miss Sarah Adams, of West Brookfield, and after a brief trip to Boston he returned to his duties in Belchertown. Doctor Robinson was interested in schools and served on school committees. He frequently attended the Sunday school teachers' meeting; was a constant worker for temperance. When the Perfectionists, under John W. Noyes, were preaching a new salvation from sin they met with severe opposition; law and order meetings were called and an antagonistic spirit aroused. While Robinson did not adhere to the teachings of Noyes, his sympathies were with him and his followers, and he was glad when they were relieved from persecution.

Doctor Robinson threw his whole zeal and energy into his work, which proved to be a great strain upon his not overrugged constitution. Consequently, in the spring of 1845 he went to Springfield, Mass., and there opened a hospital for practice. In conducting this hospital he was associated with Dr. J. G. Holland, a well read physician, and subsequently widely known on account of his literary

career. He was a native of Belchertown and was a former roommate of Robinson at Pittsfield, where the two became well acquainted.

Doctor Robinson found it impossible to confine his work to hospital practice, and so his visits soon extended far and wide in Springfield and surrounding towns within a radius of twenty miles. While at Springfield there came upon him a great disaster which was lasting in its effects, and which seems to have changed the entire course of his life. On the 17th of January, 1846, his wife passed from this earth. Failing in health on account of his severe practice, and broken in spirit by his severe loss, he was induced to leave Springfield and go to Fitchburg, where his brother Cyrus was located. This he did in the spring of 1846. But he did not escape work by the change, for he was again soon worn out by the excessive duties of his profession. While he was casting about what to do for his health, thoughts of a trip to California were prominent in his mind.

CALIFORNIA ADVENTURES.

In this peculiar way Charles Robinson became interested in the emigration to California. The whole country was aroused in 1848 by the discovery in California of this new El Dorado. Men everywhere caught the fever and were hurrying westward in the vain endeavor to be first in locating their mining claims. Not only the venturesome West but the staid East was stirred with unbounded enthusiasm, and thousands from every part of the union took up the long journey overland to the Pacific slope, or, by boat, passed by way of the isthmus on to San Francisco.

In the winter of 1849 a party composed of men of all classes and professions was formed in and around Boston for the purpose of making the journey overland. This company was organized on a military basis, and selected Charles Robinson as the physician of the company, upon whom devolved the responsibility of the care of the sick. This small party left Boston the 19th of March, 1849, and, passing by railroad and canal to Pittsburg, thence by steamer to Cincinnati and St. Louis, finally reached Kansas City, or what was then known as Westport Landing. The whole journey was without striking event, except the usual experiences of a company traveling through a new country, which brings a new interest from day to day—the sights and scenes of the winding route through forests, hills, valleys, and plains. Soon after the party left St. Louis the cholera broke out among the ship's company, and the physician found an arduous task before him to stay the disease, not so well known in those days as at present. This he did quite effectually, there and also at Westport Landing.

The company finally arrived at Sacramento. Here were exciting conditions, which were made to test Doctor Robinson's character. The great contest between the squatters and the large landholders was in progress at Sacramento, and Doctor Robinson took a vigorous interest in the matter. As Doctor Cordley says, in the "History of Lawrence":

"In 1849 he went to California with the gold-seekers, and was a prominent actor in the stirring scenes which characterized the early history of that state. In those turbulent times he had been severely wounded, and had been put under arrest and kept in prison for several months; but he and his associates finally won the day, and California was finally saved from the rule of the thieves. He was just the man wanted for the emergency. He was cool of counsel and brave of heart, and knew the conditions he had to meet."

The difficulty in California existed in the fact that the old Spanish grants of land, which were to be guaranteed, according to the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, of February 2, 1848, had secured all land titles and property of every kind belonging to the citizens within the territory. The grants made by the

government of Mexico prior to the accession of land by the United States were to be secured by the latter government. Two difficulties arose. Just before the cession, and immediately after, a large number of land-grabbers sought to obtain titles to land in various parts of California, and many titles granted prior to the cession were imperfect on account of indefinite location of boundaries.

The trouble at Sacramento was precipitated, first, by the fact that the people who came in from the East were accustomed to free land, and did not understand why they did not have squatters' rights on these large land grants as well as on other territories of the United States; and then, in addition, the disposition of the land-agents to grab everything in sight, and to exclude persons from the territory, enraged the squatters. Furthermore, the particular land title of Sutter, which was claimed to cover the territory in and around Sacramento, virtually did not extend that far.

Sutter was a man from Switzerland who had settled in 1837 on the Sacramento river at the junction of the American. Here he built a fort and established a colony, his possessions reaching many miles far and wide, up and down the Sacramento, American and Feather rivers. He lived like a feudal lord of the olden times on his domains, served by his many helpers, and with an army drilled for defense. In 1841 he received from the Mexican government a grant of eleven square leagues of land. In 1847 sixty houses clustered around the fort, and six mills and one tannery were located in the immediate vicinity. Thousands of bushels of wheat were raised annually in the fertile valleys, and thousands of cattle, mules, horses and sheep grazed in the valleys and on the hills. The white population at this time numbered 289 souls, while a large number of Indians, half-breeds and Hawaiians were located near.

In 1846 Sutter laid out the town of Sutterville, three miles below the fort, on the Sacramento river. Subsequently the town of Sacramento was laid out between Sutterville and the fort. So far as rights accruing from possession were concerned, Sutter was the owner of this vast tract of land. So far as the intent of the grants from the Mexican government in 1841 were concerned, he had a clear title to the land. Unfortunately, when the boundary was fixed for this territory, the grant was made to cover twenty-six square leagues of land, and the southern boundary was placed some twenty miles north, at the junction of the Feather and Sacramento rivers, which, if strictly construed, would exclude the fort, Sutterville and the surrounding territory from the terms of the grant. Without doubt it was the intention of the grant that Sutter should locate, by proper surveys, land to the amount of eleven square leagues within the immense boundaries described, and the remainder revert to the government as national property. It could not be considered otherwise from a reasonable position but that it was the intention of the governor of California to give Sutter a title to the fort and this surrounding territory, while in fact they were excluded entirely by the statements included in the articles of the grant. To make matters worse, Sutter, not knowing the boundaries of his own land or his own wealth, granted to land-agents right and left parcels of land, giving them the only title that could be obtained at that time, and the squatters who came upon this land were forcibly ejected. In the winter of 1849 many settlers flocked into the state, and occupied vacant lands with tents and shanties and cabins in and around Sacramento. The attempt to eject these from the lands of the supposed owners precipitated a riot between the squatters and the land-agents.

Doctor Robinson, true to his characteristics, took up with the man who had the worst side of the battle. Right or wrong, legal or illegal, he saw what was justice in the matter, and stood up for the weak and the oppressed. At a public

meeting called by the squatters, and which was taken possession of by land speculators, Doctor Robinson offered the following resolution in opposition to the claims of the land agents:

"WHEREAS, The land in California is presumed to be public land: therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we will protect any settlers in the possession of land to the extent of one lot in the city and 160 acres in the country until a valid title shall be shown for it."

It is not possible here to follow the details of his venturesome life in Sacramento during the next few months. In the struggle which ensued Doctor Robinson was the leader of the squatter forces. Here he was shot, captured, and thrown into the prison ship on the Sacramento river. Subsequently, he was released on bail; he was elected to the first legislature that convened in the state, at San Jose, while still in the prison ship, and afterwards was acquitted of the charges against him and went forth a free man. Later, he sailed from San Francisco south on his way home, was wrecked on the Mexican coast, and finally returned to Massachusetts by the way of Panama.

The character of Doctor Robinson comes out clearly through this whole struggle. He was convinced that he was right, had justice on his side, and was ready, even with his life, to defend the oppressed and those deprived of their rights. In the whole history of his life and career he never appeared to better advantage than when attempting to defend the helpless, or when fighting single-handed against open forms of injustice or oppression. In this movement he was clear-headed, conscientious, alert, and skilful, as evinced by the manner in which he routed the forces of adventurers and landholders, who had all the advantages in their favor. His subsequent history in California is little less than marvelous, for one can hardly realize the critical condition which he occupied before the law. In the state of social affairs in California it might easily have turned out entirely otherwise.

With four true bills of indictment against him by the grand jury, one for murder, one for conspiracy, and two for assault with intent to kill, Doctor Robinson was elected to the legislature. Soon after election he was admitted to bail, and spent the time prior to the convening of the legislature in editing a new paper, called *The Settlers' and Miners' Tribune*. But a change of venue referred the squatter cases of Sacramento to Benicia, and after the close of the session of the legislature the prisoners were discharged on account of non-prosecution. By a unanimous vote of the legislature, he was declared released from the custody of the courts.

During his term in the legislature Doctor Robinson showed that he was a strong anti-slavery man. While he was in the prison ship one of the attorneys, a Mr. Tweed, appointed to defend the squatters, came to him in the interest of politics. Mr. Tweed advocated the division of California into two states, one portion to be slave and the other free. Doctor Robinson strongly opposed the scheme. On knowing the opinion of his client, Tweed advised him not to run for the legislature. Doctor Robinson replied that if the people chose to vote for him he would not interfere, and if the courts decided to hang him because the people voted for him they could do so.

When the slavery question came up in the legislature, Doctor Robinson favored Fremont, who was opposed to the extension of slavery. He did this to the detriment of his popularity with the squatters, as Fremont held the title to a large land grant. But this had no influence in determining his action in respect to slavery, as it was a matter of inbred principle. It was, so far as is known, his first opportunity to publicly record his opposition to slavery. This he did, re-

gardless of what effect it might have on his subsequent career. The opposition to Fremont favored the division of California, with the idea of extending slavery over the southern half. The democrats favored Judge Hayden, of Alabama, and the whigs T. Butler King, of Georgia, nominated in place of Fremont. Robinson, with a few followers, held the balance of power and defeated the election. At the next session the anti-slavery element had become sufficiently strong to elect Mr. Weller, from Ohio, which resulted in the final settlement of the question against division.

THE KANSAS CONFLICT.

On September 9, 1851, Doctor Robinson returned from California much improved in health. The variety of positions which he had held while away, physician, editor, restaurant keeper, leader of the squatter rebellion, and member of the California legislature, seemed to indicate that in the future he would have a wider sphere than that of practicing medicine in a country town.

After his return from California, his friends, among whom was Mr. Benjamin Snow, father of Chancellor Snow, so well known in Kansas as a lecturer, scientist, and head of the Kansas university, urged him to edit a paper. At Snow's urgent request, Robinson took charge of the Fitchburg *News*, which he conducted with great vigor for a period of two years. On the other hand, his success as a practicing physician led other friends to urge him not to abandon his practice. The result was that in the attempt to carry on both businesses he soon had an extended practice and was editing a paper at the same time, an injudicious thing for a man who had felt it necessary to go to California for his health.

One of the chief events of Doctor Robinson's life while at Fitchburg was his marriage to the educated daughter—the later gifted writer—of Myron Lawrence, Miss Sara T. D. Lawrence, on October 30, 1851. She proved a worthy companion for him, especially in the Kansas struggle, for her excellent judgment and ready pen did valiant service for the cause of freedom. Chief among her writings is "Kansas, its Interior and Exterior Life," a vivid and exact pen-picture of the early times, from 1854 to 1856. No other work written has given such a true representation of the beginnings of the struggle.

It was at this juncture the slavery agitation attracted considerable attention throughout the North, and especially in New England. The Kansas-Nebraska bill threw the territory of Kansas open to settlement. The North and South vied with each other in sending men into the new territory, for occupation under the Kansas-Nebraska law. The Emigrant Aid Company was formed, and meetings were held at different places to agitate the question, collect money, and to enlist recruits for settlement in Kansas.

One day, at one of the Chapman hall meetings, addressed by Eli Thayer, the speaker at the close of the meeting asked if any present would be willing to go to Kansas, whereupon Charles Robinson walked up and signed his name to the paper. After the meeting, Mr. Thayer, who had noticed his quiet though self-reliant bearing, asked him if he was the Charles Robinson who went to California. His reply being in the affirmative, Mr. Thayer asked if he would be willing to go to Kansas to live. "Yes," was the reply. "Would your wife be willing to go?" "I have no doubt of it," replied Robinson. "Well, then," continued Thayer, "will you come down to Boston to-morrow and meet the directors of the Emigrant Aid Company?" The early morning train brought Doctor Robinson to Boston. The result of the conference was that Doctor Robinson agreed to leave Boston on the 28th of June to make his future home in Kansas. Hurried preparations were made to close out his practice and arrange his business, that he might enter

upon the new life. Subsequently he took charge of the affairs of the Emigrant Aid Company, in connection with Charles H. Branscomb, of Holyoke, Mass., and Samuel C. Pomeroy, of Southampton, Mass., financial agent.

As agent for the Emigrant Aid Company, Doctor Robinson now became identified with one of the greatest movements of his time. His work consisted of managing the interests of the company for the purpose of securing and perpetuating human freedom. Doctor Robinson was sent out June 28, 1854, with Mr. Charles Branscomb, to explore the territory of Kansas and secure a site for a town. While this exploration was going on, the first party of emigrants under the direction of the Emigrant Aid Company started from Massachusetts, arriving at their destination July 31, and proceeded to settle near the present site of Lawrence. In the meantime Doctor Robinson had gone to St. Louis to meet and conduct the second party of emigrants, which left Boston the last of August. These two parties joined, and, uniting their plans, laid out the town of Lawrence.

They were pioneers in a new country, who were to lay the foundation of a new commonwealth and build up their structure upon it. The character of these people was of the New England quality. While they were anxious to plant the institutions of New England in the new soil of the West, they were not wanting in that thrift which ever characterizes the New Englander. Truly, they sought to establish civil and religious liberty in Kansas, and at the same time to gain possession of the promised land. The process was to establish homes and develop resources of the country, that free institutions might flourish. While united for their own welfare, they sought the freedom of others.

Col. S. N. Wood, in an address before the quarter-centennial celebration of the settlement of the state, at Topeka, said: "The pioneers who became trusted leaders among the free-state hosts were men who could not rest in their old homes when the demon of slavery was clutching at freedom's rightful heritage." Many of them were the sons of the old freemen who had learned to love freedom and claim it as the right of all nations. In this struggle strong leaders were needed, who could counsel the people through the difficulties of the settlement of the soil and the rearrangement of social and political affairs. Strong leaders were needed to battle for the right; to carry the people through the great constitutional struggle—the greatest since the creation and establishment of the federal constitution of the United States. Doctor Robinson proved himself capable of such leadership.

The first incident that decided his strength arose from a neighborhood quarrel, which finally took on a political coloring. The strife over claims became very bitter at times. A certain company led by John Baldwin, made up mostly of Missourians, endeavored to lay out a new town covering part of the territory of Lawrence, and endeavored to drive the free-state men from the place. They began to assemble about four o'clock around the tent which had been set up. The managers of the town company, led by Doctor Robinson, desired to leave the settlement of the question to the courts. This John Baldwin refused to do, and sent Robinson the following note:

"*Doctor Robinson:* Yourself and friends are hereby notified that you will have one-half hour to move the tent you have on my undisputed claim, and from this day desist from further survey on the same. If the tent is not moved by the end of the time I will take the trouble to move it myself.

JOHN BALDWIN and friends."

The following pointed answer was returned:

"*To John Baldwin and Friends:* If you molest our property you do it at your peril. C. ROBINSON and friends."

After the notice had been sent, a consultation was held between Doctor Robinson and a delegate from the enemy's post. Doctor Robinson proposed to leave the case to the settlement of disinterested, unbiased men, or to the settlement of the squatter courts then existing, or even to the United States courts, but the delegate from the Baldwin party insisted that at the end of the half hour they would attempt to remove the tent, and if they failed, 3000 Missourians, or, if necessary, 30,000, would be raised in Missouri to sweep the settlers from the earth; but the half hour passed and no demonstration was made. While suspended operations lasted, John Hutchinson asked Doctor Robinson what he would do. "Would he fire to hit them, or would he fire over them?" Doctor Robinson promptly replied that he would be ashamed to fire at a man and not hit him.

This little incident showed clearly the temper of the free-state men and the courage, coolness and conviction of their leader. The struggle over the land question continued, chiefly between the Lawrence association on the one side and the other settlers on the other. Finally a meeting was called to discuss the question, and Doctor Robinson, after hearing both sides, made a short speech, reviewing the charges made against him. He counseled the people to beware of quarrels among themselves, and impressed upon them the necessity for union, that they, with voice and hand, might defend the country from the curse of human bondage and the chains of slavery.

When the first election was held, and dominated by Missourians who came across the border and cast a majority vote for slavery, Doctor Robinson was among the first to counsel the people to entirely ignore the election as illegal and one which they were not bound to follow. Doctor Robinson was prominent at the various conventions that were held at Lawrence and elsewhere for the crystallization of sentiment in favor of the foundation of a republic. He was ever prominent in the councils of the people, holding now to a wise conservatism, and again bold in the denunciation of the course of the people of Missouri or the national government, which was not in sympathy with the free-state settlers of Kansas.

In his Fourth of July oration of 1855, he carefully reviews the condition of slavery and the condition of the country in general, and at the close gives an impassioned plea to the people to throw off the shackles of pro-slavery, and stand forth for freedom. Says he:

"What are we? Subjects, slaves of Missouri. We come to the celebration of this anniversary with our chains clanking upon our limbs. We lift to heaven our manacled arms in supplication. Proscribed, denounced, we cannot so much as speak the name of liberty, except with prison walls and halters looking us in the face. We must not only see black slavery, a blight and curse to any people, planted in our midst and against our wishes, but we must become slaves ourselves."

In closing, he said:

"Fellow citizens, in conclusion, it is for us to choose for ourselves, and for those who shall come after us, what institutions shall bless or curse our beautiful Kansas. Shall we have freedom for all our people, and consequent prosperity, or slavery for a part, with the blight and mildew inseparable from it? Choose ye this day which ye will serve, slavery or freedom, and then be true to your choice. If slavery is best for Kansas, then choose it; but if LIBERTY, then choose that.

"Let every man stand in his place, and acquit himself like a man who knows his rights, and knowing, dares maintain them. Let us repudiate all laws enacted by foreign legislative bodies, or dictated by Judge Lynch over the way. Tyrants are tyrants, and tyranny is tyranny, whether under the garb of law or in opposition to it. So thought and so acted our ancestors, and so let *us* think and act. We are not alone in this contest. The entire nation is agitated upon the question of

our rights; the spirit of '76 is breathing upon some, the handwriting upon the wall is being deciphered by others, while the remainder the gods are evidently preparing to destroy.

"Every pulsation in Kansas vibrates to the remotest artery of a body politic; and I seem to hear the millions of free men and the millions of bondmen in our land, the millions of oppressed in other lands, the patriots and philanthropists of all countries, the spirits of the revolutionary heroes and the voice of God, all saying to the people of Kansas, 'Do your duty.'"

In the management of the affairs of the company, he seemed to show a wise conservatism. Mr. Eli Thayer, who was the founder and promoter of the Emigrant Aid Company, pays Doctor Robinson this glowing tribute:

"A wiser and more sagacious man for this work could not have been found within the borders of the nation. By nature and by training he was perfectly equipped for the arduous work before him. A true democrat and a lover of the rights of man, he had risked his life in California while defending the poor and weak against the cruel oppression of the rich and powerful. He was willing at any time, if there were need, to die for his principles. In addition to such brave devotion to his duty, he had the clearest foresight and the coolest, calmest judgment in determining a course of action best adapted to secure the rights of the free-state settlers. No one in Kansas was so much as he the man for the place and time. He was a deeper thinker than Atchison and triumphed over the border ruffians and the more annoying and more dangerous of the self-seekers of his own party. The man who 'paints the lily and gilds refined gold' is just the one to tell us how Charles Robinson might have been better qualified for his Kansas work: but his character, so clearly defined in freedom's greatest struggle, superior to the help or harm of criticism, reveals these salient points of excellence: majesty of mind and humility of heart, stern justice and tender sympathy, heroic will and sensitive conscience, masculine strength and maidenly modesty, leonine courage and womanly gentleness, with power to govern based on self-restraint, and love of freedom deeper than love of life."

It appears that, whether in the management of the Emigrant Aid Company work in the local political affairs of the town of Lawrence, or in directing the affairs of the territory, Doctor Robinson showed a rare genius. He knew when to be firm, cool, and calculating; he knew when to be bold, independent and vigorous in opposing his enemies. Another high tribute to him, by Amos A. Lawrence, a strong supporter of the cause of freedom in Kansas, must not be passed by:

"He was cool, judicious, and entirely devoid of fear, and in every respect worthy of the confidence imposed in him by the settlers and the society. He was obliged to submit to great hardships and injustice, chiefly through the imbecility of the United States government's agent. He was imprisoned, his house was burned, and his life was often threatened. Yet he never bore arms, or omitted to do whatever he thought to be his duty. He sternly held the people to loyalty to the government, against the arguments and examples of the 'higher-law' men, who were always armed and were not real settlers, and who were combined in bringing about the border war, which they hoped would extend to the other states. The policy of the New England society, carried out by Robinson and those who acted with him in Kansas, was finally successful and triumphant."

In the Wakarusa war, Doctor Robinson was placed in charge of affairs as commander in-chief, and by adroit management he succeeded in obtaining a bloodless victory for the free-state people. In this successful management he was aided by the intrepid Lane. He took the position that the people of Lawrence had the right to defend themselves and their property against the illegal territorial government, which was in collusion with the Missourians, but he held strictly to the principle that it was not only improper but bad policy to defy the United States authorities. He knew that as soon as this was done the case of the free-state men was lost. He was ever ready to recognize a legally constituted government like that of the United States, but would not recognize a government

established by usurpation of the rights of American citizens. In the preparation to defend themselves against the armed Missourians, who threatened the destruction of Lawrence, he was wise in counsel, bold in defense, and just to all his fellow laborers. When the free-state men were finally recognized by the governor of Kansas as having some rights, Governor Shannon placed Charles Robinson and J. H. Lane in authority, by the following note:

"*To Charles Robinson and J. H. Lane:* You are hereby authorized and directed to take such measures and use the enrolled force under your command in such a manner for the preservation of peace and protection of the persons and property of the people of Lawrence and vicinity as in your judgment shall best secure that end. WILSON SHANNON.

"LAWRENCE, December 9, 1855."

Charles Robinson knew how to be just to his fellow workers and colaborers. At the close of the Wakarusa war he addressed the volunteer companies, reviewing the cause of the war and its consequences. He said, in part:

"Selected as your commander, it becomes my cheerful duty to tender to you, fellow soldiers, the meed of praise so justly your due. Never did true men unite in a holier cause, and never did true bravery appear more conspicuous than in the ranks of our little army. Death before dishonor was visible in every countenance and filled up every heart. Bloodless though the contest has been, there are not wanting instances of heroism worthy of a more chivalric age.

"To the experience, skill and perseverance of gallant General Lane all credit is due for the thorough discipline of our forces and the complete and extensive preparations for defense. His services cannot be overrated, and long may he live to wear the laurels so bravely won. Others are worthy of special praise for distinguished services, and all, both officers and privates, are entitled to the deepest gratitude of the people."

I remember once hearing Doctor Robinson, in an address delivered before the historical students of the University of Kansas, speaking of the heroes and leaders of the Kansas struggle, say:

"Who saved Kansas? Not one man nor any group of men claiming to be leaders. It was the rank and file of the common citizens who saved the state to freedom. It was the union of the people in a common cause that saved the state."

General Lane also showed that he could place credit where credit was due, as he said in his address to the soldiers:

"From Major General Robinson I received that counsel and advice which characterizes him as a clear-headed, cool and trustworthy commander, who is entitled to your confidence and esteem."

Doubtless it was to this advice and clear-headedness that we may attribute the bloodless victory of the Wakarusa war. It was a pity that these two men should have become estranged in the Kansas struggle for freedom. With a union of the cool counsel of Doctor Robinson and the impetuosity of General Lane, the Kansas struggle would have been made easier, and the history of it more rational and just to the rank and file who supported the move. Strange it is that in these days the personal element of history should predominate. For while each one seeks to set up his hero, we know that the history will finally and justly be written by those who were not engaged in the struggle, but who wisely and impartially sift the historical records, with no guide but the desire to treat all men fairly, and to record the truth regarding the early struggles of the state.

Governor Robinson received the proper tribute of the free-state people by being elected their governor after the organization of a party and the formation of a constitution in opposition to the territorial government of the state.

Convention after convention was held by the free-state men, who, by resolution

and action, created public sentiment against bad government and for the freedom of Kansas. In nearly every one Doctor Robinson appeared as an active participant or as counselor or adviser. These conventions culminated in a constitutional convention, held at Topeka, October 3, 1855. At this convention the so-called Topeka constitution was framed and set up, in opposition to the Lecompton constitution and the "bogus government." Under this constitution a new government was organized, seeking recognition from the federal government. Doctor Robinson was chosen governor. He was strong in his opposition to the unjust government of the territory, and yet wisely and judiciously urged prompt obedience to the federal authority when it was imperative. It was hoped by this act of repudiation that it would be possible to organize a territory under the free-state banner and eventually to admit Kansas into the union as a free state.

It is not possible to go into recital of this constitutional struggle in Kansas, as no less than a volume could give an adequate presentation of its intricate and important details. The Topeka constitution served as a rallying point for the free-state men. It was a perpetual protest against the "bogus government" in Kansas, instituted by the democratic party in the federal government in cooperation with the ruffians of Missouri.

The organization of a government with a full complement of officers that proposed not to recognize the "bogus" territorial government was considered revolutionary by the federal authorities, and hence the indictment of the leaders. Governor Robinson was arrested at Lexington, Mo., while on his way east. He was returned by way of Leavenworth, where a plot to murder him was revealed, and avoided. He bore his confinement with uncomplaining fortitude, believing that justice would eventually prevail, and that all would be acquitted and released. What would have happened had not the free-state cause advanced no one knows, but the fact records acquittal, and a grand triumph over the spurious court that indicted the brave leader of the great conflict. Those indicted with Robinson were Judge G. W. Smith, Geo. W. Deitzler, who afterwards served gallantly in the civil war, Geo. W. Brown, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, and Gaius Jenkins, who devoted his time and fortune to the cause. Twice, while imprisoned at Lecompton, his friends offered to rescue Robinson, but this he would not allow, knowing well that it would be disastrous to the cause of freedom to thus oppose the federal government.

FIRST GOVERNOR OF KANSAS.

As the first chief executive of Kansas, Governor Robinson managed wisely and well the difficult affairs attending the organization of a new state. Everything was in a new and untried condition, and much skill was required for the right conduct of public affairs. Moreover, the civil war had begun, which added new complications in the affairs of the young state. Troops had to be mustered and officered for the national as well as the state defense. Governor Robinson was a strong supporter of the war. He believed in sacrifice for freedom. In his inaugural address he said:

> "While it is the duty of each loyal state to see that equal and exact justice be done to the citizens of every other state, it is equally its duty to sustain the chief executive of the nation in defending the government from foes, whether from within or from without, and Kansas, though last and least of the states of the union, will ever be ready to answer the call of her country."

And these were prophetic words, for Kansas furnished more soldiers in proportion to the inhabitants in putting down the rebellion than any other state.

One of the great difficulties in connection with the gubernatorial chair was occasioned from the fact that General Lane, who had been elected to the United

States senate, worked at cross-purposes to the governor of Kansas. Lane had great power with President Lincoln, and having unbounded ambition to become military leader or dictator in Kansas, he worked against Robinson in many ways, thus rendering the position of the governor more difficult thereby. And this subject is here touched upon with no desire to bring up any unpleasant controversy, nor to accuse some and to praise others, for history alone will at last reveal the truth, but merely to mention that in all this trying period Robinson bore himself with courage, fortitude, and dignity, such as becomes a man and chief executive of the state, and the subject must be dismissed with the moral comment that it is to be deplored that, in the struggle for liberty and justice in the world, personal jealousies, ambitions and prejudices of men should sometimes overshadow their better qualities; for there is nothing so disheartening to posterity as the personal quarrels of great men who are struggling for the rights of humanity.

The life of Governor Robinson, after his term of office had expired, was a quiet one. After his home in Lawrence was burned, he made no attempt to rebuild, but lived in a home standing where now is the beautiful residence of B. W. Woodward. Subsequently he retired to his farm at "Oakridge," nearly five miles from the town, where he spent the remainder of his days in agricultural pursuits, ever taking a deep interest in the affairs of the people of the state and nation, and lending his aid to the cause of humanity in general. He was always interested in the affairs of the community in which he lived, and especially in the young people of the neighborhood. He took part in the frequent evening entertainments at the schoolhouse near his home, and superintended the Sunday-school in the afternoon of each Sabbath. As an instance of his kindly interest in the young, he was known to come from Topeka, during his term as state senator, to attend a gathering at the schoolhouse, returning to Topeka the same night to be on hand the next day for senatorial duty. He was interested in the Grange and the Good Templars, both of which held frequent meetings at the schoolhouse. Thus did he fulfil the simple duty of an American citizen by taking part in local affairs.

Governor Robinson was intensely interested in the social, economic and political topics of the times, and wielded a virile pen with power and skill in newspaper, magazine and book in behalf of historical truth and wise public policy. He was a pungent writer, with a direct and convincing style in the presentation of his subject, adroit and skilful in argumentation. He never took up his pen unless he had something important to say to the public. He could make a strong case for his side of the question, and, although seemingly fair, gave little quarter to his literary opponents. While he was vigorous in declaring the truth, he was willing to acknowledge that he was frequently wrong in judgment, and he pursued the other side with equal vigor. When once he learned the real facts of the conduct of John Brown on the Pottawatomie, he could not defend Brown's course there, while he might acknowledge his services in a general way to the cause of freedom. His most extended work, "The Kansas Conflict," is loaded with facts and is full of pungent writing respecting the early scenes of Kansas, in which he was an important actor. The book adds much to the historical literature of Kansas, and will be of great service to the coming historian of Kansas who shall write a history of the great struggle from a universal rather than a personal standpoint.

Governor Robinson's pen was ever active in the service of historical truth and justice to humanity. It fell heaviest on certain pseudo-historians who attempt to gloss over Kansas history, which they attempt to write from the stand-

point of inner consciousness rather than from the real facts, which they are too indolent to ascertain or too uncompromising to acknowledge. The real history of Kansas, while it will recognize the true merit of all who were engaged in the early struggle, will break many a cherished idol.

Governor Robinson's agricultural life caused him to identify himself with the Grange movement, which, starting as a non-partizan organization, finally became a great political engine. He believed in equalizing government for the benefit of the great rural populations, as against the wealth of the trading, manufacturing and transporting classes. He believed in a popular money for the people, which could not be cornered by speculators nor would be subject to the rise and fall in value determined by economic laws of supply and demand. With these and other extreme democratic tendencies, he found himself not a close adherent to the republican party after the war. Hence, his political career was not prominent nor regular. In 1874 he was elected to the state senate, and in 1876 to a second term. In 1888 he was a candidate for congress in the second district, but fell short of election. In 1890 he ran for governor, supported by the democrats and greenbackers. In 1888 he was appointed superintendent of Haskell Institute, which he managed with vigor, despite his failing health, until his successor was appointed.

These are the principal items respecting his later political career, which, with his regency of the university, were sufficient to identify him with public affairs. At the time of his death he was working with the demo-populist party, though not in full sympathy with it. It suited him better than did the republican party as organized in the state.

PROMOTER OF EDUCATION.

Doctor Robinson was identified with the early educational interests of the territory of Kansas. He was chiefly instrumental in organizing the first school in Lawrence, which was the first school for white children in the territory, mission schools having been established earlier. It was taught in the back part of the building occupied by the Emigrant Aid Company, in January, 1855, by E. P. Fitch. Miss Kate Kellogg, who accompanied Doctor Robinson to Kansas as one of his family in the spring of 1855, came to teach the summer-autumn school, which she did quite successfully, the expenses of the school being borne by Doctor Robinson. Misses Mary and Caroline Chapin came to Lawrence in September after the raid, which occurred in August, 1863, and opened a school early in the following winter. Governor Robinson and George W. Deitzler paid the tuition of a number of the pupils. C. L. Edwards, now in business at Lawrence, for several years conducted with success the Quincy high school. These schools were at first supported by subscription.

In 1856 Mr. Amos A. Lawrence requested Doctor Robinson to spend money for him to lay the foundation of a school building on the north part of Mount Oread, which is now the site of North college. In explaining his plans to Rev. E. Nute, of Lawrence, in a letter dated December 16, 1856, Mr. Lawrence stated: "You shall have a college which shall be a school of learning, and at the same time a monument to perpetuate the memory of those martyrs who fell during the recent struggle. Beneath it their dust shall rest; in it shall burn the light of liberty, which shall never be extinguished until it illumines the whole continent." As a foundation of this Free-state College Mr. Lawrence gave the sum of $10,000, in the form of two notes. Work was soon begun on the building, but was soon suspended on account of the title of the land being imperfect.

Later, on February 14, 1857, Mr. Lawrence constituted Charles Robinson and S. C. Pomeroy trustees of funds amounting to $12,696.14, for the purpose of ad-

vancing education and religion in the territory. The plans for the Free-state College were not carried into execution at once, but the people, ever active for the foundation of a university, planned, under the auspices of the Presbyterian church of America, a college. Among the directors of this college were Charles Robinson and many other and well-known and honorable settlers of Lawrence. Appropriate committees were appointed, and plans were made for the erection of a building, which was to cost $50,000. This university was regularly sanctioned by the legislature in 1859. Subsequently the trustees proceeded to organize a university. Under the plan of that institution, an attempt was made to carry it on by the Congregationalists. During all this time Doctor Robinson was active in his support of the various phases of this early education, but it was not until the state came to the rescue that the enterprise finally succeeded.

The constitution adopted by the state provided for the foundation of a university, which was finally located at Lawrence. A bill in 1861 favored the location of this institution at Manhattan, but the bill was vetoed by Governor Robinson, who thought the movement premature. It having finally been determined to locate the university at Lawrence, commissioners were appointed to fix the site. Doctor Robinson came forward with a proposition to furnish forty acres of land above the city, on condition that the council would deed him a half block of land lying south of the school foundation on Mount Oread. Twenty-one acres of this land belonged to Mrs. Robinson, which was bought from J. F. Morgan, lying south of the claim Doctor Robinson preempted.

In the organization of the State University, Charles Robinson was among the first regents. In the early details of the institution, Robinson gave the institution of learning his earnest support. He served on the building committee when the main building, Fraser hall, was erected, and for many years was a representative member of the board of regents. In 1889, in recognition of his eminent services and on account of his scholarly ability, the board of regents conferred on him the degree of doctor of laws.

In 1895 the legislature passed a law appropriating $1000 for a marble bust of ex-Governor Robinson, to be placed in university chapel. The committee for the selection of an artist and the approval of his work consisted of Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson, B. W. Woodward, and Charles Chadwick. In the unveiling of this bust appropriate ceremonies were had in the university. Addresses were made by Governor Leedy, B. W. Woodward, and Hon. Chas. F. Scott. On this occasion Hon. Chas. F. Scott paid a glowing tribute to the life and character of ex-Governor Robinson, from which the following quotation is given:

"As nearly as any man I ever knew, Charles Robinson deserved the tribute which the laureate paid to the Iron Duke when he said of him that he 'stood four-square to all the winds that blew.' He came as near standing by himself, balanced by his own judgment, requiring no strengthening support from other men, either as individuals or as aggregated into parties or churches or societies of any kind. At various times of his life he worked with various political parties, but when the particular object of the work was accomplished he put the party aside, apparently with as little concern as he would lay down a tool that he was done with. The fear of being called inconsistent never troubled him. In fact, no fear of any kind, either moral or physical, ever troubled him. He said what he thought ought to be said with as small regard to consequences as he did what he thought ought to be done. And if the words of to-day contradicted those of yesterday, that did not concern him, for the words of both yesterday and to-day were honest words. He did not know what the word 'policy' meant, so far as the word might be applied to his own fortunes. He knew, doubtless, as well as everybody else knew, that he sacrificed all the political honors which a grateful and admiring people would have been proud to bestow when he severed his connection with the dominant party. But the thought, if it occurred to him, never bade him a moment's pause."

In the latter years of the life of Governor Robinson he was again appointed regent of the university, and held that position until the time of his death. As a crowning act of his long support of educational life, he left the larger part of his estate as a gift to the university which he had nourished in infancy, supported with vigor in its early youth, and cherished in his own declining years.

LIFE AND CHARACTER.

In concluding this memorial, it is perhaps fitting to add a few words respecting the life and character of Governor Robinson, gathered from his actual service to humanity and gleaned from the opinions of those who knew him best. As one belonging to another generation from those who endured the hardships of the early struggle for freedom in Kansas, I approach the life of one who was an actor in these stirring scenes with becoming reverence. It is at best but a small tribute that this generation can pay to the preceding, but it is best shown in reverence and honor to those who fought the early battles, who endured the early struggles, that we of this day may enjoy the blessings of the results of such sturdy warfare and may thus have weapons with which to fight successfully the battles of truth in our own day and generation.

In a general estimate of his life, there must first be recorded the evidence of a strong individual character, a bold, hardy spirit, able to give and take blows for what he deemed the right. In consequence of this, he frequently has been misunderstood by both his friends and enemies. This quality made it difficult for him to follow with zeal any party or creed. It was sufficient for him to ask his own consciousness what was right in the matter, and to act accordingly. Parties might change or hold to old doctrines; Robinson followed the iron course of conviction. If he hurt the party or made enemies, it was small matter to him. What was right, what was justice in the case, were his criterions for action. Possibly he could have made his life easier, possibly there were times when he could have accomplished more by being more flexible and more politic, but he would not have been true to his conviction, and that was law to him.

Yet Robinson had a kindly heart and nature. He was ever ready and willing to help the needy, and very many owe their preservation or advancement to the helping hand of Governor Robinson. There came from him a heartfelt sympathy for all who were oppressed, and there was aroused a fighting capacity at once against the oppressor. He had a religion all his own, which was of pure nature, of a practical sort. He believed little in creeds, ceremonies, churches or ministers as saving functions, but he believed in a Creator and Father, who answered the call from the depths of his nature, as a soul crying out for strength in its loneliness. If he supported not vigorously the outward forms of Christianity, he practiced his best life in standing for truth, justice, and right living. There is hardly a church in Lawrence for which he did not contribute money or material. He believed that there was good in all, and that each was especially good for some people.

From his earliest life he was a strong temperance man and temperance advocate, but in his later years he bitterly opposed the prohibitory law in Kansas because he believed it to be non-effective. Once settled in his own mind that it was a sham, he could not tolerate it, for he hated all shams. It seemed, too, to oppose freedom, or liberty of action, and he loved freedom, for he was able to stand upright and alone on the right. While the writer may not agree with his judgment in the question, his motives were pure. He held, quite properly, that, as an ideal, temperance is a greater virtue than total abstinence. Many men of excellent judgment and sterling character, while they deplored the conclusion,

likewise considered the prohibitory law a sham and demoralizer to society. It is still an unsettled question, for men will continue to differ as to the best methods that may be employed in waging a perpetual warfare against the evils of intemperance.

Governor Robinson was generous in helping any good cause. No deserving man ever went to him in distress without receiving aid. Believing that every man should have a chance for his life and prosperity in the industrial struggle, many were given quiet personal aid, and afterwards lived to call him blessed. As hero after hero of those who stood shoulder to shoulder in the great struggle to build a commonwealth in Kansas pass away, leaving the burdens of civilization to be borne by others, leaving others to enjoy the advantages of previous struggles and to accept with them the responsibilities that accompany them, we who are left behind look into the places whence they departed, marveling at their lives, or stand gazing to heaven, crying, "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!" wondering at the mystery of the providence of God.

At the age of seventy-six years, on Friday, August 17, 1894, at 3:15 A. M., just as the shadow of the night heralded the approach of day, Governor Robinson passed into the unknown. On Sunday, August 19, four ex-governors of the state, and prominent men and officials, came to pay their last tribute with old-time friends and neighbors to him who, so powerful in life, now lay helpless in death. The funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. C. G. Howland, a venerable and lovable man, since gone to his rest, who closed with thsee fitting words:

"Much of Governor Robinson's life was tempestuous, but the close was as gentle as the fading light of day. With a tender but speechless touch of a dear hand, and without the slightest concern, he went out to meet what the future hath of marvel or surprise."

GEORGE T. ANTHONY.

Prepared by P. I. BONEBRAKE, of Topeka, for the Kansas State Historical Society, January 18, 1898.

THE Kansas State Historical Society has assigned to me the pleasant duty of saying something in memory of the life and character of the late George T. Anthony. I wish the duty had been imposed upon some one more able to do justice to the subject than myself.

George T. Anthony was born at Mayfield, Fulton county, New York, June 9, 1824. He died at Topeka, Kan., Wednesday night, August 5, 1896, aged seventy-three years. His disease was diabetes, with which he had been afflicted for several years.

When the chronicler of passing events penned the above lines, he noted the passing away of one of the most distinguished men Kansas has produced. When I say "Kansas has produced," I mean to say that the greater usefulness of Governor Anthony's life was largely during the period he lived in Kansas. The prime of his life was spent here.

Like Lincoln, Garfield, and Grant, he was born on a farm.

His father and mother, Benjamin and Anna Anthony, were orthodox Quakers and active members of that society. It is needless to say that they were strongly anti-slavery in their sentiments, and many poor fugitives from bondage had active assistance in escaping to a land of freedom. The son, therefore, inherited the intense hostility to slavery made prominent in his life.

The father died when George was but five years of age. He was the youngest

of five children. But small means were left for the mother to support so large a family, but, with the help of the older children, she managed to keep the family together for a time. When George was nine years old the family moved to Greenfield, N. Y., where he attended school in the winter and worked for farmers in the vicinity in summer.

At the age of sixteen years he went to Union Springs, N. Y., where he entered the service of his uncle as an apprentice in the tinner's trade. After he had learned his trade, he opened a small hardware store in Medina, N. Y. He was his own salesman, bookkeeper, and tinner, working from fourteen to sixteen hours a day.

The habits of industry acquired in boyhood and young manhood remained with him during his entire life; an indefatigable worker, whether in business, politics, or official life.

His self-reliance, which was sometimes misinterpreted, was acquired in his early days, when working for the support of his mother and in making a start in life, when he had nothing but his own brain and hands to rely upon.

He was married to Rosa Lyon, in Park Church, Syracuse, N. Y., December 14, 1852. Mrs. Anthony is still living at her home in Ottawa, Kan. One son survives him: George H. Anthony, now in service of the Wisconsin Central railroad; also, two granddaughters, Anita and Alma Anthony.

His married life was a very happy one, and the bond between husband and wife, son and grandchildren was of the most affectionate kind.

MILITARY HISTORY.

The opening of the war found him engaged in the commission business in New York. When the call of July 2, 1862, was made for 300,000 more troops, the governor of New York organized the state and placed the subdivisions in the charge of committees. Governor Anthony, ex-Governor Church and Noah Davis, jr., were the committees of Orleans, Niagara and Genesee counties. Governor Anthony organized the Seventeenth New York independent battery of light artillery, and at once became its captain and placed in active duty. When General Grant organized his last campaign, in June, 1864, he placed Captain Anthony in command of the fortifications at Alexandria, Va.

This assignment did not suit the captain nor his men. They wanted active service and were soon assigned to the army of the Potomac. This battery was selected for two consecutive years and ordered into Washington to fire the national salute on July 4; also sent to fire the national salute on the renomination of Abraham Lincoln. These honors were due to the fine appearance and discipline of the company. The battery continued in service until June 12, 1865. Captain Anthony was brevetted major United States volunteers for his gallant and meritorious services. His military history I quote from the records of the Loyal Legion, as follows:

"Reported at Camp Barry, Washington, D. C., September, 1862; assigned to the army for the defense of Washington December, 1862; attached to King's division at Centerville in summer of 1863; later attached to Second corps; on July 4, 1864, reported to General Grant at City Point, and assigned to Eighteenth army corps of the James. Later assigned to Twenty-fourth army corps and took part in Appomattox campaign. Participated in assault and capture of Petersburg, thence to Appomattox, remaining until after surrender. Returned to Richmond April 29, 1865.

"In 1879 Governor Anthony joined Center Post No. 6, Leavenworth, Kan. He was a charter member of the Kansas Commandery of the Loyal Legion; member of council of Kansas Commandery, 1887 and 1888; commander of Kansas Commandery, 1893 and 1894.

"His military record was admirable in all respects. He was strict in follow-

ing his duty. He early developed all the executive ability which he used to such advantage in political and public life."

Such are the words of praise given him by his soldier comrades.

In all the years of his life in Kansas his voice was heard at the camp-fires and on the rostrum in behalf of the survivors of the war.

His idea of the services of the union soldier is best illustrated by an extract from his address delivered at Mound City, Kan., on Decoration Day, May 30, 1877. He said: "It is not that Christ lived, suffered and died that Christians bow at the foot of the cross and worship Him. It is because He lived and suffered and died for them that the cross upon which He died will be forever cherished as the idol of the heart—the emblem of salvation—to the last. So, also, it is not that these men lived, suffered and died that we cherish their memories. It is because they suffered and died to save for us the boon of civil and religious liberty that we revere them, cherishing their graves as the emblem of hope to the oppressed and downtrodden of earth, covering them with flowers, the sweetest of affection's offering. I am here to say this is right, for, 'even as Christ died to save men's souls, these men died to make men free.'"

PUBLIC LIFE.

Governor Anthony became a resident of Kansas in November, 1865, locating at Leavenworth. From that date to the date of his death his career was closely identified with the public interests of his adopted state. He was editor of the Leavenworth *Daily Bulletin* and the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative* two years and a half, and editor and publisher of the *Kansas Farmer* for six years. He was appointed assistant assessor, United States internal revenue, in December, 1867, and collector of internal revenue July 11, 1868. He was president of the state board of agriculture for three years, and of the board of Centennial managers for two years, holding the three last-named positions at the time of his election to the office of governor, November, 1876.

At the close of his term he was a candidate for reelection, but was defeated in the convention. Seventeen ballots were taken, the votes being distributed between Governor Anthony, John A. Martin, and John P. St. John.

In 1881 ex-Governor Anthony was appointed general superintendent of the Mexican Central railway, a position which he held two years.

In 1885 he represented Leavenworth county in the lower house of the legislature.

In 1889 the executive council chose him as a member of the board of railroad commissioners, and he was reelected in 1892, serving until the populists came into power the following year.

On May 5, 1892, ex-Governor Anthony was nominated by the republicans for congressman at large, but was defeated at the polls in November by W. A. Harris.

In 1895 the ex-governor was appointed superintendent of insurance by Governor Morrill, an office which he was holding at his death.

A combination of honors so varied, so responsible, held within a period of thirty years, is without precedent in the history of the state, or perhaps in the history of the country.

George T. Anthony's greatest usefulness to his adopted state was his work while editor of the *Kansas Farmer* and as president of the board of Centennial managers. The pioneer farmers of Kansas were negligent in the management of farm affairs. Corn was about the only crop produced, and at the end of the season the plow was left in the furrow, and the mowing-machine was left in the fence corner, while the live stock were left to shift for themselves. The *Kansas Farmer* taught diversified farming, economy in management, improvement in

live stock, and higher regard for home and social life. The Centennial exhibit made a grand advertisement of Kansas. It attracted the attention of people even beyond the limits of our own country. She took higher rank among her sister states than ever before, and began that marvelous growth and development which is so tersely described by Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, in a speech in the United States senate. He said:

"There is no other instance on the face of the earth, unless it be some neighboring state, where a territory has grown up in forty-two years containing such a population, such wealth, such value of agricultural lands, such vast agricultural products. I do not know if there is another instance of such prosperity."

Governor Anthony was criticized more than any other of the prominent men of the state, except perhaps Lane and Robinson; yet, in all that period of thirty years in responsible positions, not a word was said touching his honor or his integrity. In each of the many public positions he held he filled the full measure of the requirements of its duties and responsibilities.

POLITICS.

From his antecedents and his service in the army he could not be anything but a republican, and from the date of his coming to Kansas until the day of his death his voice and pen were used in behalf of that party. Not a single campaign passed without his participation therein. He was a very positive man, strong in his convictions, intense in what he believed was right, and very earnestly opposed to what he thought was wrong. His intensity and plainness of speech made him enemies. As said before, his educational advantages in boyhood were limited. Yet in that broader education which comes from contact with men, by reading and thinking, he was the equal of our most distinguished men. In debate and in strong, logical argument he had not his peer in the state. He was not an orator in the sense of using beautiful language or imagery; but in the use of sound argument, clear logic that reached and convinced the minds of his auditors, he was an orator of the first class. There was one trait shown in all his speeches or addresses: he was an American: whether in political speeches, addresses to colleges, Christian associations, or temperance meetings, he taught loyalty.

It was the pleasure of the writer to attend the trans-Mississippi convention at New Orleans as a fellow delegate of Governor Anthony. After an elaborate address by a distinguished gentleman from Colorado, Governor Anthony was called upon to reply. In closing, he spoke as follows, in language that will be appropriate for all time:

"I entreat you, I beseech you, not to give ear to like efforts that are made to array class against class, one portion of our common people against another portion, the debtor against the creditor. There are no classes in this country, Mr. President. This is one country, where classes are unknown; where every man and every woman stand upon their own merits, and are measured by their individual worth. In an audience of 10,000 men you may ask the debtors to rise and be counted, and every man will rise; you may ask in that same audience the creditors to rise and be counted, and every man will rise. And why, sir? Because every American who has brains and business sense enough in him worthy of being an American citizen is both a debtor and a creditor all the time.

"Then let each pursue his calling with patriotism, with love of justice among men, and reason and right among states. Let us cease these efforts to prejudice one against another, remembering always that we are American citizens, and that he who puts a blot upon the fair fame of our nation, or upon that representative body of statesmen who make our laws, disgraces and dishonors himself, because it is the man that makes the nation."

It will be borne in mind that this was said before an immense audience, a

large portion of whom had been lately in rebellion against the country, yet at the close of the address it was followed by round after round of applause.

That this power and ability as a public speaker was appreciated is illustrated by the following incident. The year following the centennial, the governors of thirty states visited New York. At a banquet given there, the most prominent of the governors present made speeches. Governor Anthony's address was most applauded by the audience and most complimented by the public press.

As by his request, his funeral was a simple one. The remains were taken to Representative hall at nine o'clock, August 8, where they lay in state until 1:30 P. M. A prayer service was read by Doctor McCabe, at the conclusion of which the remains were taken to the Topeka cemetery, where Doctor Fisher read the ritualistic service of the Grand Army of the Republic. The body was then placed in the grave, there to await the summons of the angel of the resurrection.

He is gone. To him was allotted more than three score years and ten. To him was given more than usual the duties, responsibilities and honors of life; and when the asperities which grow out of public duties and political life have passed away, he will be accorded a place in Kansas history second only to John Brown, General Lane, and Governor Robinson.

"Why weep ye then for him who having run
The bound of man's appointed years, at last,
Life's blessings all enjoyed, life's labors done,
Serenely to his final rest has passed,
While the soft memory of his virtues yet
Lingers, like twilight hues when the bright sun is set?"

SOLON O. THACHER.

Prepared by STUART HENRY, of Lawrence, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

THE invocation of the destinies that may appear visionally to preside in memoriam over the intricate souvenirs of a modern man who has done with life through rich fulness must summon origins, motives, experiences, cults, so remote, so labyrinthine, that the faltering commemorator would fain yield at once by helplessly seeking recourse to the magic of the universal solvent Mystery, and cease with tracing the word itself across a marble slab of Memory.

It seems rare in our new West that there has moved through events one whose career disproved many maxims of sages of our century. For, in recalling this career, what may be thought of the perspicacity of those latter-day Montaignes who have declared that life is the art of being well deceived; that there is nothing in common between merit and modesty but the initial letter; that it is as difficult for the wise to acquire riches as it is for the rich to acquire wisdom? One would not expect the ability to analyze the elusive faculties and capacities of him who was tender though a judge; a successful business man though a lawyer; a farmer though a student of books; a devout church Christian though mentally as liberal as hope—in whom, in a word, the sense of the practical and the sense of the spiritual were amply interfused.

To Judge Thacher's mind, opposites and contrarieties formed careers. He felt that unity means uniformity which is the cast of death; and that he who seeks the unification of things seeks unwittingly the paralytic state of an oriental. He realized that the occident has led civilization now these many centuries because it possesses, to the opiate surprise of the orientals, so little harmony and repose. He recognized that the friction of the irreconcilable makes

up its history and hope; and that, consequently, in searching to unite and accord the traits and phases of an occidental personality one would dehumanize it and deify it, and therefore destroy its human interest and inspiration. Self-confident the memorialist who would not embrace such credenda, and attempt more than the indication of certain of the incongruities in Judge Thacher's life, leaving to Mystery the mystery of these dissidences harmonizing in an exemplary issue and career.

A Roman aphorism he often noticed was from Ovid: "Studies pass into character"; a saying which perhaps most nearly interprets and furnishes the word that perhaps best designates the involved nature of Judge Thacher's influence and accomplishments—character. There follows at once into mind the inevitable "character is destiny," of Novalis. Judge Thacher believed that herein lay distilled the essence of the Lord's life and teaching: character rather than deeds; being rather than doing. The Cains do, the Abels are; opposed to the gesta of Cæsar is the character of Christ. Judge Thacher thought that if the march of progress had developed on the Abel and Christ model our earth would have been to-day a vast, innocent and noble pasture field; for the spectacle of the world's material advancement is due to Cain, the destroyer, in his desire of vengeance, and to his own descendants. Christianity seems, indeed, somewhat unlike other religions in that its historic origins are associated with crime. There was the murder of Abel, and the expulsion of Cain into hate and revenge; and there was the crucifixion of Jesus, and resultant retaliatory spirit which the Holy Church exhibited when it reached power and opportunity. The nature of historic Christianity appears dual, being composed of meekness and militancy—of meekness and might. Hence arise, Judge Thacher observed, the difficulties encountered by the church if it claim to adopt and incorporate into its body, spiritual and Galilean, the material impulses and wonders of our new Roman civilization, which glories in its giant cities, armies, fleets, and iron trade and commerce, all born of the hot sweat and profanation of our Cain-the-builder restlessness.

This concept and practice of progress were innately repugnant to him. He preferred meekness to militancy; meekness to might. He felt that meekness was the Christ expression of character; and that Christ's triumph down the centuries is peculiarly personal, inasmuch as the human idea of Jesus has remained essentially one and the same, while the idea of religion, of God, of the Bible, has changed often and profoundly.

Judge Thacher, in seeking to build up character; in admiring it whenever and wherever he found it described, whether in the majestic pages of Macaulay or in the local paragraphs of the Lawrence *Journal;* in abhorring the Napoleons and the Bismarcks—those modern monsters (as he called them) who made history more rapidly than historians could write it; in adoring the Burkes, the Lincolns, the Gladstones, the Sewards; in loving serenity and spirituality—in all this Judge Thacher exemplified his conceptions of Christian living. He agreed with those who attack socialism because they believe it would not tend to elevate character, though he recognized that the world's greatest institution—the Catholic church—is socialistic, with the express aim in view of fortifying the sense of mortal destiny. His preference to shine by quiet manifestation of character, rather than by display of deed, defines his certain indifference to what is commonly termed ambition; and explains how he succeeded where, according to secular wisdom, he should have failed, and succeeded though perhaps, to boldly ambitious eyes, apparently failing.

Thus, he was a pure man from principle. His moral rectitude, womanly in its

emphasis, may have been the source of his unusual clemency and lenience for which those nearest him loved him best. Without kinship to the susceptibilities of such as the hard-fancying Symonds, whose skies are lapis lazuli and whose seas are turquoise, Judge Thacher's temperament and imagination were suffusive, and he was infinitely gentle and tender.

Abeunt studia in mores. Like Rufus Choate, he had the habit of retiring from the strife and suffocation of the court-room, and finding solace in his library chair at home, with the exclamation, "There is no immortality but a book!" The many great books, the many good books, that were his daily companions, reflected his aspirations toward a high inner purpose. His books passed into his character. Their influence seasoned and sweetened his life, and prevented him from becoming desiccated like a lawyer, or contracted like a banker, or hardened like a business man; yet he was identified with all three of these varieties of career. An optimist, he cared to know little of the Leopardis and the Schopenhauers. Nor did he wish for the frail and ailing geniuses of literature—the Poes, the Heines, the Amiels. Though he, too, was highly sensitive, his Christian optimism saved his own sensoria from the diseased enchantments and suffering delights that haunt brilliantly incurable minds and imaginations. At the same time, he disliked what is usually termed realism in letters. Works of the virile Gogols and Zolas he called nauseating; and, for kindred reasons, he loathed the tainted and painted authors. He held the traditional belief that *belles-lettres* should be a purifying font of relaxation. Scott and Irving were his ideals among creators of fiction. He never wearied of re-reading the Waverly dreams of romantic ideality, for he appreciated the feelings of that famous person of last century who was always wishing to escape out of civilization into romance. His friends marveled that he could epitomize, off hand, innumerable novels and legal decisions with intermingling ease and completeness.

In his more serious hours of diversion, Macaulay and De Quincey were of those whom he communed with most. And among all the statesmen and literary politicists his model was Edmund Burke, with his *Nitor in adversum*, of whom he cherished an intimate and comprehensive knowledge. In fact, the literature of England, because of its grander distances and altitudes, seemed more to Judge Thacher than our young American extension, whose only admitted wonder is its Poe. Judge Thacher subscribed to the *Eclectic Magazine* during his thirty-seven years in Kansas, and it was almost the last thing he held in his hand. This American periodical served to keep him abreast of the latest English thought on every theme, and broadened his intellectual sympathies beyond our own extensive national confines, contributing, in this manner, its share to the development of that universality of view which characterized his judgments and opinions.

In the French realm of letters and life, he appeared only interested in the titanic Hugo, because of his colossal republicanism and imagination, and in Renan, whose withdrawal from Catholicism and quests in the domains of biblical literature and Israelitish history are universal sources of delicate enthusiasm. The fascinating agnosticism of Renan apparently harmonized with his own scholarly Christianity. No volume had he studied so deeply as the Bible. A leader in Sabbath-school and in his church, he pored over Geikie, Driver, Drummond, with the devoutness of a clergyman: as a result, when he traveled in Palestine he was equipped to relocate and to erect in vision its patriarchal and Nazarene past, and to wonder at its present plight and disillusion.

Although a Christian in principle and attempt, and although the Christian religion is romantic and the genesis of medieval and modern romanticism, he was fond of the classic. He relished the English classics of the eighteenth cen-

tury. Addison, Goldsmith, Gibbon, were on his tongue's end. When at Athens, he joined instinctively in Renan's prayer on the Acropolis, and accepted Renan's remark that Athens is the surpassing miracle of history—save (one involuntarily adds) the personality of Christ. The sublime Christian reaches and heights of the interior of Amiens did not awaken in him greater satisfaction than the dainty majesty of a Panathenæan procession on a Grecian frieze.

But the origin of his appreciation of the classic was probably the Latin. The English and the Latin might be regarded his favorites of profane literatures; and many of his addresses and letters were so copiously adorned with their quotations and recondite allusions, abounding in names unfamiliar to the ordinary ear, that they bewilder our ignorance. The sententious, worldly knowledge of the short, thick-set, round-headed Romans gave him a gratification partly explained perhaps by their eminence in jurisprudence. Then, too, the literary Roman dwelt, observed and indited out-of-doors; there were sunlight, fresh air, the fragrance of a tilled Campagna, the noise of Rome, over his scrolls. The "Pastorals" and "Georgics" of Virgil, with their bucolic elegance of health and ease, offered a rare attraction to him. Tityrus, under his beachen boughs, personified, in a measure, Judge Thacher's own taste for culture and agriculture. And of the informal pursuit of that duality was his real inner life composed. He came by this naturally, for his father conned Latin text-books, and used to say that a farmer could plow a furrow better after reading a paragraph of Latin.

A book and a farm made up Judge Thacher's innermost informal life: the law was his formal occupation, amply pursued: all things else—politics, office-holding, accumulating a fortune—were to him as duties.

If agriculture is indeed to be regarded a narrowing occupation, there can be no question as to its broadening influence on mind and character when followed together with book studies. Books alone may generate miasms of brain and body; agriculture alone may thicken the wit and callous the sensibilities; but, together, they lead to an ideal existence. During his last twenty years Judge Thacher was one of the largest farmers in Kansas. He owned many hundred acres of the best Kaw valley land, and many pastures in Douglas county. He produced all varieties of crops, and year after year fattened stock for the Kansas City markets. He experimented with the latest devices in farm machinery, wrote dissertations on the cultivation of the grape, understood the value of moisture artificially applied to soils—the science usually known as irrigation. He addressed innumerable gatherings of farmers at state and county fairs, at agricultural societies, and at meetings in country churches and schoolhouses. And his usual text on such occasions was the remark Mr. Seward once made to Judge Usher:

"The happiest lot I can imagine for my boys is to be owners of good farms, well stocked, in a good community, out of debt, and to know nobody more than ten miles from home."

Judge Thacher believed the lot of the successful farmer the best. "The farmer out of debt is a happy man," was one of his sayings. He always thought of Webster on the farm rather than in the senate. He loved the black "cheeks" of Kansas soil, and the "chubby, brown-eyed children" (to use his expressions) whom he met along the country roadsides in his almost daily rides. He loved to draw in deep, full breaths of fresh air and to feel the wind blow on his face. His habit was to rise early, go out to the stable, look over the stock, plan the day's work for the men, pump and quaff a draught of water at the well before breakfast. His countless drives to his farms were unwearying pleasures to him. No one esteemed more than he the significant beauty of ripening grain or of mere meadow land. When in a corn-field he would exclaim, "This is clean money!"

—meaning that the corn was growing into coin earned without taint, subterfuge, or extortion, and that came forth direct from the hands of nature. The lines of Longfellow were ever in his mouth:

> "O, what a glory doth this world put on
> For him who, with fervent heart, goes forth,
> Under the bright and glorious sky, and looks
> On duties well performed, and days well spent!
> For him the wind, aye, and the yellow leaves,
> Shall have a voice and give him eloquent teachings."

While from his culture came his universality of view, there came from his knowledge of agriculture, united as it was to his legal efficiency, that wholesome maturity—that well-rounded ripeness of mind, disposition, and experience—which distinguished him among his associates, and distinguished him in Kansas.

His father was a county judge in Steuben county, New York. Solon Otis, born August 31, 1830, attended as a youth Alfred Academy. He graduated from the classical department of Union College under the venerable Doctor Nott, who, more than any noted person, shaped his early manhood, and whom he considered, taken all in all, the foremost citizen New York state has produced. He received a diploma at the Albany law school, and went to the New York legislature when twenty-six years of age, after having been a member of the first convention called to organize the republican party in that commonwealth. He married, September 11, 1856, Sarah Mary Gilmore, of York, Livingston county, New York, who survives him; and of their union were born two daughters, Mary H., now Mrs. Peter E. Emery, of Lawrence, and Nellie G., who died in 1891, not many months after her marriage to Stuart Henry. Judge Thacher began as a young man to read the weekly New York *Tribune;* his name always remained on its subscription lists; and Greeley, Phillips, Sumner, Beecher, Seward, were those he followed as leaders in the national crisis then impending. As a result, the conflict in Kansas attracted him; and he finally settled in Lawrence in July, 1858. It was in Kansas that he bruised his knees against the threshold of his real career. He became one of the proprietors and editors of the Lawrence *Journal.* An early Kansas hero has written:

> "Wherever a political meeting was held, Thacher was present: whatever new move was contemplated, he was consulted: wherever there was a contest pending between freedom and slavery, his voice was heard—always in terms easily understood."

He ranked as a conspicuous figure in the Wyandotte convention; and the constitution of Kansas, as then and there adopted, was, for the most part, his own handiwork. The memoirs of those times say:

> "The great speech of that convention was delivered by Solon O. Thacher, in opposition to a resolution offered by Mr. McCune, of Leavenworth county, asking that 'free negroes' be excluded from a residence in this state. That speech settled the question in favor of the absolute freedom of the Kansas soil to all colors and conditions in life."

Whenever ex-Governor Martin wished to illustrate the lofty spirit which pervaded that memorable convention, he quoted this sentence of Judge Thacher's address:

> "This constitution will commend itself to the true and good everywhere, because through every line and syllable there glows the generous sunshine of liberty."

In 1861 he became judge of the fourth judicial district, which comprised eight counties: Allen, Anderson, Bourbon, Douglas, Franklin, Johnson, Linn, and Lykins (now Miami). The first entry in journal "A" of the court records of that

district is signed "S. O. Thacher, judge." As there were no railroads, he went in wagon or on horseback from one county-seat and court to another. For four years, or during all the desperate period of the war, he traveled constantly back and forth, holding court in the particular territory whose passion made Kansas into history. He rounded the circuit flanked by his pistols, leaving his family in dread lest word might come at any moment that he had met the abrupt fate which so many of his Lawrence friends and neighbors had confronted. On Saturday afternoons, when he found he could reach home, however late that night, he ventured on the trip back to Lawrence, alone if necessary, and in spite of weather, regiments, or assassins. He courted this hebdomadal danger in order that he might pass the Sabbath with his family, although he knew that he must risk the return trip to open court the following Monday morning. Happily he never suffered physical harm; and, indeed, his home—"the old home," where he lived his first fifteen years in Kansas, the house that looked across the way to the Free State hotel, and that Quantrill's men visited—still stands intact on its southern bluff of the Kaw, and in the midst of a large, pleasant grass plot sentineled by trees.

The inevitable political contest in Kansas between refined enlightenment and frontierism (to put it crudely) came off in 1864, when Thacher and Ingalls were the candidates on the republican union ticket for governor and lieutenant-governor against the representatives of the Lane-republican party. Men like General Lane and Judge Thacher could not be expected to affiliate with each other any more than culture could be expected to exist together with pioneerism, however heroic or magnetic. The one leader represented what had been, the other represented what was to be, in this commonwealth. And from about the time of this campaign Kansas ceased making history, and began cultivating a peaceful welfare, wherein, to follow the law of the Greek Solon, civic happiness is reached by having each citizen feel that the injuries of others are like his own.

From 1865 until 1880 there was an interim in Judge Thacher's public life. During this period he neither held office nor gave noteworthy heed to politics. But it was then that he achieved his reputation as a lawyer, and also amassed one of the largest fortunes in the state. It was then that he became an experienced counselor and advocate, farmer, stock-feeder, business man, banker, and a highly read man.

In the first years after the war Lawrence uninterruptedly aspired to be the important city in Kansas. It sought then to take advantage of the finest water power within our borders, of a location near coal-fields, and of a fame in national history of the only federal commonwealth that possessed a marked accent of statehood--the South Carolina of the North. "*Fervet opus*," was its motto. Kansas trade converged to and diverged from Lawrence. The name traveled as a familiar part of the title of Kansas railway corporations. General railway offices, the pension office and the Indian agency were on Massachusetts street. Lawrence grew rapidly in riches and in charm. It adorned itself with shade-trees and rosebushes when Kansas City yet seemed a hopeless attempt at compromise between mud bank and bluff, and while Topeka appeared scarcely more than a political accident. True to her New England instincts and traditions, Lawrence put churches and schools to the fore in her development. Plymouth Church flourished then, as now, under the excellent pastorate of Reverend Doctor Cordley, of whom Judge Thacher was ever a faithful follower. Our state university threw open its doors on the heights of Mount Oread. Judge Thacher was, from the first, one of its local fathers and several times a regent. He was always called into the councils of its friends. His occasional lectures in its chapel never failed,

for three decades, to draw the faculty and students. In his last years, of comparative leisure, he filled the chair of equity jurisprudence in its law school. It was also during the intermediate period of his life that he and a few friends formed the genial "Old and New" of Lawrence, a club which deserves felicitous notice in any social history of our state.

In that era of the brisk prosperity of Lawrence he had the leading law practice in the city, and probably the most remunerative clientage in the state. Upon his chosen profession of the law he bestowed the best of his determined efforts for nearly forty years. A sage counselor, one who persuasively presented before judge and jury the weight of broad legal acumen, supported by lofty character and a large experience, he easily deserved to be reckoned among the foremost of Western attorneys. He believed, as a lawyer, in the constant study of law books, and would say of any indolent student in his office: "I fear he will not do much at the bar; I do not see him at his books." Judge Thacher made fidelity to client his chief legal motto: not merely fidelity in point of honor, but fidelity as to details. He was proud to win a case through the carelessness of opposing counsel as to minor matters—a date overlooked, an indifferent motion unheeded. While not a criminal attorney, his exceptional ability to do very different things well enabled him to conduct, single-handed, for a prosecuted client one of the first sensational cases in Kansas after the war—State *vs.* Medlicott. A murder had been committed in Lawrence. The press and public pounced upon Doctor Medlicott as the culprit. For months Judge Thacher held at bay almost the whole community. The testimony in court was voluminous, and much of it expert, involved, and contradictory. The prosecution was capable and dauntless. The strain became so intense and prolonged that he scarcely ate or slept for weeks; but at the long-deferred close of the trial the victory was his.

He seemed what is sometimes called the modern type of a lawyer, in that he was practical in business affairs and a thrifty accumulator. It was during the season of rapid expansion in Lawrence that he put his fees into broad acres, and assumed duties as an agriculturist. It was at this time that he took possession of the home so familiar to his friends—a residence towering up at the foot of University hill. It is a noble retreat, embellished with books, paintings, and sculptures; and where, from the windows of his lofty chamber, the valley appears decked at noon in a gauze of haze recalling that of the Oise or of Lucca; and where, at summer eve, the dusk falls like fine, black lace over the shoulders of Mount Oread. Along the upper edges of the homestead still remain the breastworks erected by the heroic defenders of Lawrence; and a few rods back, looms the great gray cranium of young Kansas.

The commercial future of Lawrence changed from its auspicious course. The year 1873 came; the "boom" died away; values shrank like sensitive-plants. Kansas City and Topeka sapped by degrees the growths of their rival in trade. Its railway offices and wholesale houses preferred to take new root elsewhere. And Lawrence gradually consented to become the Boston of Kansas. Out of it all Judge Thacher emerged financially unharmed, by reason of his business ability. He continued to prosper with a prudence unsurpassed among our pioneers. If he had been "ambitious," he would have located at this time in Topeka, Kansas City, or Chicago.

But civic ambition was indeed a trial to him—a kind of duty that so often falls to the lot of an able attorney. Conscientious, introspective, he analyzed himself, sifted motives, weighed principles, doubted precedents, magnified the merits of emulators, so that he usually hesitated until too late, and thus gratified a certain indifference. His extensive reading of biography contributed to his

attitude in this respect; for who may become familiar with the lives of men like Webster, Cobden, Seward, and not prefer quiet pursuits to the abasements of Procrustean politics and the ingratitude of a coquettish public? A politician, we are told, is assumed to be a bold compound of assurance and ignorance. Judge Thacher was, by contrast, of the pattern of a circumspect politicist or statesman who adopts ideas, not through assumption, but through considerate study and experience, and who advocates principles rather than policies. This was the result of his culture, for he accepted the Matthew Arnold conception of culture as the following of right reason to perfection.

Possessing, in active life, a temperament practical and unpale, he realized that force, brutal though it is, rules the secular workings of our universe. He wrote:

"When a man trusts the chemistry of the sun, the alchemy of the clouds, the solvents of frost and gravitation, he places his faith in immutable laws and forces."

And he frequently quoted Van Ihring's dictum: "All law is attained through struggle and is the product of force." Hence, Judge Thacher felt that, for instance, the reign of democracy must not be looked upon as a necessary evil; for if the government in our land of liberty were of only the higher class they would so subdivide and separate that there would be no dynamic concensus to guide the state. It requires the force of our less enlightened masses to weld, solidify and give momentum to public principles and policies; and it is from this great impact of the coarser citizenship that political and sociological rejuvenations proceed, just as, in nature, new growths spring from compost. Judge Thacher believed fully in the future of democracy, and that each discovery or development in science is a germ of power placed in the hands of the people.

His recognition of the reign of force caused his caution and prudence in business matters, and led him usually to advocate a conservative thesis like that of his address (which many of us may remember) at the state university in 1878 on "Hard Times":

"No man has a right to assume a burden so great that the least adversity will overwhelm him. There is something far better than money. We have the comforts; what we have lost is the fever of display."

And yet, his recognition of the reign of force also caused him to realize so exemplarily that energy must be met with energy, and that man must be actively and healthfully industrious. As a consequence, his life was not overhung with any shadows of that lethargy which he commented upon whenever he repeated the refrain of Bayard Taylor:

"We walk among the currents of actions left undone,
The germs of deeds that wither before they see the sun.
For every sentence uttered a million more are dumb;
Men's lives are chains of chances and history their sum."

Judge Thacher preferred to remain in his town and home rather than follow the selfish promises of a high-strung ambition. The theme is almost proverbial that the town tends to project one's subjectivity along narrow parallels, and that the city tends to flatten out one's personality. For many reasons, existence seems more trying in a town than in a city or desert. In a commonwealth like Kansas, whose only cities are towns, urbanity is made up for by a morality whose comparative merit and value Kansans do not appraise too highly. The dispensing of any especial admiration for the memories of the early saints and pious hermits in their isolation—those stationary tramps of old—appears idle, since it was less difficult for them to inhabit the deserts than the towns. Judge Thacher

lived in the same town for thirty-seven years, and was longest its foremost respected citizen, active in its counsels and charities, a leader in its generous impulses for progress, a constant factor in its equations of things accomplished, the shining mark and bearer (as often as he consented) of its good will and public confidence. Had he succeeded in nothing else than this his life would have been a triumph.

In 1880, after fifteen years, he resumed his political career and became state senator. A conspicuous figure from the first in the revolution of prohibition, he was, in 1882, a candidate for governor against St. John. His moderate and compensatory views on the application of this panacea were openly accepted by a large class of the intellectual and responsible men of the state, until there came the overwhelming verdicts at the polls. The legislative climax in the cause of Kansas prohibition was reached in the senatorial discussion between Senator Everest and Judge Thacher. It is believed that there has never been in our senate a debate so able, scholarly, and effective in results. Judge Thacher's reply to Senator Everest, on January 29, 1883, was replete with logic, rhetorical retort, eloquent appeal, and literary adornment, and was accepted at the time as the ultimate legislative argument of practical prohibition before its political and social opponents.

About the close of his first term in the senate, he received from President Arthur the appointment as one of the three national commissioners to visit the states of Central and South America, "for the purpose of ascertaining the best modes of promoting more intimate international and commercial relations between those countries and our own." Judge Thacher was *de facto* the commission. His voyage extended over a period of seven months, and covered 34,000 miles, not without peril. He nearly perished in a storm in the straits of Magellan, and was finally shipwrecked off Brazil. A British steamer rescued him and carried him to England, whence he arrived home in safety. He bore greetings from our government to nearly all the countries south of our boundary, met nearly all their rulers and statesmen, and enjoyed in the various capitals the honors and dignities of his position. His reports to congress were exhaustive, and led to his being called before the subcommittee on foreign relations in the senate to expound his ideas of reciprocity. He was a Blaine protectionist in the reciprocity sense before Blaine had really developed his theories. Judge Thacher's South American tour, in adding more than a continent to the domains of his observation, broadened and deepened the scope of his information. It was the crowning experience and honor of his life.

In after-years he returned to the state senate, and was senator at the time of his death, in August, 1895. His colleagues generally admitted that he stood as the central pillar and chief resource of the senate by reason of his age, long service, legal qualifications, and identification with the various interests for which the word Kansas is almost synonymous. When he spoke in the upper house, he refracted and reflected so much of material importance, that he was perhaps unique among the prominent Kansas legislators. At the time of his death he was president of the Kansas State Historical Society.

In any summing up of his career of deed and outward rank, his leadership in the senate should be taken into account, as well as the fact that he was the only general minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary whom Kansas has yet furnished the nation. In saying, also, that the law and laws of our state, from the date of its constitution down to the legislative session of 1895, were his creation more than any other Kansan's, one may recall the remark of a famous diplo-

mat, that the thoughts of the best men of a commonwealth become its public opinion at the last.

Yet this record of practical and more or less prosaic success did not constitute the expression of his innate self. Judge Thacher was an idealist.

In our lustrum, idealism appears to be vaguely defined as a taste for that which passes beyond the facts—a taste for an over-science which neither our senses reach nor our convictions prove. We know something of its mundane approaches and abutments, and little of its suspension into the azure unknown. Yet this aerial realm of transcendental ideality Judge Thacher ever aspired after; and, softened with the mists of emotion, he bowed before and worshiped its mystery which encompasses us. He adopted, in a manner, the "God-intoxicated" Spinoza's belief, that body is not terminated by thinking nor thinking by body. Judge Thacher held that truth and justice, for instance, are not fixed and absolute; that they are not to be regarded as jeweled perfections, somewhere and somehow crystallized. He looked upon such conceptions as archaic and inhuman, since he was assured that the world is recognizing more warmth in truth, more tenderness in justice, and that both assume shifting, indistinct guises. The charm of mystery, that limitless and appealing envelope of our planet, possessed his soul. To him it was God-given, sensuous; the mother of hope, the sire of imagination. While accrediting to science its full due as a torch-bearer of civilization, he remarked that its limitations are immense, and that, as hitherto largely developed, it might almost be defined as the stumbling onto discoveries while *en route* for something it does not attain. He found his chief reliance and comfort in mystery as conceived substantially in the Christian spirit. Pascal may perhaps be considered a prototype—Pascal, who first supplied logic to Christianity; in whom the fibers of mentality and impressibility were so evenly and beautifully keyed up that he keenly thought and as keenly felt; and whose whole stretch of life quavered, as if a delicate scale of chromatic sensibilities.

Judge Thacher was a sentimentalist. The world appeared to him as suffusing in colors and dissolving in vistas. And his idealism, his love of mystery, his religious dreams, went further. They accepted, in his last years, the abracadabraic cult of the mystic and the supernatural. He wished to visit India, that he might receive the impression of its pearl white mosques and of its obscurantism. In all this he was identified with our end of the century in its essentially Christian reaction from the realistic shudder of the generation before.

He was, therefore, of a poetic nature. Its manifestation is found in his writings. He exhibited, when the theme bid, a refulgence of imagination and an opulence of style which at times seemed to equal the gifts of our great prose impassionists, and suggested De Quincey, the texture of whose utopian language is traditionally described as so rich that it can stand up alone. Here and there in his lectures and contributions are beheld strangely vivid and grandiose illuminations, like this coruscation from his commencement address, "The Fanatic," at Washburn College in 1884:

> "Knowledge is a bleak, dark shadow, looming against the upper air, until there rises above its crest the fiery column of the glowing lava and the flame-lit vapors of intense emotion."

Without the author's consciousness of the fact, this is the purest Victor Hugo. We are reminded that volumes of combat were once waged about such literary imagery as this, for it was a part of the shifting of literature from the classic molds into the romantic. "Knowledge is light" is associated with the Greek; "knowledge is a shadow" is held to be characteristic of the romantic—of Rosicrucian Christianity. Such a sentence would flare forth only from an imagina-

tive brain directly open to the mysterious beyond—the beyond which is so closely allied to the within.

And, in other moods, he struck the chords of sentiment like this:

"The fidelities never grow old. Change touches the theories of science; statements of philosophy and creed gather mildew and rust; but no moth burrows in the shining robe of gratitude. In deepest reverence and love we lay garlands on the altars of sincerity, candor, and truth. While a perennial fragrance lingers around these qualities, the unfolding years interweave them with new forms and new hopes."

One of the most familiar ideas here vibrates in a cadence that attunes our feelings. These fabrics of fancy were to him almost heedless, as are the creations of any truly lyrical soul. When the epic entered into his paragraphs, he loved, like Macaulay, to marvel at the panoramas of history from the roof of things; to gaze across the checkered lights and shadows down the corridors of time; to wander in self-communion in the somber aisles of vaulting thought. On the Janiculum at sunset or the violet-tinged hills of Athens, or among the fountains of the Alhambra or the ruins of Baalbec, or the peaks of the Andes, he was quick to revel in immense visions of the world and limn with language the glories of the past. For such an imaginative and varied sensuousness were needed, in turn, his noble expanses of syntax, reclusive depth of phrase, his Petrarchian felicity in mixing roses with words.

And yet there was no pedantry in his culture nor tension in his efforts. He conveyed a sense of reserve and resource; he never appeared to be doing his best. He thus kept fresh to his friends and neighbors; and his audiences in Lawrence were always large, representative, and appreciative. He was a fine speaker; or he might have been called an orator, if the public did not generally accept in our day Froude's declaration that oratory is brilliant in the inverse ratio of the truth contained in it. But momentary notice might be drawn to Judge Thacher's prayers at church and at home, for no more beautiful petitions may one have heard from the mouth of Brooks or Farrar, or from the triple-powered lips of Leo.

He was not burdened with the cult of the ego. On the contrary, he was prone to let the selfishness of other people expand into his own aura. Though Lord Bacon was one whom he avoided in the forum of books, he believed the Verulam saying that "it is a poor center of a man's actions, himself." He was fond of quoting these lines of Meredith:

"The man is great, and he alone,
Who serves a greatness not his own,
For neither praise nor self;
Content to know and be unknown;
Whole in himself."

There was a noiselessness about Judge Thacher and what he did that suggests Poor Richard's comment on the worst wheel in the wagon. One of the prominent lawyers of our state has said that in all his intercourse with Judge Thacher he never heard him refer to his public services or his success at the bar.

This trait of modesty was illustrated in his little volume of travels, "What I Saw in Europe," and in his long series of letters to the Lawrence *Journal* and the Kansas City *Journal* on his South American tour, and on his trip with Mrs. Thacher across Palestine and the ancient dominions of Saint Paul and Nikó Apteros. These South American and Palestine letters deserve book form, for every reason. They should be fittingly preserved among the archives of Kansas. He was a rare observer, because he knew so much about many varieties of human activity in various parts of the world, and also because he had the gift of imparting—of lending interest to things casual and occasional. His letters of travel

do travel; the reader proceeds in them from one place to the next. This is considered, apparently, the first essential feature of voyage literature. It gives to such travel memories as those of Albert Brisbane their fascination. Yet Judge Thacher's articles were unlike the Brisbane memoir in the matter of freedom from the ego—from evident liking of self: they keep our thoughts on the sights he saw and on the facts and observations he assembled.

Consonant with his freedom from the ego was his tolerance. He construed history into one long lesson of tolerance; it was to him inevitable and final in the interpretation of earthly affairs. He approved the averment of Junius, "What yesterday was fact to-day is doctrine," and wrote:

"Thirty years ago men who spoke of a law higher than the constitution were scorned as fanatics. To-day builds marble cenotaphs over their sunken graves and writes their words among the noblest thoughts of this great age. Now, as ever, the children of those who stoned the prophets garnish the sepulchres of those their fathers put to death. Yesterday's doubt is the belief of to-day."

Still, with his cult of mystery and of tolerance, and while he believed that "in order to be able rightly to learn a truth, you need also to have combated it," one must waive the impression that he was anchorless and adrift. He seemed quite the opposite, indeed, when it is borne in mind that he always remained a republican and a protectionist; that he always belonged, in Kansas, to one particular church, and, it might almost be added, followed but one local pastor. He ever contributed an unflagging zeal to the development and propagation of these organizations and beliefs.

And, finally, to approach a summation of his traits and characteristics which have been so imperfectly and incompletely indicated in the foregoing pages, there was, in Judge Thacher, the profound example of a man who had lived West nearly forty years, who was identified and contented with it, who prided himself on being a Kansan; and yet, though he did not realize the fact, he was never Western. He was an Eastern man. He had a symmetry in his culture, a certain opulence in his personality, that signalized him among typical Kansans. Were one to illustrate by a geometrical figure the traditional type of a Kansan, the symbol would be somewhat angular or tangential. It would be, for instance, a scalene. By contrast, there was, in Judge Thacher, more regularity and balance of outline, more well-ordered ponderousness. He was developed in many directions. He exemplified the traditions of the East, with its wealth and ancestral refinement, which our new West naturally does not yet possess. And he thus gave a thoughtful and refined poise to the young ship of Kansas destiny, and ballast to its heroic course and careenings.

If our patriotism could be thrown aside for a moment, the distinction might be pushed further, and it be recognized that he was substantially of an English type. He would have been surprised at this estimation, realizing that our dislike of the race whence we sprang is one of our national entailments. Yet Judge Thacher had concluded in his almost world-wide travels, whether along the confines of Persia or the coasts of Patagonia, that we should go to the semicivilized and the barbarians for exhibitions of the purest patriotic zeal. From the standpoint of high Christian enlightenment, in comparison, he thought that the desire of a people should be to love other races and nations. Widely traveled, widely thought, blessed with robust health and large vigor, embracing broad, practical views on secular things, he resembled the best English pattern rather than our more acute American model. Of his unconscious Anglicanism, the most elaborate picture of Kansas that he ever drew in a sentence is an example. It may be found in his commencement oration at Manhattan in 1880:

"Fancy these prairie swells, these undulating plains, covered, here and there,

to at least one-tenth of their surfaces, with well-chosen forest-trees, belts of walnut, maple, with other deciduous trees, freely relieved and interspersed with the various evergreens, encircling farm after farm, holding the winds in check, protecting the secret storehouse of spring and creek from withering heats, furnishing a grateful covert for insect-consuming birds, filling the senses with transports of delight, as the beauty of the landscape touches the vision, the melody of birds enraptures the ear, and the myriad perfumes of opening bud, blossom and leaf are given to the air."

There is a depth of sensuousness, a fullness of rich, unheard sound, a harvest of provincial splendor, about this scene that identify it as English. Eliminating one or two casual incidents, it is a landscape in Bucks or Surrey, and not in Kansas; for in Kansas the charm of country is lighter, less suffusing, and, for that matter, naturally not complicated by the mellowness of decay which Ruskin considers indispensable to the picturesque. It may be noted, also, that this sentence was written three years before Judge Thacher visited Great Britain.

And, indeed, his ancestors came from Salisbury, England, near where is still to be seen the tomb of the exalted Peter Thacher of Elizabeth's time, with the inscription, in a Shakespearian strain, across its marble brow: "Let no man move his bones." Yet the English descent of his progenitors did not for a moment stay their revolutionary fury a hundred years ago. The annals of New England are filled with names of conspicuous and patriotic Thachers. Thacher's island off Cape Ann is a sad reminder that the family were of one of the first groups of ocean-faring Puritans, for the island was named after Anthony Thacher, whose children shipwrecked there in 1635. During nearly three centuries, Judge Thacher's forefathers were Puritans and Congregationalists. One of them - Thomas Thacher—sailed for America at the age of fifteen because he disliked the requirements of the established church. In 1669 he became the first pastor of Old South Church, and was long known in Massachusetts as one of its notable citizens. Another illustrious member of the family was Rev. Peter Thacher, of the Brattle Street Church in Boston, who, like his father, Oxenbridge, bitterly antagonized the British crown. On March 5, 1776, he delivered, before the American troops near Boston, an oration which completely foreshadowed the declaration of independence. He exclaimed: "With transports, my countrymen, let us look forward to the bright day which shall hail us a free and independent state! . . . And when the earthly scene shall be closing, let us expire with this prayer upon our quivering lips, 'O God, let America be free!'" In this oration were enumerated the various wrongs inflicted upon her children by Great Britain. These grievances were almost word for word recapitulated in the declaration of independence. The address passed through three editions, and Jefferson, no doubt, had it before him when he wrote that world-renowned document.

The above may the genealogist read in a portion of the early history of the Thachers in America. It was probably because of Judge Thacher's trans-racial nature—a natural and unconscious reversion to his cis-Atlantic and trans-Atlantic ancestry—that he was so ready to interest himself in God's creatures and creations, though they might belong beyond our political borders. He was fond of letting his imagination wing along the parallels of latitude that belt our planet; he loved the elsewhere. His patriotism was innately of the whole earth that God made and that Christ bled for. In this, and, in a manner, in his acceptation of Aristotle's dictum, that there is no science but of the general, Judge Thacher was a philosopher—a philosopher in the sense that philosophy (as defined by a great German thinker) is "a homesickness; a desire to be everywhere at home." Existence for him seemed, inwardly, one long, profitable and pleasant *Wanderjahr*. He was delighted to set forth across both hemispheres, and just as delighted to

reach his own town again. He would always say, on returning to his state: "Kansas is, all in all, as good a place as there is, and Lawrence is right down here in the center of it." And he frequently quoted, as a part of his creed, Mr. Seward's stirring words spoken at Lawrence in the '60s:

"If ever my love of country grows cold, and my heart wearies in its love of liberty, I will come to Kansas to revivify that love, and at her altar renew my devotion to the cause of human freedom."

It was forth from Judge Thacher's enlightened admiration for this world and his commonwealth, as well as from his complex impulses of opposites and contrarieties, that sprang his tolerance—the consciousness of "the higher law," as he called it—which a profound moralist might designate, in the last analysis, as the chief lesson and expression of his life.

Be that as it may, the benediction of the destinies that may be guiding him on in a new course across fresher skies and more brilliant spheres shall brighten his name as time removes him larger from our microcosm; and shall teach the love and adoration of the universal Mystery which he loved and adored as such, and whose glory he chanted in his favorite poems, "Sandalphon," and the ode of Addison, "The Spacious Firmanent on High."

Followed by an imposing concourse of his friends, both humble citizens and distinguished men, his *reliquiæ* were laid in their final resting-place on that cherished oak knoll east of Lawrence, among the monuments to its pioneers and martyrs whose hearts and hands have passed into history, and whose souls have passed toward God.

And perhaps more than one of those friends, on that mortuary August day, traced in visional epitaph, across the white tablet of his memory, the most mortal of words: "Humanity is composed more of the dead than of the living." *Optimi consiliarii mortui.*

WM. H. H. KELLEY.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON KELLEY was born in Montgomery township, Wood county, Ohio, on May 12, 1836. His father, John A. Kelley, was born in Virginia, but emigrated to Richland (now Ashland) county, Ohio, when very young. He settled in Wood county in 1832, where he lived on the same farm for twenty-seven years, and where he died in 1859. During most of this period he was justice of the peace; also serving as county commissioner several terms, and as probate judge one term. The mother of the subject of this sketch was Rachel Shawhan, a native of Maryland, but who moved with her parents to Ohio when a child, and settled in Richland county. Here she grew to womanhood and married John A. Kelley, and moved with him to Wood county, where she died in 1840, leaving eight children.

Harrison, the youngest, a boy four years of age, grew up and thrived amid the privations and early civilization of the black swamp of Northern Ohio. He received such education as the common schools of that time afforded, supplemented by two terms at the Perrysburg high school and one term at the Fostoria academy, Fostoria, Seneca county, Ohio. He was also a pedagogue for four terms in Wood county. His choice of occupation was farming. He emigrated to Kansas territory early in 1858, drawn there principally by the exciting events then transpiring in the contest between liberty and slavery. He settled at Ottumwa, in Coffey county, on the Neosho river, and here he lived until 1888, when he purchased his son's (Harry E. Kelley) residence near Burlington, and

moved into it, hoping to recruit his failing health. He engaged in farming and stock-raising, meeting with reasonable success.

Harrison Kelley enlisted as a private soldier in the Fifth Kansas volunteer cavalry October 1, 1861, and was mustered out June 5, 1865. He served through all the grades to captain, when he was commissioned as such, and for the remaining two and one-half years of his service was captain of company B of the same regiment. He was in active service during the entire period, in Missouri, Arkansas, and Mississippi, and participated in all the engagements and skirmishes in which his regiment was engaged, including Helena, Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Mount Elba, Cauley's Ridge, Saline River, etc. At the close of the war, in 1865, he returned to his home in Coffey county.

General Kelley was appointed brigadier general of the state militia in 1865, and in 1868 was made a director of the state penitentiary, serving in the latter position for five years. During this year, 1868, he was a member of the state legislature. In 1870 he became assistant assessor of internal revenue, retaining the office until its abolishment. In 1878 he was appointed receiver of the United States land-office at Topeka. He was elected state senator in 1880. He also held the offices of chairman of the live-stock sanitary commission of the state and treasurer of the state board of charities, and was twice appointed regent of the agricultural college, at Manhattan, being president of the board of regents at the time of his death. He was a member of the State Historical Society for many years, and when he died was its president. General Kelley was elected to the fifty-first congress as a republican, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Hon. Thomas Ryan, receiving 10,500 votes, against 2010 scattering.

In religion General Kelley was a freethinker and an agnostic, governing his life according to the practical precepts of Christ, which he believed had never been improved upon, while rejecting theological pretensions and inventions. In June, 1897, he accepted Christian Science. Politically he was an abolitionist until the republican party came into power, since which time he had always voted that ticket until 1891, when he identified himself with the people's party.

He was married to Tabitha McCombs, of Wood county, Ohio, on October 4, 1855, his wife dying in Kansas on November 16, 1859. He was again married, June 25, 1861, to Caroline E. DeWitt, of McCutchinville, Seneca county, Ohio. Four children blessed their union: Harry E. Kelley, residing at Fort Smith, Ark.; Herma T. Kelley, living at Burlington, Kan.: Artie K. Palmer, of Cripple Creek, Colo.; and Fannie K. Armour, of Fort Smith, Ark. H. Leigh Kelley, of Fort Smith, is the only grandchild, and in him his grandfather took great pride and interest.

During his extended public career General Harrison Kelley exhibited to an exceptional degree the qualities of inflexible courage, stern honesty, and lofty and self-sacrificing devotion to duty. He was never a seeker after office, and all the official honors he received came to him unsolicited, and often against his earnest protest. Yet his intense interest in public affairs, his anxious concern for freedom, equality and good government and his constant striving to alleviate the sorrows of the poor and oppressed urged him forward in political conflicts. He was a natural leader of men. His wisdom, experience and firm integrity of purpose inspired confidence; his vigor and enthusiasm encouraged, stimulated, and cheered; his authority compelled obedience; and his commanding abilities secured admiration and esteem.

General Kelley was ever a radical in the best sense of the term. He looked to the future, not the past. He was broad in mind, judicial in temper, catholic in charity. His chiefest concern and unremitting labor were for the betterment

of his fellow men, and in the attainment of this end no barrier was sufficiently great, no tie sufficiently strong, to restrain him. Yet, despite his long and arduous public service, the intensity of political strife, and the animosities which it of necessity engendered, General Kelley ever remained singularly free from personal enmities. His candor, sincerity and courtesy won for him comrades even amongst his foes, and his bitterest political opponents were often his warmest personal friends.

The heartfelt philanthropy which distinguished his whole life was particularly displayed toward the colored race, the laboring masses, and the unemployed. His sturdy democracy recognized no classes, no prestige of wealth, no social distinctions. He was a patriot of the most perfect type, always enthusiastic for his country and no less so for his adopted state. The educational interests of the state were amongst his most cherished cares, and much of his best energy and thought were given to their furtherance.

The life of General Kelley was of a sort to attract, inspire, and ennoble, to beget reverent admiration, to demonstrate the best in human nature, and to furnish a matchless example for those who should come after him. In his death, his family and friends, his state and nation, endured a deep and irreparable bereavement and deprivation.

EDWARD RUSSELL.

AFTER an illness of several weeks, during which time he was not able to leave his home, Edward Russell died, Sunday afternoon, August 14, 1898, at four o'clock. For some years Mr. Russell's health had been poor, and several times he had been confined to his house for weeks, but recovered so as to be able to attend to his business as usual. His failing strength was unable to withstand the last sickness, and death came.

Edward Russell was one of the early settlers of Kansas, and, as such, took an active part in the struggles of the state in its slavery and anti-slavery issues, becoming a partizan on the free-state side as soon as he came to Kansas. He was led to this through a study of the questions at stake and by travel in the South, where he saw the condition of things under slavery and their need of readjustment, and by the further fact that he was of Northern birth and education.

In 1856 Mr. Russell came to Kansas, and soon determined upon a location at Elwood, in Doniphan county. He had been there but a short time when he assumed control of a paper, and openly espoused the free-state side of the great question that was agitating the whole West. In 1858 he stumped his county, which was tolerably evenly divided, for the free-state cause and against the Lecompton constitution. The following year he became associated with D. W. Wilder and others in the founding of a free-state paper, which they conducted for a couple of years. In 1861 he moved to his farm a mile west of Wathena. Mr. Russell continued to take an active part in politics, and in 1862 was elected to the lower house of the legislature from Doniphan county. He was made chairman of the ways and means committee of the house, and worked with Plumb to place the state on a sounder financial basis. The next fall he became actively associated with the anti-Lane movement, and was again in the legislature in 1863, and was a second time chairman of the ways and means committee; he went to the legislature again in 1865. In 1863 Mr. Russell was appointed quartermaster general of the state, with the rank of brigadier general, which position he held

till he resigned. In 1864 he was chairman of the state central committee of the anti-Lane forces.

Mr. Russell moved to Leavenworth in 1865, in April, where he went into the real estate and conveyancing business, continuing at it until 1874. He was one of the projectors of the Leavenworth Coal Company, and in 1872 was auditor of Leavenworth county. In 1873 he was appointed state superintendent of insurance, which place he held until he resigned the office. In 1876 he moved to Lawrence. He honored the State Historical Society as the president for the year 1888.

Mr. Russell at once entered into an active business career again at Lawrence, and, while he was not able to take the active part in politics that had always fallen to his lot, he showed an interest in every campaign, and many times took the stump for issues that he believed in and which he thought were vital to the state. His loan and real estate business in Lawrence was conducted under the firm name of Russell & Metcalf. During the last few years Mr. Russell transacted a large volume of business as one of the receivers for the Western Farm Mortgage Trust Company, and had been engaged in other enterprises.

In his early career in the state Mr. Russell had the usual number of narrow escapes, and passed through many trying ordeals because of his advocacy of free-state ideas, and the older settlers relate numerous incidents in which he was a participant in the helping of slaves to escape, and in the releasing of free-state men who had been wrongly imprisoned by their enemies.

Mr. Russell was an active member of the Presbyterian church, both at Leavenworth and after he came to Lawrence, and was a member of the official church board in both cities. He rarely failed to attend all the church meetings when he was able to go, took an active interest in all church enterprises, and was especially ardent in his devotion to the Sunday-school work of his church and of the other churches in the community.

Mr. Russell was married in Doniphan county in September, 1859, to Miss Ionia Blackstone, and his wife and four children survive him. The children are Percy Blackstone Russell, now located in Mississippi; Mrs. C. A. Peabody, of Kansas City, and E. Flint Russell and Miss Ella Russell, of Lawrence.

Mr. Russell was born February 9, 1833, at Plymouth, N. H. When but a child his parents moved to Gainesville, Ala., where he received his early education. Afterward he attended the Kimball Union Academy, at Meriden, N. H., went to Yale when he was but seventeen, and, after remaining there a year, went to Williams College, where he was compelled to give up his work after two years on account of failing eyesight. He then traveled in the South for a couple of years before coming to Kansas. His parents were David Moor Russell and Mary Flint Russell, and came from an old Middlesex, Mass., family, and were of Puritan stock.

A large circle of friends, not only in Lawrence, but in the eastern part of the state, will hear of Mr. Russell's death with sorrow, and will recall many of the early incidents in the history of the state in which all were common participants.

JAMES S. EMERY.

THE death of Judge James S. Emery, June 8, 1899, removes another of that remarkable body of men who laid the foundation of this commonwealth of Kansas. For nearly half a century he has been a prominent figure in our history. He was president of the Kansas State Historical Society for the year 1891. He was born in Industry, Me., July 3, 1826. He was educated in the schools of his native state, graduating at Colby University at the age of twenty-five. He then studied law in Troy and New York, and was admitted to the bar in January, 1853. A few months after he attended a meeting in Boston to protest against the effort to make Kansas a slave state. He at once threw himself into the movement to prevent such a consummation. In the summer of 1854 he joined a company of Kansas emigrants under Charles Robinson, and arrived in Lawrence September 14. He participated in every effort to thwart the schemes of the Missouri bushwhackers, and to secure freedom for Kansas. In the council and in the camp, in the legislature and in the conventions, he gave his voice and his strength to make sure the thing to which they had all pledged their lives. He was a member of the Topeka and Leavenworth constitutional conventions, and of other bodies which gave shape to the social and political structure of our state. In 1856 he attended the convention at Bloomington, Ill., where Lincoln made the famous speech which brought him into national prominence. After Mr. Lincoln's speech, Mr. Emery was asked to follow him on the issues of the day. In 1863 Judge Emery was appointed by President Lincoln as United States district attorney for Kansas, an office which he held till he resigned in 1867.

Judge Emery was one of that body of strong and unique men who figured so prominently in our early history. The Kansas struggle for freedom drew to it a large number of marked characters. Each one of them had a stamp of his own, and stood out by himself like a feature of the landscape. It would be possible to name a score of men among these early founders, all coming under the same impulse, yet each as distinct as men can be in their personality and characteristics. There was an individuality about these men which set each one of them in a class by himself. Judge Emery worked with his comrades heartily for the deliverance and building up of Kansas, yet he was one of those unique individualities which when once seen can never be forgotten, nor confounded with any other. He was strong and intense and untiring, yet always working in his own way and following his own thought. If you once knew him you would recognize him by step or voice or wave of hand. His oratory was impressive, but emphatically his own. It could not be described or imitated, but it was always felt. Every tone and gesture bore the marks of his originality. He bore a very prominent part in the pioneer history of Kansas, and was a living force in all that stirring time. He held many offices of trust, but his own personality so overshadowed the offices he held that the offices are seldom thought of in connection with him. He was himself greater than any office he ever held, and is remembered for himself when the office is forgotten.

While interested in the political shaping of our commonwealth, he was always interested especially in her educational development. The subject of education was a favorite study with him and he never tired of talking of the educational men he had known. He was a member of state legislature when the question of locating the state university was decided. The lines were closely drawn, and

Judge Emery threw his whole strength in favor of Lawrence. He was appointed a member of the first board of regents and was continued on that board for a number of years. He gave a great deal of time and thought to the early shaping of that institution, and what it is to-day is largely due to his thoughtful activity. He was always a lover of books, and never fell behind in his knowledge of literature and of the literary movements and men of the day. He was often called upon to give addresses before colleges and schools, before the State Historical Society, and other bodies. During the later years of his life Judge Emery gave himself largely to the study and advocacy of irrigation. Perhaps no man in the country was better informed than he as to the need and methods and value of irrigation on our semiarid plains. He used to say that our public lands were about exhausted, and the only outlet for our surplus population was to make our semiarid lands habitable. The soil of these plains, he said, was exhaustlessly rich and only needed water to make the desert blossom like the rose: there was abundance of water a few feet below the surface, and if it could be brought up and spread over the fields that country would sustain a dense population. He became very enthusiastic in advocating his idea, and the results of his works will appear in after-years.

Judge Emery had a deep religious nature. He was alive to all the movements of the religious world, and was awake to all phases of theological discussion. His interest took a very wide range, from the latest phase of biblical criticism to the movements of the Salvation Army. He followed all the discussions of science and criticism with the eagerest interest, and at the same time he was a firm friend of Booth Tucker, and wrought with him in his scheme for colonizing the refuse of the slums on the wild lands of the West. He was very fond of hearing the advocates of extreme views and the teachers of new and universal systems of religious speculation. He caught these views so clearly and set them forth so fairly that it sometimes seemed as if he were inclined to adopt them. But when you knew his habits of mind you soon saw that he looked into these theories and systems as objects of study. He stood outside of them and held them up to examine them, as one might examine a specimen in natural history. At one time he became much interested in Buddhism. To hear him speak of it a stranger might think he was leaning that way. But he was simply trying to look at it in the most favorable light and to see the good there was in it. He studied it as a phase of religious development. While he believed in the largest liberty and the most liberal interpretation of the doctrines of scripture, he clung with great firmness to the essentials of the Christian faith, and found great comfort in the trust he reposed in the mercy of God and the salvation of Christ.

In his personal religious experience he was very simple and childlike. While his views were enlarged, the faith of his early days remained with him as an anchor and a stay. In the prayer-meeting, his voice was always low and sympathetic, and his words tender and touching. He was unique in this as in everything else. When in his best moods he would rise slowly, throw his head a little back, and, with half-closed eyes, would talk in a dreamy sort of way—in a kind of revery—almost as if thinking aloud. In that manner he would often talk for several minutes in a most delightful way. The last time he attended a prayer-meeting was only a short time before his final sickness. He had been away at Washington for some time, and had been sick there. He had just returned home. It was a cold night and a winter storm was on. He came in a little late, with his overcoat drawn close about him. He came in with a slow, weary step and took a seat in the rear of the room. The subject of the meeting pertained to the nearness of God to His people. Toward the close he rose and talked in his most

tender mood of the needs of the soul and their supply in God. As we learned of his serious illness later on, we could not help remembering the peculiar aptness and beauty of these last words. And, when we think of him as having passed over to the immortals, we can but remember with what unction and earnestness he was wont to repeat the words, "I believe in the resurrection of the dead."

JAMES B. ABBOTT.

Prepared by L. F. GREEN for the Kansas State Historical Society, January 18, 1898.

THE dust that was once the strong, well-formed body of James Burnett Abbott now mingles with the soil of Kansas in the beautiful cemetery near De Soto. He is seen among us no longer, but we can trace the impress of his courageous spirit in every page of Kansas history, wheresoever he worked, walked and was for forty-two years. His distinguished public life and services in Kansas, through war and peace, sunshine and shadow, are already recorded in the annals of the great state he helped to build up. We would have the men, women and children yet to be know the true, brave man as we know him; but, we ask in despair, who can transmit that working, earnest, every-day, eventful life to the cold pages of history? We would have others walk, toil and talk with him and look into that rugged, smiling face and know the worth of the good neighbor, friend and brother gone from earth forever.

Few Kansas pioneers were more earnest in the free-state cause, or more valiant in its defense, than James B. Abbott, who was born in Hampton, Windham county, Connecticut, December 3, 1818, and came to Kansas in 1854. Mr. Abbott died at De Soto, Johnson county, March 2, 1897. The Abbotts were of English descent, emigrated to America in the Mayflower, and trace their genealogy direct to three brothers. The Burnetts were of Scotch descent. Asa Abbott, grandfather of James Burnett Abbott, was a cripple, and so unable to take part in the war of the American revolution, but he employed a substitute, to whom he paid ten dollars a month during the seven years of that eventful struggle, and thus manifested his patriotism. His wife was Mrs. Sarah Fuller, whose first husband was murdered by the Indians in the Wyoming massacre. She hunted up the body of her husband, buried him, and, accompanied by another Spartan mother, effected her escape on horseback, each with a babe in her arms, and so made the entire journey to Connecticut.

James, son of Asa Abbott and widow Fuller, was a captain in the war of 1812, a man of good education, a teacher by profession, and a skilful musician. He was a person of superior moral character, and quite liberal in his religious views. He married Asenath, daughter of James Burnett, a soldier of the American revolution, who served during the entire period of that protracted conflict under General Putnam. Mrs. Abbott was a woman of great energy of character, a strict, yet kind-hearted Puritan, and a most devoted wife and mother. She died in 1876, aged seventy-six years.

James Burnett Abbott, their son, was educated in the common schools of Connecticut, and finished his studies at the academies of Potsdam and Gouverneur, in the state of New York. After leaving the academy he taught school two winters. At eighteen years of age he had the misfortune to break his leg, which compelled him to resort to lighter labor than his accustomed farm work. He accordingly learned the shoemaker's trade, and afterwards worked in a tin shop until he was able to resume his usual labors.

At the age of twenty-one he married Amanda Atwood, at Gouverneur, N. Y.; returned to Connecticut soon afterwards, and entered into mechanical business. From 1840 to 1854 he was engaged in various manual industries, making pencil cases, spoons, forks, and spectacles; electroplating and electrotyping; manufacturing boots and shoes in Connecticut, gold pens in Cincinnati, and acting as inspector for the Rogers mammoth plated-ware establishment at Hartford. He was among the first electroplaters, and at that time England sent much of her ware to America to be plated.

At Hartford, in 1851, he lost his wife, Amanda Atwood, whom he had married in Gouverneur, and the year following was married to Elizabeth Watrous, a Hartford lady.

In 1854, in company with the third party of New England emigrants, he came to Kansas, arriving at Lawrence, October 10, in which place he fixed his residence, although his claim was taken on the Wakarusa. He built Blanton's bridge, indicted in border-ruffian times as a nuisance, simply because it accommodated more free-state men than pro-slavery men. At the election of March 30, 1855, he was appointed one of the judges of election by Governor Reeder, but, on the majority of the board deciding that the Missourians had a right to vote, he protested against their action and withdrew from the board. He shortly afterwards joined a militia company for the defense of free-state men and their interests, of which he was made lieutenant and Henry Saunders captain. Lieutenant Abbott was then sent to Boston to procure arms for the company, and returned to Kansas with 117 Sharp's rifles and one twelve-pound howitzer. He was watched at every turn from St. Louis to Kansas, and passed under the name of J. Burnett, playing eucher and singing songs with the very men who were set as spies upon his trail. One of these spies was deputy under Sheriff Jones at the attempted arrest of S. N. Wood, and there recognized Abbott as the man who had outwitted him on the boat. The arms were shipped on a different steamer, and arrived safely, having been taken apart, packed in as short boxes as possible, and consigned to Harlow, Hutchinson & Co., merchants at Lawrence, as hardware. The howitzer was shipped in boxes from New York, but did not arrive until November.

In November, 1855, the murder of Dow, a free-state man, by Coleman, produced an intense excitement. A meeting was held at the place of the murder, and, on returning home, Lieutenant Abbott and others were informed that Samuel J. Jones, acting as sheriff, had arrested Jacob Branson. They immediately resolved on a rescue, and a company of about the same number as the sheriff's posse marched under cover of night to intercept him. Upon Jones's approach, Abbott filed his company across the road, and, with every gun leveled, demanded the release of Branson. Jones threatened to shoot Branson if he moved. Abbott replied that any attempt to harm Branson would be their death-warrant, and ordered his men to fire at once if a single gun was raised by one of Jones's party. Branson rode out from among his captors, and, on arriving at Abbott's, Mrs. Abbott came out of the house and helped him to dismount. As he was an old man, quite heavy, and had ridden several miles without any saddle on a sharp-backed mule, he was unable to walk alone, and was thus assisted into the house.

This action of Lieutenant Abbott was the result of several meetings of the free-state men, in which they pledged themselves to mutual protection against border ruffians and their officers. This rescue brought on the Wakarusa war, and, under the directions of the free-state safety company, the parties who released Branson left their homes for the time being.

During the troubles which followed the rescue of Branson, in the spring of 1856, Lieutenant Abbott was in charge of a company, and took part in the first

fight at Franklin. He afterwards commanded the Third regiment, and acted as officer of the day at Lawrence. He was at the battle of Black Jack, when Henry Clay Pate surrendered to John Brown, and was in command at Lawrence when 2700 Missourians menaced the town. He was a member of the first house of representatives under the Topeka constitution, and afterward a senator; was also a member of the first state legislature, and in 1866 was elected state senator.

In 1859 Dr. John Doy was arrested near Lawrence, carried to St. Joseph, Mo., tried there upon the charge of abducting slaves from that state, convicted, and sentenced to the penitentiary for five years. It was well known that the charges were false, and that Doctor Doy had not been in Missouri for some time before the escape of those slaves. At the earnest request of Doctor Doy's friends, Major Abbott organized a party of ten men to rescue the doctor from the St. Joseph jail. The exploit was one of the most daring and chivalrous of all the exploits of the free-state men. The pro-slavery papers, while condemning the action, spoke of its execution as most skilfully accomplished, and characterized the deed as one of wonderful daring.

The party consisted of James B. Abbott, Silas Soule, Joseph Gardner, Joshua A. Pike, S. J. Willis, John E. Stewart, Thomas Simmons, Charles Doy, Lennox, and Hays. They were organized at Lawrence, were to disperse and quietly to assemble at Elwood, opposite St. Joseph, there to consult and arrange a plan of action. They were entire strangers in Elwood and St. Joseph, and were compelled to proceed with great caution. The only person consulted in St. Joseph was Doctor Grant, the editor of the free-state paper there, who rendered them valuable assistance and proved a friend indeed. In their conversations with citizens they variously represented themselves, some as miners, others as Eastern men on their way to their mines. Sometimes they met as strangers, in some restaurants, and attempted to drive sharp bargains for teams and mining outfits with one another. One plan discussed was to take a prisoner to the jail upon a charge of horse stealing, and thus effect an entrance, but learning that such persons were usually confined in the calaboose of the city, the plan seemed impracticable, and was abandoned.

They next determined to break into the jail by main force, and Silas Soule was sent into the prison to communicate with the prisoner. Representing himself as coming from Doy's wife, he was admitted, and proceeded to deliver his message of consolation, in which the prisoner was urged to bear his misfortunes like a man, and expressing the hope that he would soon be pardoned. Soule had with him a note, wrapped in a small piece of twine, bearing these words: "To-night, at twelve o'clock," and it was with great difficulty that it was delivered; the jailer standing, during the entire conversation, between the outer and inner doors of the cell, and never removing his eagle eye from the visitor for a single instant. On leaving the cell, Soule turned his back to the prisoner and remarked to the jailer that he had a wonderfully strong building, at the same time casting his eyes around. The jailer's eyes naturally followed, and Soule threw the twine behind him into the cell. A small stone attached to this twine, hanging over the stone wall, soon apprised Major Abbott that Doy was ready. Soule, however, reported adversely to the plan of a forcible entry, declaring that it would take at least three hours to break in, and that the project was impracticable. The same evening they learned that prisoners from outside the city were not always taken to the calaboose, and determined upon the original plan of the horse-thief strategy. It was a bold, desperate undertaking, but it must be accomplished.

The day was one of driving rain. The new excavations in the streets rendered

them not only fearfully muddy but unsafe for rapid travel by strangers in the darkness. They walked backward and forward to familiarize themselves with the route to the river, until past ten o'clock. Two boats had been previously secured, without consultation with the owners. The jail was in the very heart of the city of 11,000 inhabitants, suspicious of free-state men, and revengeful: where no man accounted an abolitionist could hope for a fair trial, provided he escaped the vengeance of the mob. A sentinel made his weary rounds about the jail. The night was so dark that the party, not daring to speak, were obliged to clasp hands in order to keep together, and thus, in perfect silence, they approached the jail, passing up a narrow pathway through a high bank as they left the street.

Major Abbott assigned each man his position and acquainted him with his duty, no man knowing what would be required of him until the orders were given. Simmons was to be the "thief." Heavy thongs of buffalo hide entwined his wrists and apparently confined his hands, but in the hollow of his right hand, attached to the thong, he held a leaden egg—it had been cast in the shell of a hen's egg—and was a dangerous weapon in the hands of such a man, sturdy, powerful, and as desperate as the circumstances in which he was placed. Gardner, a man of prodigious power, six feet four inches high, and Willis, almost equally as strong, led the "thief" to the jail door and rapped. The jailer inquired, "What's wanting?" Willis replied: "We have a desperate horse-thief here; we have pursued him in the rain all day and are worn out; we want him put into a cell." The response was: "Wait; I'll be down," and down he came. "Are you officers? Have you any warrants?" "No, we are only citizens; this man was in the employ of one of our neighbors. Last night they had some difficulty in the settlement, and this morning the horse and man were missing; so, without waiting for the issue of any papers, we and three neighbors started out in pursuit, struck his trail, and followed him to within about four miles of the city, where we found him under shelter from the rain in a hovel with the horse. There is no doubt of his being a thief." "Gentlemen," said the jailer, "I dislike to take a man into jail without a warrant, as I would lay myself and my bondsmen liable to damages should he prove himself innocent." "There is no mistake," they replied; "we know him well and know the horse." Turning to Simmons, the jailer said, "Are you willing to admit that you stole the horse?" "No," said Simmons with an oath, "I want a trial." To which the jailer replied, "You look like a thief, and I will risk putting you in."

In went Simmons, Gardner, and Willis, with the jailer, the rest of the party standing to their posts. Abbott then stepped into the lower room to hear what followed and be ready to render assistance. The jailer unlocked the door of the cell, and directed Simmons to pass in. He refused, declaring, "I won't go in there among niggers." This was the signal that they were in the right direction for Doy's cell. The jailer replied: "The niggers are below; this floor is for white men," and immediately opened the door of the room in which Doy was confined, ordering Simmons to walk in. Doctor Doy had drawn the skeleton of a man upon the white wall in charcoal, which looked so hideous in the glare of the light that it seemed to terrify Simmons, and he refused, with an oath, to enter such a place. The jailer told him that was nothing but a charcoal sketch, and entered the cell to assure him. At this Gardner stepped to the door and carelessly inquired, "What has become of that old nigger thief, Doy, or Day, or some such name?" The jailer said, "I presume you refer to Doctor Doy, and if that is so, here he is." Gardner quickly replied: "That's the man we want; we propose to take him home to his family."

The situation seemed to flash upon the jailer in an instant, and he sprang to close the door. At that moment Gardner and Willis drew knives and revolvers; told him they were there with a sufficient force to take Doy at all hazards, and that his life depended upon his making no resistance, at the same time assuring him that they had no desire to harm him; that they appreciated his general good treatment of the prisoner, and that Doctor Doy must come out instantly. The jailer represented, on behalf of Doy, that if he was carried off in this way he would always be liable to seizure, while if he remained he would doubtless get a new trial and be liberated. They replied they were not there to force Doy against his will, but if he desired to leave he must go. Doy quickly said, "I will go with my friends," and came forward with his little bundle of effects ready to depart.

Other prisoners sought to avail themselves of this opportunity, and had to be driven back with revolvers in the hands of the rescuing party, who said "they did not come to release thieves and murderers, but to rescue an innocent man, and that Doy alone should come out." The party passed down into the reception room, and the jailer was introduced to Major Abbott, as the captain of the party, to whom he said: "Captain, this will be very embarrassing to me, and exceedingly difficult to explain to the public so as to escape the accusation of being a party to the transaction." Major Abbott replied: "You can publish a statement in your papers just as this appears to you; when we return we will publish the facts just as they have occurred. This young gentleman," referring to a young man who slept in the room, "will confirm whatever you say, and we will exonerate you from all complicity in the matter. We will leave a strong guard around your building, and, as soon as we pass out of the house, you will put out your lights and keep perfectly quiet until daylight; any attempt to leave the building, by yourself or any one else, or to raise any alarm, will be done at the peril of life."

The major then shook hands with the jailer, and, bidding him good night, walked backward to the door—partly out of politeness, and partly as a precaution—bowed himself out, and departed for the boats. By this time the moon had risen, and, although obscured by clouds, afforded sufficient light to see and be seen. The audiences of two little theaters were just departing from the halls, and with these they mingled, according to previous arrangements, in order to escape remark from the watchman and the police, who would be attracted by the appearance of such a party alone upon the streets at that hour. They passed along the streets in this manner, singing snatches of songs and spouting Shakespeare, till in the vicinity of the river. Here they divided, in order to reach the boats which they had selected, but dare not move in daylight. Doy's party was followed by two policemen, who stood with their lanterns watching them while they baled out their boats with their hats. Quietly shoving out into the stream, they crossed the Missouri, secured the boats on the other side, laughingly thanked the owners, were met by friends with good teams and a guide, and were soon on their way to Lawrence.

Resting over night at Grasshopper Falls, they continued their journey, and, on the afternoon of the second day, reached home, amid the plaudits of friends, who had received the news through the St. Joseph papers but did not know who had accomplished the heroic deed. A posse followed them all one day, on their return, but did not dare to approach. A spy overtook them, and they compelled him to mount their wagon and travel with them until night, when they dismissed him with the admonition not to be seen again in their presence. From Oskaloosa a guard of thirty riflemen escorted them to within two or three miles of Lawrence.

The rescue was boldly and successfully accomplished, and the entire party acquitted themselves with cool, determined bravery and remarkable self-possession.

For several years Major Abbott was agent of the Shawnee Indians, and in all his transactions with them evinced his usual integrity, good judgment, and capacity.

If two questions which a discerning future will ask can be answered here and now—rightly answered—the future may know something of the man and hold him in the same high esteem as do all who knew him here. How did he get his living? He wrought with his own hands. He was an every-day working man; he was a self-helping man; could build cabins, dug-outs, make "shakes," tables, shoes, bedsteads, culverts, and bridges. He was a competent man whenever and wherever tried; a good, judicious worker on legislative or political committees; he was as much at home in doing business at the various government offices at Washington as he was at Lawrence, Olathe, or the capitol at Topeka. He was in close counsel and hearty cooperation with the great makers and leaders of anti-slavery opinion of his time. While earnest, and even enthusiastic, yet he was not fiery, flashy, noisy, or fanatical, but cool, deliberate, and calculating. When a dangerous duty confronted him he was iron, ice, and fire.

When Kansas was free and slavery was dead, he lost no time tramping the ground down hard over the dead enemy. He moved on against intemperance, intolerance and ignorance with the same persistent, uncompromising opposition which he waged so successfully against chattel slavery. He never sat down and wept by the waters of Babylon or of the Wakarusa; he never hung his harp on the willows while the fight was on, nor shouldered his crutch to tell you how it was won when it was over. He planned and executed some of the most daring feats in the record of the bravest pioneers of this or any other age. The rescue of the Cuban girl, Cisneros, was a tame affair, in plan or execution, by the side of the "Doy deliverance" from the St. Joseph prison. He was a self-evolving sort of man; his mental activities were more active in the advanced years of life than in his prime. He was growing all the time. A generous enthusiasm for the good of all about him kept him young in mind and spirit. There came no winter to him, but a rich, mellow autumn at life's close. "What did he do for himself, his family, his neighborhood, his state, and nation?" is another question the future will ask. This answer should be written with the iron pen of history, and "lead in the rock forever." *He made the world within his reach better and happier.* His grand nature clung fondly to home loves and friendships of dear old friends and neighbors.

The place above all others we would have the world see this man of Kansas is in his pleasant home at De Soto. It is just such a spot a man of his nature would select for a pleasant, quiet, home; an enchanting view of river, prairie, timber, and sky.

He should be seen in the shop he built and worked in, among the many curious tools he used, many of which he not only made but invented, and the many useful things he made and mended for his neighbors; there in that home of his own planning, its fair, quiet chambers open to summer and songs of the birds. There in the library room is a choice collection of the best books in the world. Major Abbott was no studious recluse, yet he was a great reader. There are collections of rare things of art and nature in that house. But the crowning glory of that home is the noble woman, wife, and companion in all the dangers, trials and hardships of the great struggle for free Kansas. Only two such people could make such a home; a peace dearer, a sweetness sweeter, pervades that home for the trials, joys and sorrows they so long shared together. Never to that grand

young state came two truer, braver, better hearts. The true history of Kansas cannot be written without recording their good deeds in the political, moral and social regeneration of the territory and state of Kansas.

I would convey a glimpse of the deep spiritual nature of this man, but when I try to fathom that part of him the words of "a woman of Samaria" at a wayside well rebuke me: "*Sir, thou has nothing to draw with, and the well is deep.*"

Major Abbott never seemed absolutely certain just how the world was to be saved. He was not self-asserting in his views of the great question of man's existence here and hereafter. He was always unloading the useless lumber of ritual and creed when it no longer served the present. He possessed that quiet, resolute spiritual and mental independence which lead through the forms of religion to the reality, the truth. He would follow the truth as he saw it, if it led him over Niagara. The fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, was his creed. He belonged to no particular church; he would permit any and all to join him in making the world better. To him, doing good was worship, "each smile a hymn, each kindly act a prayer." He grew more deeply spiritual in his nature as years increased; he looked cheerfully into the future for an infinitely enlarged existence beyond this life.

He seemed to feel the sweep of unseen wings and hear the sound of waves breaking on another shore. His soul seemed hungering for more than man can teach; so, with increasing tenderness and love for all about him, he peacefully went from us to meet "what the future hath of marvel or surprise."

L. R. ELLIOTT.

Prepared by FRANK A. ROOT, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

DURING the past year the Historical Society has lost another of its honored members. Mr. L. R. Elliott, for a number of years one of its directors, died at his home in Manhattan, Riley county, on May 27, 1899, after an illness of several months; age, sixty-four years, six months, and six days.

Mr. Elliott was the third son of John J. and Jane (Blake) Elliott. His father came from Scotland, his mother from England. They settled in Chenango county, New York, where the deceased was born, November 21, 1835. His education was obtained chiefly in the common schools of his native state, where, for a few terms, before he was out of his teens, he taught in the country schools. After this, in the fall of 1854, he entered the Chenango *News* printing-office, at Greene, beginning his apprenticeship as a roller boy.

He served nearly three years at the printing business. On account of impaired health, he quit the office and purchased a farm in the adjoining county of Broome, New York, which he cultivated for two years; then engaged as a commercial traveler for about eight years, his field being confined mostly to southern New York and the northern and central districts of Pennsylvania. A considerable portion of his leisure hours during this time he was corresponding editor of the Binghamton (New York) *Standard*. He contributed hundreds of columns under the heading, "Notes by the Way." For a few months in the early part of 1866 he was in Michigan, engaged in the crockery and house-furnishing business. Besides, he was editorially connected with the *Daily Enterprise* at East Saginaw.

In the summer of 1866, having a strong desire to see more of the West, he drifted to Kansas, and located at Atchison. He was employed for a time as city

editor on the *Daily Free Press*. After serving in that capacity for a few months, he purchased the interest of Judge F. G. Adams in the office, and took editorial charge. During his two years' connection with the old *Free Press* the writer was almost constantly associated with him. He was an untiring worker, and did excellent service in his journalistic labors, standing up manfully for law and order, temperance and morality.

He moved to Manhattan in the summer of 1868, after disposing of his interest in the *Free Press* to the man from whom he purchased. He bought the two Manhattan papers—the *Independent* and *Radical*—and consolidated them under the name of Manhattan *Standard;* published it until December, 1870, when, having decided to engage exclusively in real estate, he disposed of the *Standard* to Hon. Albert Griffin. In connection with his new business, Mr. Elliott began the publication of a monthly real-estate paper—the Manhattan *Homestead*—which was issued continuously until his death, when he was succeeded by his eldest son, Fred B. Elliott.

Mr. Elliott was one of the oldest real-estate men in Kansas, having, for nearly a quarter of a century, been almost exclusively engaged in it. His reputation as a wide-awake, energetic dealer became known throughout the entire state. His field of operations was largely confined to northern and central Kansas. At the organization of the National Board of Real-estate Agents, at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1870, he was chosen vice-president of the organization.

For many years he had charge of the endowment of lands given by congress to the Kansas State Agricultural College, and represented several railroad companies that had land for sale in Riley county. He was president and, later, also receiver of the Manhattan & Northwestern Railroad Company, the first corporation that began the preliminary work of constructing a railroad up the Blue valley. The first "pass" issued by Mr. Elliott, while president of that road, was to the writer, in the early '70s, who shortly afterwards made a trip to Manhattan, and from there went over the road three miles with the "president," both *walking the entire distance on the ties*, no rolling-stock having yet been placed on the road-bed.

Mr. Elliott was a self-educated man. He was possessed of a great fund of valuable information. No one could talk with him without becoming wiser for so doing. He was also a great traveler, and no one appeared to enjoy it more. Being at home one day, perhaps the next forty-eight hours he would be a thousand miles away. It seemed that he was almost continuously on the go. He had been in nearly every state and territory of the union, through a great portion of old Mexico, British North America, and the Canadas. He had contemplated some day making the trip around the world. In 1886 he made an extended tour through Europe; took in the most northern town in the world, Hammerfest, northern Norway, and north cape in the "land of the midnight sun." He also visited Sweden, London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Warsaw, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, and many other interesting and noted places on the continent. While stopping for a few days in Moscow, he felt proud of the fact that he was one American permitted to shake hands with the czar and czarina of Russia, who were at that time on a visit to the quaint old city.

He had long been a gatherer of curios. His collection, embracing thousands of articles, picked up in all parts of the globe, is probably one of the most unique in Kansas.

He had represented his city in the council, in the board of education, in scores of associations; and many times had taken part and been chosen a delegate in city, county, district, state and national conventions.

For fully half a century Mr. Elliott was an earnest member of the Methodist church, and for a long time had been one of its faithful laborers. He had also been a great worker in the Sunday-school, being many years its superintendent. In his death each organization has lost a substantial friend and zealous supporter.

During the last few years of his life his health had become so much impaired that it was apparent that his work was about done—that his busy life was surely drawing to a close. With an intimate acquaintance of nearly forty-five years, the writer deeply regrets that he did not see him in the last days of his illness.

Mr. Elliott was married at Greene, N. Y., December 27, 1859, to Emeline F. Bowen, who survives him. Three children were born, a daughter and two sons, all of whom are living.

STEPHEN McLALLIN.

Prepared by Mrs. Annie L. Diggs for the Kansas State Historical Society.

STEPHEN McLALLIN was born June 22, 1837, in Conneaut township, Crawford county, Pennsylvania. His parents were James and Lydia McLallin. He attended the common schools and the academy at Meadville, Pa. He resided for some time at Elk City, Pa.; later at Meriden, Jefferson county, Kansas. In 1890 he removed to Topeka, Kan., where he resided until his death, which occurred March 4, 1897.

Doctor McLallin was married to Maria Holman November 23, 1858. There are living three children, Mrs. Ellen L. Miller, of Butler, Pa.; Lenore McLallin and Grace McLallin, living with their mother and the doctor's aged father at Topeka. A son of four years died many years ago in Pennsylvania.

Doctor McLallin enlisted in the army in 1861, from New York state—company D, First regiment, Berdan's sharpshooters—and served till the end of the war. He studied medicine, and was graduated from the Albany medical school, Albany, N. Y., in December, 1868, and was a practicing physician for seventeen years in New York, Pennsylvania, and Kansas. In 1888 he gave up the practice of his profession to take editorial charge of the Meriden *Tribune*. In 1889 the *Tribune* was merged into the *Advocate*, which was moved to Topeka, and in a few short months became the official organ of the Kansas Farmers' Alliance, and later the leading people's party paper of the state, with a phenomenal circulation and commanding influence.

Doctor McLallin was one of the founders of the National Reform Press Association, and was for a time its president. He was also president of the Kansas Reform Press Association. He was a delegate to the convention at St. Louis, which organized the national people's party, and was also chairman of the Kansas delegation to the first national convention of the people's party at Omaha.

Doctor McLallin was a director of the State Historical Society, of which he was a warm friend, maintaining to the day of his death a deep interest in the work of the Society.

There are few men of stronger characteristics than Doctor McLallin. He was essentially a student and a philosopher. His love of books and his desire to study were the abiding passion of his life. His library was his Mecca and his haven of rest, to which he swiftly betook himself when his day's work was over. Legislatures might come and go, politicians might perspire and plot; they were dismissed from memory so soon as the doctor found himself among his beloved books. He had small patience with slovenness of expression or half knowledge of facts. His

newspaper work was characterized by the utmost painstaking and carefulness to cover points of statement. He would withhold a cherished editorial and institute a search for proof of some minor point, rather than send forth a statement upon which he entertained the slightest doubt; and this not so much that he disliked or even considered the possibility of a challenge, but simply to satisfy his own nature, which imperatively demanded truth and accuracy. It was this quality in his writing which won for him high distinction among the readers of the *Advocate.*

In the early days of populism in Kansas, when distracting events and conflicting rumors abounded, men in all parts of the state would say: "We do not know what we think of this or that; we will wait until the *Advocate* comes. Doctor McLallin will give us the truth." Without question, no one man in Kansas was a larger factor in shaping the political events of 1890 than Doctor McLallin. Of the strictest personal integrity and honesty, the doctor had little tolerance for weakness or dishonesty. He was merciless with such offenders, and ever refused to reinstate one who betrayed a trust. Yet stern and severe as he was in his judgments of men, he was gentle and pitiful towards suffering and sorrow. To see little children deprived of their birthright of happiness moved him even to tears. Doctor McLallin was a compound of a Greek philosopher, of the austere, undemonstrative Scotchman, and the modern socialist. He would have best been pleased to be spoken of before this Historical Society as one who strove to aid in bringing about a state of social and industrial order which would admit of a fair chance in the race of life for every man and woman in the nation and in the world.

MATTHEW WEIGHTMAN.

MATTHEW WEIGHTMAN was a native of Wark, in north England, born to William Weightman and his wife, Alice Elliott, November 5, 1831. His parents both dying during his infancy, he was cared for by his maternal aunt, Mrs. Sharpe, who, besides supplying his material wants as only a true mother could, cultivated in him the reverence for religion so prominent in his character, and which led him in childhood to become a member of the Methodist church. His education was that usually received by English children of the middle class. From the age of ten he practically supported himself by his own exertions, first at home and later in the employment of a railroad company at Newcastle, where, rising through the different grades of shop work, he became an engineer on a road running from Newcastle to York.

In 1854 he came to America, applying for work as an engineer in Cincinnati. He secured employment on a tunnel at Walnut Hills. This was the period of the Kansas agitation. Our cause enlisted his sympathy, and led him to join a company of young men preparing to emigrate to Kansas. Early in March, 1855, he and three others were dispatched as forerunners to occupy and hold the colony site, Ashland, which was situated south of the Kansas river, near the present town of Ogden, in Riley county. Judge Franklin G. Adams, a member of the colony, once remarked: "I still remember the rugged, energetic, earnest young Englishman Weightman then was. He was ready to take hold of anything toward planting our colony." However, there had been a six-months' drought in that locality, and Mr. Weightman, with other members of the party, changed their plans and engaged in other pursuits. For a short time he drove a freight-

ing team between Leavenworth and Fort Riley. Then, going to Leavenworth, he opened a news-stand, finally buying out Rose's bookstore.

In January, 1861, at the solicitation of D. W. Wilder, he became interested in the Leavenworth *Conservative* as business manager—bought the paper, hired the printers, secured the advertisements, and took charge of the circulation. When D. R. Anthony, one of the proprietors, was made lieutenant colonel of the Seventh regiment, Mr. Weightman became one of the partners. When they sold out, in the fall of 1864, Mr. Weightman bought a farm in Leavenworth county, about eight miles from the city, and for several years was a successful farmer, his only previous knowledge of the work having been acquired in the carefully tilled garden of the old English home.

On Christmas eve, 1862, Mr. Weightman was married to Miss Anna M. Wallace, the daughter of Dr. James L. Wallace, of Leavenworth county. Mrs. Weightman has ever been a most faithful and efficient helpmate, and survives him, with their three children, John W. Weightman, of North Enid, Okla., Mrs. Lillie Weightman-Stevenson, and Matthew Weightman, jr., of Topeka.

When D. W. Wilder was elected auditor of state he asked Mr. Weightman to go into that office as a clerk. He entered the office in January, 1874, and remained there fourteen years, doing great service for the state. One of his duties was to take charge of the school-land accounts. He brought order out of chaos. After leaving the auditor's office he became secretary and manager of the Capital City Vitrified Brick Company, of Topeka, remaining in its employ until within a few months of his death. He died at his home in Topeka, April 19, 1897, from a second attack of pneumonia.

Mr. Weightman was a careful, thoughtful and considerate man among men. In business he was conservative, and possessed the old-fashioned ideas of exactness and punctuality. He was a Mason, and had been a member of the board of directors of the Kansas State Historical Society. He was a patriot and a republican, performing conscientiously every duty required as a citizen during his forty years of residence in the state. His friends universally bore testimony to his goodness. He was plain of speech and strictly just, but quick to lend his aid to those who were striving to redeem themselves. He was a true man in his family, in his church, to which he was devotedly attached, as a personal friend, and in all business relations. While he will be remembered as a modest man, preferring that others should lead, he thought for himself and was thoroughly independent and outspoken on all public and political questions. His Methodism was a part of his character. He enjoyed his religion. To him death was a victory, and the beginning of the life everlasting.

The following remarks were made by his pastor, Rev. Dr. A. S. Embree, at the funeral service of Mr. Weightman:

"Here lie the ashes of one who in his life did much to exemplify the meaning of the word Christian; to write a definition of that term, not in theological form, but in the daily order and character of his life; to enable the preacher to turn, as he so often desires to do, from the old examples of virtuous living to something newer, fresher—something wrought out in the presence of those whom he would win to better things.

"He was what we call an orthodox believer. That is to say, he accepted the ideas of the fatherhood of God, the sonship and mediation of Jesus Christ, and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. When we say he was a believer in these, we mean that he relied upon God as an interested presence in all human affairs, upon Christ as priest, savior, and example, and upon the Spirit as a quickener of the moral impulses, sanctifier of the affections, and teacher of the truth.

"He was a good man; one of the very best of men: modest in the extreme his goodness being of that quality which made its deepest impression upon those who knew him the most intimately—his wife and children: his oldest and most intimate acquaintances in business and social life.

"Others of us have been more ready to shout our faith and defend it in a certain measure who fell below him in practice. Here and there, some man not a believer may have reached with him an equally blameless outer life, but this man lying here was the superior. A faith which does not secure action and no faith are poor things.

"Life is more than meat or raiment, more than prayer making and psalm singing, more than gentility of manner, honesty in business life, and the exercise of influence, though these be important matters: and that person gets the most out of life whose mark is highest, who cultivates the loftiest outer relations, sees in himself the raw material from which is to be evolved a being who can claim childhood with God and brotherhood with the Lord Jesus on the score of family characteristics; and, to reach the mark, submits to the fire which melts the natural dross and leaves nothing behind but the pure gold.

"A man may be an excellent soldier, so far as obedience to military orders are concerned, standing fast in the day of battle. A certain carelessness about living or insensibility to danger, with a low order of intelligence, have been dominant qualities in more than one of the world's armies who moved from victory to victory. But the soldier to whom we lift our hats, who commands our highest respect, who may be relied upon to do not only what he is told, but to supplement what he does with mental and moral force, is always that one who looks upon himself as the incarnation of a great cause: who wars for liberty and is linked by unseen bonds to the heroes of all time—the Grants, the Lincolns, the Washingtons, the Greeks, who battled gloriously in days gone by, and for whose successful battling now we pray God speed them.

"And so this man's life was the better for his faith, for the altitude of his purposes, for the hungering and thirsting after the righteousness of God. His Bible was marked all through with passages which were bread to his soul, and the penciling in his hymn-book shows of what he sang, though no audible note came from his lips.

"Of his home life I cannot dare to speak. I might say something of the waters that rise out of the spring, clear as crystal, pure and refreshing: of the sun pouring his splendor out upon the earth and nature rejoicing in its bath of life and light; of days of storm when the shelter is all the more sweet; for he was water and sunshine and shelter to this home, and his memory will cling about it like the fragrance of sweet flowers so long as there are minds to remember him.

"Of his early days in Kansas you will read in the public prints. An Englishman who came to this new state with a great heart, and helped to fight our battles; one who rounded out his life after a most excellent pattern, full of years of honorable service: who died as courageously as he had lived, and has gone to that city of whose inhabitants it is said, 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord; yea from henceforth, for they rest from their labors and their works do follow them.'"

GEORGE A. CRAWFORD.

GEORGE ADDISON CRAWFORD, chairman of the committee which organized the Kansas State Historical Society, and second president of the Society, in 1877, was born in Pine Creek township, Clinton (then a part of Lycoming) county, Pennsylvania, July 27, 1827. On the father's side his ancestry were Scotch-Irish (Presbyterians), and on the mother's German. His great-grandfather, James Crawford, born in Hanover township, Lancaster (now a part of Dauphin) county, Pennsylvania, was a major in the revolutionary war, a son of John Crawford, who emigrated from the north of Ireland prior to the revolution. James had sisters and brothers, one of whom, Richard, died in Northumberland county, Pennsylvania, at a great age. Maj. James Crawford took an active part in organizing the people of Lancaster county for the revolution. June 10, 1776, he was colonel of a battalion of "associators," who passed resolutions favoring the continental congress as against the crown. He was a delegate from Northumberland county to the first constitutional convention, which met in Philadelphia, July 15, 1776, of which Benjamin Franklin was president. October 4, 1776, Pres. John Hancock reported to the Pennsylvania council of safety his appointment by the continental congress as major in Col. William Cook's Twelfth regiment (or battalion) of regulars. He fought under Washington in several battles, and was twice wounded, once in the foot and once in the shoulder, the ball which struck his foot killing his horse. He only escaped by killing his pursuer, a British officer. Sick and disabled, he finally resigned, and in 1779 was elected sheriff of Northumberland county, serving three years, and residing in or near the town of Northumberland. From there he removed to Pine Creek township, Lycoming (now Clinton) county, where his descendants still reside. He was elected county commissioner for three years, and was township auditor and acting justice of the peace until his death. His first wife was Rosanna Allison; his second, Agnes McDonald, whose brother was a captain in the army led by General Montgomery against Quebec. He was a large man, with a heavy voice and Scotch-Irish accent. He died about 1812, aged seventy-five years, and was buried in the Pine Creek burying-ground, above Jersey Shore, Pa. His second son, Robert, who died about 1836, aged seventy-six, was father of George, and grandfather of George A.

The great-grandfather of George A. on the mother's side was Capt. John Weitzel, of Sunbury, son of Paul and Charlotte Weitzel, of Lancaster, Pa. His first wife was Tabitha Morris, daughter of John and Rose Morris, of Philadelphia; his second, Elizabeth Susanna Lebo, of Reading. He represented Northumberland county in the provincial conference which met in Philadelphia June 18, 1775, to resist the crown. He was the colleague of Maj. James Crawford in the first constitutional convention, by which he was elected, July 23, 1776, a member of the council of safety, to which the affairs of the new state were entrusted, David Rittenhouse being its first chairman. He served in the council during the years 1776 and 1777. On September 12, 1776, this convention elected him commissioner of Northumberland county. In 1780 he was a commissary of subsistence in the continental service; in 1789, judge of the common pleas, and in 1777 and 1789 was justice of the peace in Sunbury, at which place he is buried. His brother Casper was a captain and major of rifles, and distinguished himself in the battle of Long Island. Writing to his brother John from camp near Kings Bridge,

sixteen miles above New York, September 6, 1776, he says: "New York is like a mouse-trap—it is easy to get in but hard to get out. You no doubt have before now heard of the drubbing we Pennsylvanians and the Delaware and Maryland battalions got on Long Island on the 27th August last," etc. Previously he had been a member of the assembly of March 9, 1776, which, by resolutions, precipitated the declaration of independence. Capt. John Weitzel's eldest daughter, Charlotte, married James White, and became the mother of Elizabeth Weitzel White, mother of George A. Crawford.

Judge George Crawford, father of George A., was born in Wayne township, now Clinton county, Pennsylvania, November 7, 1794. His mother was Miss Elizabeth Quigley, of German descent. He was married January 29, 1822, to Elizabeth Weitzel White, widow of James White, jr. She was born December 10, 1800, and died March 19, 1863. Her oldest son, Allison White, was elected to congress from the Lock Haven district in 1856. Her other son (by her first marriage), Col. James White, died in Lock Haven March 5, 1855. Judge Crawford represented the counties of Lycoming, Potter and McKean in the legislature in 1831–'33, and was a colleague of Thaddeus Stevens and Chief Justices James Thompson and Ellis Lewis. From April 1, 1834, to April 1, 1835, he was general superintendent of the Pennsylvania canals of the north and west branches of the Susquehanna river, from Farrandsville via Northumberland to twelve miles above Wilkesbarre—over 120 miles—adjusting damages arising from the construction of the canals, and disbursing the funds required in their operation. His office, with its great labor and responsibility, required his absence from his family, in consequence of which he resigned. He was county commissioner of Lycoming, and after the organization of Clinton county served two terms as associate judge of the district court—one with Hon. Thomas Burnsides and one with Hon. Geo. W. Woodward—after which he refused all overtures to be drawn into public life. He was a farmer and the owner of mills. In politics he was a democrat, taking sides with Senator Douglas and his son George A., against President Buchanan and his stepson, Congressman White, on the Kansas question. For a long time he was an elder in the Presbyterian church. He died at Chatham's Run, June 18, 1876, in sight of the place of his birth, surrounded by all his surviving children, and was buried June 20 at Lock Haven, by the side of his departed wife. The Lock Haven *Republican* said of him: "He belonged to that class of sturdy characters—the men of sterling worth—who have given to the past century that full measure of glory over which we now rejoice, and who leave us wondering to ourselves whether we shall ever see their like again."

George A. Crawford received his higher education at Clinton academy, on Pine creek, of which his father was president, at the Lock Haven academy, and at Jefferson college. Sent home for a term on account of ill health, he kept up with his classes, and graduated in June, 1847, under the presidency of Dr. Robert J. Breckenridge. Representing the Philo society in contest, he took the honors of the college in an oration, "The Unity of Nature." He was proficient in Latin and rhetoric, and stood among the first in all his studies in a class of sixty-seven. After graduating he went with other students to the South, and taught school at Salem, Clarke county, Kentucky, among the relatives of Pres. Zachary Taylor. In the fall of 1847 he joined his roommate Col. Samuel Simmons, in the management of a select school at Canton, Miss. In the spring of 1848 he returned to Pennsylvania, and entered upon the study of the law in the office of Messrs. Allison White and James W. Quigley.

In 1850, still pursuing his law studies, he became editor and proprietor of the Clinton *Democrat*, the party organ of that county. He took an active part, in

1851, in bringing out Col. William Bigler, then partner of his half-brother, Allison White, as a candidate for governor. In behalf of the ladies of Lock Haven, he presented to Colonel Bigler, in the court-house, a copy of the "Compromise Measures," reporting Colonel Bigler's speech to Colonel Forney, of the *Pennsylvanian*. In that campaign he was selected as the champion of his party in a joint discussion with Judge Linn, of Bellefonte, one of the oldest advocates of the Whig cause, since eminent as a law-writer. In 1853 he accepted a clerkship tendered him by Judge James Campbell, postmaster-general, and from that time till May, 1857, most of his time was spent in Washington city. While in Washington, he was a correspondent of the Pittsburg *Daily Union* and other papers. In the political contests of 1854 and 1855 he took an active part as a public speaker against the "Know Nothings" in Pennsylvania and in Washington city, addressing the Germans of Washington by invitation, and sometimes speaking twice a night. Upon the final triumph in the election of Henry A. Wise as governor of Virginia, he was the principal speaker at the ratification meeting in that city.

In 1855 he was a delegate to the democratic state convention of Pennsylvania from the counties of Lycoming and Clinton, and was instrumental, in conjunction with Judge Ludlow, of Philadelphia, in harmonizing the two contending elements, one led by Hon. Hendricks B. Wright, and the other by Col. Samuel Black, of Pittsburg, by securing the adoption of an amendment indorsing the doctrine of popular sovereignty, for which service he received the personal thanks of President Pierce. He was elected to this position during his tenure of office at Washington, and without consulting him, as a compliment alike to his ability as a public speaker and his devotion to the principles of his party. In the hotly contested campaign of 1854, in which Governor Bigler was defeated by the Know Nothings for reelection, he was offered by his party the editorship of the leading daily paper of the state, the *Pennsylvanian*, established by Col. J. W. Forney, which he declined, preferring to do active service on the stump through Pennsylvania, speaking also in Illinois and Iowa. For his usefulness in this campaign, he received, September 16, 1856, a highly complimentary letter of thanks from President Buchanan, of which the following is an extract:

"You are doubtless aware that the republicans of New England, with money in abundance, are now concentrating their efforts on our good old state. Their last and only hope is to carry Pennsylvania at the October election, and, through the moral influence of our own and other states, secure the election of Fremont. We are, indeed, the keystone of the arch, and, should this be broken, God save the constitution and the union. The fifteen Southern states outlawed by the Philadelphia convention are witnessing the contest in Pennsylvania with intense anxiety but with calm determination. Should the Northern states confirm the outlawry, and thus divide the union into two hostile geographical sections, I entertain serious apprehensions of the immediate result; but should Pennsylvania triumph over all the 'isms' at the October election, as I trust and believe she will, our happy union will be safe for many a year. I shall always be happy to hear from you."

In the fall of 1856 Mr. Crawford commenced a campaign for the nomination of Col. William F. Packer for governor, his own county (Clinton) being the first to lead off in instructions to its delegates to support Packer. He attended the convention in March, 1857, and did much toward his nomination. He was a member of the firm of Dillon (Sidney, afterwards president of the Union Pacific), Jackman & Co., to construct a railroad from Superior City to Hudson, Wis., the company cutting sixty miles through the woods in the deep snows of 1856.

In the spring of 1857 he determined upon a visit to Kansas. As he was about to leave, he was accompanied by Colonel Packer (then the nominee for governor)

to the depot, and arranged to accompany him in his canvas of the state. Determining afterward to remain in Kansas, he was released from his obligation. Governor Packer tendered him the position of secretary of state, if he would return to Pennsylvania. He expected to have been accompanied on his journey by Governor Bigler, but they did not meet until the land sales at Paola, in June of that year. He arrived in Kansas by steamboat, on the Missouri river, landing at Leavenworth, whence he was accompanied to Lawrence by Dr. Norman Eddy, United States commissioner for the sale of the Delaware and other Indian lands. While at Lawrence, on their route to Lecompton, they encountered a party going to Fort Scott to secure the town site, and at once accepted an offer of passage by the mule team, and partnership in the town project. Fort Scott was then an abandoned military post, whose buildings were occupied by pioneers. Messrs. Crawford, Eddy and their associates purchased claims to 520 acres of land and organized the Fort Scott Town Company, of which Mr. Crawford was elected president, in which capacity he served for nearly twenty years, during much of that period having control of the business of the company. He ordered a survey and plat, named the streets after his friends, Bigler, Hendricks, and others, and procured a lithograph of the town site. On that plat he marked two prospective lines of railroad, and it would seem like a dream, if it were not a fact, to say that two leading railroads of the state now occupy almost the very lines marked on the original plat of Fort Scott. The deed to every lot in the original town bears his name. He organized a hotel company, purchasing a pro-slavery and making it a Free-state hotel, by which name it was known far and wide.

In July, 1857, he returned with Governor Bigler as far east as St. Louis, and joined him in a letter to President Buchanan, strongly sustaining the pacific policy of Governor Walker and his protection of the free-state men in the right to vote. He bought a sawmill, associating with him Alexander McDonald, since United States senator from Arkansas, and E. S. Bowen, afterward chief engineer of the New York & Erie railroad, both of whom came to Fort Scott with him in December, 1857; Mr. Benjamin P. McDonald, then a minor, and for many years president of the First National Bank of Fort Scott, having come out with him in August.

When the fraudulent returns from Oxford and McGee were received, electing a democratic and pro-slavery majority to the legislature of 1857, he was taken into council by Governor Walker and Secretary Stanton, and advised the throwing out of the returns and giving the certificates to the free-state candidates, as they were called. When it became apparent that the Lecompton constitutional convention was not going to fairly submit the constitution to a vote of the people, Mr. Crawford made a special visit to his friend, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Chicago, to urge his opposition to its reception by congress. He entered into correspondence with Col. John W. Forney, Governor Packer, and Governor Wise, protesting that the constitution did not represent the will of the people. It is gratifying to know that both these governors, in their messages, took ground against admission under that constitution. He was one of the party to whom we owe the exposure of the celebrated candle box containing the returns of the fraudulent election under the Lecompton constitution, and ten years later revealed the story to the public for the first time in a paper before the Kansas State Historical Society. It was the exposure of these fraudulent returns found in the candle box under the wood-pile which made the Lecompton constitution most odious and did most to secure its rejection by congress. How strange it seems, that after twenty-one years that veritable candle box returns to the Kansas State Historical Society with the "Webb collection" from Boston.

During the years 1857, 1858, 1859 and 1860 the violence and anarchy which had previously characterized the more northern portions of the territory were transferred to the regions of Fort Scott. The notorious George W. Clarke, the murderer of Thomas W. Barber, had gone there from Lecompton to take charge of the office of register of the United States land office, and was accompanied by Dr. George P. Hamilton, W. B. Brockett, and other notorious border ruffians. Arrayed against these were John Brown, James Montgomery, and other free-state leaders, commanding bands of men known as "jayhawkers." Perpetual raids were carried on between these opposing parties. Assassinations were frequent throughout the country. Several times United States troops under command of General Harney, General (then Captain) Lyon, General Wood, General Sedgwick, General Sturgis, and other officers, since distinguished in the war, were ordered there to preserve peace. Fort Scott was in constant danger of destruction during these troubles. The border counties of Missouri were greatly agitated, and, at one time, her governor sent a large military force under General Frost to protect her people. Mr. Crawford was opposed to the agitation kept up by these contending parties. Under the benign influence of Governor Walker, the free-state men had again participated in the elections. They were in the majority in the legislature and could make the laws to suit themselves. They were in the majority in the counties of Bourbon and Linn and controlled the offices. Mr. Crawford invoked peace and desired to settle all questions of the past by securing immigration.

The pro-slavery men who were being driven out took refuge in Fort Scott. They formed a society called the "Bloody Reds," which extended into the border counties of Missouri, and of which Dr. George P. Hamilton was president. Mr. Crawford's opposition to the plans of the pro-slavery men provoked a long series of attempted assassinations. Failing in those, they gave him the following written notice to leave, accompanied with the verbal declaration that if he did not leave by twelve o'clock at night he should be killed:

"*To George A. Crawford, William Gallaher, and Charles Dimon:* GENTLEMEN—You are very respectfully invited to leave town in twenty-four hours. GEORGE P. HAMILTON."

"Friday afternoon, April 27, 1858."

Mr. Crawford's answer was: "I do n't exchange messages with horse-thieves."

His friends armed for defense, and the border-ruffian gang themselves fled from the town and joined the band under Capt. Charles Hamilton, a few days later, in their raid upon the settlers at Trading Post, taking eleven free-state men into a lonely ravine and shooting them down, killing five and wounding six. This was known as the "Marais des Cygnes massacre," immortalized in verse by Whittier. These victims received the very bullets loaded for the assassination of Geo. A. Crawford. Although threatened with assassination if he should succeed, Mr. Crawford at last, upon charges, procured the removal of Clarke (or Doak, in whose name he held office) from the land-office, going to Washington for the purpose, and from there accompanying Judge Douglas to Philadelphia, after his triumphant defeat of the Lecompton constitution and his redemption of promises made to Mr. Crawford in Chicago.

Mr. Crawford was in the room with John H. Little, ex-deputy United States marshal, when, on December 16, 1858, a raid was made upon Fort Scott by the forces of John Brown and James Montgomery, in rescue of Benjamin Rice, who was held as a prisoner by Deputy United States Marshal Campbell, Little receiving a shot through the head from a Sharp's rifle in the hands of one of Montgomery's men, killing him almost instantly. For three hours Mr. Crawford

remained in prison with his ghastly and dying friend, rifle balls at intervals coming through the windows, and a cannon standing within a few feet in readiness to be fired into the building at any instant. As the command was given to fire, a woman's voice was heard outside calling for a truce, and exclaiming, "There are women and children in the house." During the parley, Mr. Crawford walked into the then open door, into the face of about one hundred Sharp's rifles, all cocked upon him. He was liable to be taken for Little by those outside, who were not aware of his (Little's) death. One rifle was snapped upon him by Hazlett, afterwards killed at Harper's Ferry. As soon as Colonel Montgomery learned that Mr. Crawford was in the building he sent orders for his protection; but Mr. Crawford was already safe. In the house were six kegs of powder, and the torches had been lighted to fire the building.

On the breaking out of the war, Mr. Crawford followed the lead of his personal and political friend, Stephen A. Douglas, in support of the administration of Abraham Lincoln and his war policy. He assisted in the organization of the Second Kansas regiment, taking a leading part in the caucus of officers which selected its colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major. From his two stores at Fort Scott and Trading Post he equipped many of the men of the different regiments before the government made any arrangement for the payment of expenses, and indorsed for sutlers to help them procure goods for the troops.

Owing to irregularities incident to the first organization of troops, and to the many deaths of soldiers at Wilson's Creek, that battle cost him several thousand dollars, Mr. C. preferring that the money should go to the families of the dead rather than enforce collection. When the First and Second Kansas regiments marched into Missouri, leaving the border counties exposed, Mr. Crawford received instructions from General Lyon to raise troops for their protection. In this connection, and as a part of the history of the times, the following extract from a letter of General Lyon, written on a Missouri river steamer, *en route* with his command to Lexington and thence to Wilson's Creek, will be interesting:

"MISSOURI RIVER, June 13, 1861.

"*George A. Crawford, Esq.:* DEAR SIR— . . . I am aware of the unprotected condition of your region. . . . Indeed, my dear sir, in these times, while the government is so absorbed in the immediately impending dangers, we must not depend so much on its formal instructions as to execute what we know to be its purposes and duties. . . . Do this, and you will be sustained.

Yours truly, N. LYON."

From Springfield, Mo., on the eve of battle, he sent to Mr. Crawford, by Capt. George J. Clark, a verbal order for the raising of troops. This order, written out at Fort Scott by Mr. Clark, was recognized by Captain Prince, of Fort Leavenworth, as that of General Lyon, and out of it grew the Sixth Kansas regiment.

Passing down the border after the First and Second regiments had left for Springfield, Mr. Crawford found Colonel Montgomery and Lieut. Col. J. G. Blunt organizing a regiment at Mound City. Colonel Montgomery disclosed his purpose to enter Missouri; Mr. Crawford tried to dissuade him, and passed on to Fort Scott. Then came the news of the raid of the rebel armies down the border under command of General Rains, accompanied by Gov. Claib. Jackson and the Missouri legislature, burning bridges and threatening Fort Scott. On the south, about Carthage, rebel forces were pursuing Sigel. The people of southern Kansas were fleeing in consternation. Mr. Crawford called a public meeting, organized a "committee of safety" and was placed at its head, clothed with the absolute power of martial law. He placed himself in immediate communication with Colonel Montgomery's command, and found it counter-marching from Missouri; found General Sturgis on his march to Springfield to meet

General Lyon, whilst General Sigel was making his victorious retreat. He kept advised of the march of General Rains, and for these purposes impressed horses, giving receipts and becoming responsible therefor, and commanded the service of whoever was needed. As chairman of this committee of safety, he organized the entire militia of the county in a day, had reports from the several companies, and held them in readiness to march at an hour's warning to repel the threatened invasion of Rains. This was the condition of affairs in that part of the state until troops came, under command of Colonel Weer, succeeded by the Lane brigade. Mr. Crawford conducted this campaign of martial law as a private citizen and at his own expense. It saved southern Kansas for the time.

Services such as these inspired the confidence of the people. A question had arisen as to the terms of office of the state officers, the legislature, supreme court, and other officials, under the constitution. Section 1 of that instrument says of the state officers that they "shall be chosen by the electors of the state at the time and place of voting for members of the legislature, and shall hold their offices for the term of two years from the second Monday in January next after election, and until their successors are elected and qualified." The first election under the constitution was held on the "first Tuesday in December (the 6th) 1859," and, ordinarily, the terms of the state officers would be held to have begun "on the second Monday in January next" (January, 1860), and to have ended in two years thereafter, viz., "on the second Monday in January," 1862. This construction involved the necessity for the election of their successors at the general election of 1861, in order that they might be duly qualified at the expiration of the terms of the incumbents, on the second Monday in January, 1862. But Kansas was not admitted until January 29, 1861, nearly thirteen months after the terms of the state officers had commenced to run.

The question then arose, Shall their term run literally with the letter of the constitution, or shall they have two years from the admission of the state, or shall they be permitted to exceed their term by holding over under that clause which says they shall "hold until their successors are elected and qualified"? The legislature, the terms of one body of which (the house) had, under the first construction, already expired, undertook to remedy the difficulty by providing for the election of state officers in 1862. This solution was not acceptable to a majority of the newspapers, attorneys, and people of the state. Accordingly, petitions were largely circulated and signed, asking the republican state central committee to nominate a state ticket for the election of 1861, thereby saving expense of a general convention. Early in October, the committee, A. Carter Wilder, chairman, met in Topeka, and in consultation with leading "war democrats," nominated a full state ticket, with Geo. A. Crawford for governor. Their platform was as follows:

Resolved, That the vigorous prosecution of the present war, the earnest and hearty support of the administration in its efforts to crush out the rebellion, the maintenance of the constitution, the enforcement of the laws and the preservation of the union are the issues upon which these nominations are made.

The papers and people adhering to the construction adopted by the state officers and the legislature opposed the election and refused to vote, but voted to fill a vacancy in the offices of attorney-general and state treasurer, and for the location of the capital. In some counties and precincts the election officers refused to receive the votes; in others they refused to count and return them. But Mr. Crawford had in the returns a clear majority of all the votes cast, and it was estimated that his vote, returned and unreturned, was about two-thirds of the entire vote. In his own county of Bourbon, and in such as Coffey and Wyandotte, it was nearly unanimous, comparing it with the vote on the capital.

The state canvassers refused to canvass the vote, and Mr. Crawford applied to the supreme court for mandamus, and the court decided his election illegal (State of Kansas, *ex rel.* Crawford, *v.* Robinson, 1 Kan. 17), and no attempt was made to carry it before the legislature or the supreme court of the United States. The court held that it is the province of the legislature to determine the time for the election of a legislature, and, therefore, also the election of state officers, holding that this time shall be, not when members of the house are elected, but members both of the house and senate. By an amendment of the constitution, senators are elected only once in four years. It would follow, unless this decision against Mr. Crawford were reversed, that state officers are now entitled to hold for four years.

During the summer of 1861 all the country south of Fort Scott, now the counties of Crawford and Cherokee, was abandoned. General Lane had it in contemplation to make Fort Lincoln (or Mound City) the military post, giving up the county of Bourbon, including Fort Scott, to depopulation. By the active exertion of Mr. Crawford and his colleagues, the military post was established at Fort Scott and the county was saved from predatory warfare.

In 1862 the friends of Mr. Crawford, and especially the people of the border counties, determined that the previously expressed wish of the people should be vindicated by his nomination for governor by the state convention. But General Lane, who was then recruiting commissioner for Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado, had made an alliance with Thomas Carney for that position, and used his great influence and patronage in his behalf. The newspapers of the state were nearly all for Mr. Crawford. In some votes upon preliminary questions, September 17, 1862, some of Mr. Crawford's delegates did not vote as he had expected, and he declined to risk his name before the convention. (See Wilder's Annals, p. 322.) He was nominated unanimously, however, for secretary of state. He informed the committee that, inasmuch as attacks had been made upon him on the ground of his not having been a republican, he could only accept on condition that the convention would perpetuate its organization as a union organization and on a union platform. The committee strangely reported his unconditional acceptance, and the convention made no concession as to the name of the organization. Alarmed with its work (it failed to indorse the preliminary proclamation of emancipation of President Lincoln, which had just been received), Mr. Crawford declined the nomination of secretary of state. The state central committee, in posters for meetings, as in calls for conventions for years after, incorporated the word "union," and Mr. Crawford then went upon the stump in support of the ticket, but he refused all overtures looking to his appointment to the place.

In 1863 Mr. Crawford visited Nashville, Tenn., then in possession of the union armies, and commanded by Gen. Robert B. Mitchell, of Kansas. On February 22, at a union meeting held in the capitol, in and around which were about 20,000 union soldiers, the post of honor was accorded to him, and he spoke to the toast "George Washington." The police regulation of the meeting was in charge of Col. John A. Martin and the Eighth Kansas, who were there with their band. Mr. Crawford was followed by Governor Brownlow, Gen. Green Clay Smith, General Stokes, and others. Procuring from Generals Rosecrans, Thomas, Sheridan, Crittenden and McCook recommendations for the promotion of General Mitchell to a major generalship, he visited Washington to that end. President Lincoln made the nomination, but the confirmation was defeated by General Lane.

July 4, 1864, Mr. Crawford delivered an oration at Mount Pleasant, Atchison county, which had some reputation. It was reprinted in Pennsylvania and Indiana as a recruiting document.

In 1864 Mr. Crawford again permitted the use of his name for nomination for governor. By this time General Lane was no longer the political friend of Governor Carney, and was willing to make a new alliance. Mr. Crawford did not regard it as part of the duty of a governor to interfere with the legislature in the election of United States senator, and would make no promises. General Lane announced a canvass for President Lincoln in midsummer, taking with him rival candidates for governor, and encouraging others in other parts of the state. When the convention met, September 8, 1874, a large delegation, claiming to represent the army at Fort Smith, asked to be admitted. They had not been invited to the hall but were admitted to seats. This and the concentration of the votes of other candidates gave the nomination to Col. Samuel J. Crawford, although their relative vote stood at first: George A. Crawford, twenty-three; Samuel J. Crawford, sixteen.

In 1866 he made a canvass of the state with Hon. Sidney Clarke, a candidate for congress, and Col. Geo. H. Hoyt, candidate for attorney-general.

February 12, 1867, the anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, he delivered the eulogy, by invitation of the legislature—the most studied effort of his life. It may be found in the journals. The legislature made the day henceforth a legal holiday.

The legislature of that year having refused to make an appropriation for immigration purposes, Mr. Crawford accepted an appointment as commissioner of immigration under an old law, and served for about two years, assisted by Gov. S. J. Crawford and Judge L. D. Bailey. He regarded this as the crowning work of his life. Kansas was prostrate under the effects of the war and the raid of the grasshoppers. Gov. S. J. Crawford contributed $100 from his contingent fund, and with this exception the work was carried on by George A. Crawford at his own expense. In consultation with his colleagues, "immigration letter paper" and circulars were introduced, in German as well as English; county societies were organized; newspapers were induced to keep standing a column description of their town and county, documents were sent to every post-office, newspaper and county clerk in the United States, and a page known as the "immigration column" made its regular appearance in the *Kansas Farmer*. The result of this and other similar efforts in this field appears in the census, the population in 1865 being 135,807, with but little increase for 1866, and in 1870 364,339. Mr. Crawford remained on the *Kansas Farmer* as associate editor for about a year and a half. Whilst acting in that capacity and as commissioner of immigration, he inaugurated that system of exhibiting Kansas products which has gained us so much reputation in other states. He exhibited Kansas fruits at the state fair at Quincy, Ill., in 1867, and also at the St. Louis fair, with such success that it was followed by an appropriation by the legislature to the horticultural society the next year, resulting in our triumph at Philadelphia.

January 18, 1867, he and his associates laid out the city of Osage Mission, and he had the practical management of the affairs of the town company for years.

In 1867, with Judges Kingman, Bailey, and others, he helped organize a Historical Society, and was secretary for two years. On February 4, 1868, he read before it his history of "The Candle Box under the Wood-pile," revealing to the public the long-hidden secret of an event so important in the defeat of the Lecompton constitution and the overthrow of slavery in Kansas.

In 1868 he became again a candidate for the nomination for governor. The contest between him and Governor Carney was very spirited and absorbing. Their relative strength on first ballot was: Crawford, 35; Carney, 23. In this contest, James M. Harvey became a compromise candidate. On the fifth ballot Governor

Carney withdrew in favor of Mr. Harvey, throwing every one of his votes to him and nominating him. Mr. Crawford then took the stump for Governor Harvey.

In 1869 he established the *Daily Monitor* and a free reading-room and museum at Fort Scott, maintaining the same until 1873, when he sold the paper.

In 1870 he was instrumental in securing the Missouri, Kansas & Texas railway to Fort Scott and Osage Mission, in a contract made with with R. S. Stevens, manager, at Nevada, Mo. He was a second time regent of the state university. He presented the name of Judge D. P. Lowe for congress in his *Monitor*, and went as his delegate to the state convention, abating no effort until his nomination and election were secured. This was the first and last political convention in Kansas of which he had been a member. Having suffered at the hands of the secret ballot, his first motion was that voting should be *viva voce*, and his motion prevailed.

On November 1 of that year his flouring-mill and woolen-mill were burned, filled with great supplies of wheat, flour, wool, cloths, and yarn. His loss was $80,000, and no insurance. These were pioneer mills, and were in advance of the times. The woolen-mills were the first in the state, and their manufactures took first premiums at state fairs.

He was elected in 1871 one of the executive committee of the State Agricultural Society, having the year before, at the state fair at Fort Scott, interfered to prevent his own election as president of that society. We may say, in this connection, that for a number of years during the war he was president of the Bourbon County Agricultural Society, which held several fairs.

In 1871, on the nomination of Governor Harvey, without solicitation, he was appointed by President Grant an alternate United States commissioner for the centennial exposition. He and his colleague, Col. John A. Martin, took steps to enlist the state in a state display. Mr. Crawford spent the entire winter of 1873–'74 at Topeka procuring the passage of a bill providing for a state board and a state display. The bill only passed by one majority in committee of the whole in the house. The board having been appointed, he spent part of the next winter and all of the winter of 1875–'76 in Topeka procuring appropriations. During the winters of 1876–'77 and 1877–'78 he was occupied assisting Sec. Alfred Gray in closing up the work; also in writing a report of the centennial managers. As United States commissioner he attended nearly all the meetings of the national commission at Philadelphia for the general exposition, from 1871 till the close of 1876; was secretary of the committee on manufactures, member of the committee on ceremonies, was one of a subcommittee of three who arranged the program for the celebration of the Fourth of July in 1876 in Independence square. He declined the nomination for the vice-presidency of the United States commission, presided over the commission in its later sessions of 1876, during the absence of President Hawley on his campaign for congress, and, at the close, was a member of the committee to draft a constitution for the permanent organization of the Society of the United States Centennial Commission. He was elected secretary and acting treasurer of this society. He spent seven and a half months in Philadelphia in 1876 in centennial work.

May 6, 1877, he visited the newly discovered lead regions of Short creek, Cherokee county, and became secretary and business manager of the Empire City Town Company. On May 23, they commenced a survey of the town site in the woods, and in less than a month had a city of the third class, and in less than two months a city of the second class, with over 2300 inhabitants. This was very rapid town building, and makes the third city of Kansas of which Mr. Crawford had been a founder and the business manager. But Mr. Crawford's efforts were di-

rected mainly to making a city of his first love, Fort Scott. For twenty years he devoted himself to that work, giving it sawmills, flouring-mills, woolen-mills, foundry and machine-shops, store, hotel, daily paper, free reading-room, railroads, and taking all the hazardous risks of running machinery in a new country. Perhaps no man in the state has carried so large and varied business. But the fire left him in debt. High rates of interest, and taxes ranging from $3000 to $5000 a year, with fifty-per-cent. penalties, swept away a large fortune. He secured his creditors with mortgages, and retired from business in 1875; and when he did his centennial work at Philadelphia he was no longer the possessor of even his lot in the cemetery at Fort Scott. What work he had done was as a private citizen mainly; and it may be said of him, as perhaps of no other of equal prominence, that, with the exception of the clerkship that came unsought in Washington, and which he resigned, his services to friends, to clients and to the public have been entirely voluntary, disinterested, and free from the consideration of any compensation whatever.

Ill health and the force of circumstances compelled Mr. Crawford to lead a business life, whilst his tastes and inclinations invited him to literary pursuits. He had accustomed himself to extemporaneous speaking, and but few of his addresses have been preserved. Of those which have gone into print we may mention his college oration; his eulogy of Abraham Lincoln; his Fourth of July oration at Mount Pleasant; his address on "The Press and the Centennial," at Manhattan, before the editorial state convention of 1875; his speech before the senate in presentation to the lieutenant-governor of a gavel made from the floor of Independence hall, and his speech before the legislature in reception of the legislature of Nebraska, both in 1877. Twice he met Hon. M. J. Parrott in debate, and they became fast friends. In 1859, when Mr. Parrott was running against Judge Saunders W. Johnson, also an old free-state man, for congress, he (Mr. Parrott) had met Judges Johnson, Perkins and McDowell in debate. He brought with him to Fort Scott their request that Mr. Crawford would reply to him. Mr. Crawford was not in politics, and consented reluctantly. Col. R. J. Hinton, then reporting for Mr. Parrott, gave an account in the Leavenworth *Times*, in which he said:

"This was the warmest and ablest discussion of the trip. Mr. Crawford is a keen debater, a man of considerable intellectual force, and a pleasant speaker, well versed in the art of tickling the dear people. The proceedings were remarkable for violent denunciation on the part of the democratic speaker of the president and his policy. No republican could use harsher words or more bitter invectives than did Mr. Crawford. He declared that presidents were not the party or its principles; that James Buchanan was dead, and would not again be taken up," etc.

On the editorial excursion to Galveston, in 1875, he made impromptu speeches at Galveston, Houston, and Dallas, all of which drew tears. Of the Houston speech, the *Daily Telegraph* said: "It was too brilliant to be lost to history."

After developing Empire City into a town of 2300 inhabitants, which has since expanded into the city of Galena, with 16,000 population, and the center of a mining camp as rich as any in the world, in the year 1881 Mr. Crawford concluded to move westward. The records of the Historical Society show that he made his second visit to Colorado on the 31st of October, 1881. At the junction of two rivers, the Grand and the Gunnison, he located the town of Grand Junction, and to the day of his death he was the same steadfast, liberal, progressive and energetic friend to Colorado interests he had been to every feature of development in Kansas. The first year he organized a company to build a ditch to supply the town with water, erected cabins for the accommodation of those com-

ing into the valley, and constructed a hotel. The next year he planted shade-trees in front of all public property and all lots owned by the company. He established a company for the manufacture of pressed brick, and supplied the railroad company with all the brick it wanted in the city and for some distance out. He built many cottages, and advertised the town from Maine to California. He established the Grand Junction *Star*. December 9, 1881, he wrote Judge Adams: "I would like to look in upon the Kansas State Historical Society once more. After twenty-five years I am at my old trade of starting a town, and this one to distance my first, Fort Scott. So much for the whirligig of time." He remitted regularly each year his annual dues to the Historical Society, and to the day of his death considered it his best friend.

Mr. Crawford died from a lingering illness of three months at Grand Junction, at 4:15 P. M., January 26, 1891, after ten years' residence in Colorado. But little is known by his Kansas friends of his life in that state beyond the fact that he left a great material and industrial monument in the fourth town of his building. Grand Junction is the ninth town in size in Colorado, with a population of 4500, three railroads, a beet-sugar mill, other manufacturing plants, and the center of a very productive agricultural and fruit region, all developed in consequence of Mr. Crawford's foresight and energy. During the year, 1899 2800 car-loads of fruit were shipped from trees of Governor Crawford's planting. The following testimony by the Grand Junction *Daily Star* shows that his many excellent qualities continued to the end:

"The brave little governor is gone. A life struggle with death is ended, and one of the grand, heroic souls that men love in life and venerate in death has gone to the great beyond. Death has never claimed a more determined opponent, and life never possessed a more useful and active servant. An invalid from infancy, the life of George A. Crawford, of over sixty years, was spent in a continued battle with sickness and disease, sustained only by a will power remarkable in intensity, and an intellect wonderful in extent. To most men the life bestowed upon Governor Crawford would have been a burden to self and friends; but through his wonderful will, his genius for leadership, his quick intelligence and bright, kindly disposition, life was made a grand success and a blessing to self and fellow men. He was never discouraged; he never gave up; and he never was aught but a true, kindly gentleman. Those who knew him as he stood on the banks of the Grand and looked across on the wild sage-brush country, in which he then proposed to found a city, cannot forget the bright prophecies then so clearly foretold. Those who struggled with him in the desperate adversities that followed for seven long years will never forget the cheering smile and ringing words of encouragement that caused adversity to become prosperity, and not one will ever forget that on all occasions the little governor was always a gentleman. Much as all had admired him in the past, the heroic struggle made during the last three months with death has but increased that admiration. In this struggle there was no fear of death, but a wish, a true, unselfish wish, to behold the city he had founded and did so much to build become what it is surely destined to become—a grand and glorious city. Grand Junction is the crowning work of Governor Crawford's life, and many a citizen, not only in Mesa county, but in the entire state, will grieve that his dream could not have become with him a reality. And yet while we grieve, it is with a deep pride of true citizenship that we feel and know that he belonged to Mesa county and western Colorado. Successful in youth in his native state, a distinguished and respected citizen in the state of Kansas, honored and respected throughout the entire nation, he came, with all the honors that state and nation could bestow, to create in the then wilds of western Colorado a city which would become the crowning work and triumph of his life. He well succeeded, but his success, as many such triumphs, has been crowned with death. Many will mourn; many a tear will be shed o'er the grave of the brave little man whose life, filled as it was with adversity and affliction, yet became, through a magnificent will and genius, the most earnest and useful that we have ever known."

SAMUEL WALKER.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by CHARLES S. GLEED.

LITERARY merit must not be looked for in this sketch. The story, as told, is a simple series of historical fragments strung together on the thread of a single life, like beads and buttons threaded for children at play. Samuel Walker is not one about whom a writer can consistently presume to be extravagant in any direction. He is now, as he always has been, an unpretentious citizen, making himself useful exclusively in the ordinary walks of life, except when the exigencies of current events call into action his power to think and act quickly and with utter disregard of personal physical danger. He is a Lawrence liveryman, with but little leisure to talk of old times, and even less inclination than leisure. He tells his story at the point of the interviewer's bayonet, and tells it with such seeming indifference to his own participancy that the pronoun "I" almost takes itself out of the first person into the third.

With regard to the form of presenting the sketch, the only two questions considered have been, first, what will best keep up the interest of the narrative? and, second, what will be most convenient for the writer? The entire sketch, whether given as quoted or not, is substantially a repetition from Walker's words. The names of persons and the dates will, with perhaps a few exceptions, be seen to correspond with those given in Wilder's Annals of Kansas. Those who are familiar with Kansas history will perceive that the events here described are included in a very well-defined epoch. Walker's Annals, of course, extend clear through the troublesome days; but, until some future time, the record after 1856 cannot be published. Nothing remains to be said now except a few words as to the philosophy of this history. This cannot be more briefly or more clearly stated than by quoting the words of Hon. Eli Thayer. He writes:

"There were three methods, and only three, by which the slave-state advocates in Kansas and elsewhere could contend against us: First, by competing in the emigration to Kansas; second, by murder and outrages against our settlers; and third, by inciting a rebellion on our part against the United States government. For the success of the first method there was no chance whatever. Our machinery for securing emigration to Kansas was in perfect order and we could put into the territory ten actual settlers where they could put in one. The second method would be still further from success, for the reason that, however much the Northern states would tolerate the aggressions of the slave power made according to law, they were determined that no aggressions contrary to the law should be successful. Hence, every outrage of the border ruffians in Kansas only stimulated emigration and made more firm the determination that Kansas should be free. There never was a free-state martyr in Kansas whose death was not good for at least 100 new free-state settlers. Both of these methods, then, gave no hope. The only remaining one was to excite a Northern rebellion against the government. In this method there was real danger to our cause and to our country, for its success would have given the slaveholders absolute power for a long time, perhaps for centuries.

This theory of the case, it is believed, will be found to accord with Walker's facts. The reader may judge for himself.

PRE-KANSAS DAYS.

Col. Samuel Walker was born of Presbyterian parents, on the 22d day of October, 1822, near the village of Loudon, Franklin county, Pennsylvania. His father was a well-to-do farmer and distiller. His grandfather, Samuel Walker,

emigrated from the north of Ireland before the revolutionary war, and pre-empted the piece of land upon which Colonel Walker was born, near old Fort Loudon. This fort, it will be remembered, was built by Braddock as the extreme eastern outpost of the settlement. Colonel Walker's grandfather served in the war of the revolution as a private, and his father served in the war of 1812 as a private in one of the Maryland regiments. His mother was a Rankin, of Scotch-Irish descent, a Presbyterian, and a Christian in every sense of the word. He had seven sisters, all of whom joined the Presbyterian church at an early age, though he himself has never been a church member. At one year of age he was stricken with hip disease, and until he reached his fourteenth year was a cripple, and able to do but little for his parents in the way of work. The three months of district school held every winter in his district was two miles away, and by reason of his lameness he was prevented from ever entering a schoolroom as a student. His first fifteen years were passed on the farm, a constant sufferer, with no hope of recovery. A fugitive remedy, however, was finally found, which brought the leg to its normal length, though there has always been more or less pain. His father quit the stilling business when Colonel Walker was nine years of age, and died when the boy was fourteen years of age, leaving the mother with a crop to harvest and some debts to pay. It had always been the custom to furnish harvesters with all the whisky they could drink, but when Mrs. Walker came to hire her men the young son prevailed upon her to give no whisky, but to make a slight increase of wages instead. The neighboring farmers predicted that Mrs. Walker would not be able to get her crop cut: but, as a matter of fact, it was cut quicker, better and cheaper than ever before. The next year another farmer adopted the same plan, and in a few years not a drop of harvest whisky was used in that part of the country.

At fifteen years of age Walker was bound out to learn the cabinet-maker's trade, the conditions being that he should work three years for his board and washing, his mother to furnish him clothing. This new experience was more of a hardship than it otherwise would have been, because it made it necessary to go at least fifteen miles away from home. In nine months, however, the cabinet-maker died, and until another could be found Walker worked for a farmer. Thus the years of the young man's apprenticeship passed in the ordinary way, as also the first few years of his experience as a journeyman.

At twenty-one years of age Walker married his present wife, Miss Marion E. Lowe, a native of Loudon, Pa. By this happy union came nine children—five girls and four boys: names and order of birth as follows: Elizabeth E., James Lowe, Mary R., Harriet R., Fannie, Minnie Bell, Oliver B., Charles, and George.

Upon the breaking out of the Mexican war Walker and a companion named James Myers enlisted under Captain Campbell, of Campbellstown, Pa., who had authority to raise a company. But by the time the company was full the government had all the men it could use, and so Campbell and his company were never mustered in.

In the spring of 1849 Walker removed to New Paris, Preble county, Ohio. The Dayton & Indianapolis railroad was just surveyed to that place, and property of all kinds was held (or rather sold) at high figures. A little later it came to be *held* at low figures, Walker finding himself with property which he had purchased for $3,000 and which he could not sell for more than $400. The railroad had come and gone, taking the town with it.

Soon after Walker's settlement at New Paris the cholera broke out, and there, as in many other parts of Ohio, the mortality was terrible. Speaking of his experience in this awful time, Walker says: "My wife was the first victim of the

plague in our town. What a panic it created! In less than two days every one who could possibly do so had left. The town was nearly deserted. Not people enough had remained to care for the sick. Parents would fly from their children, children from their parents. Brandy was used by the barrel as a preventive. I was then in the undertaking business, and many a corpse I was compelled to place in its coffin without assistance. I think many brought on the disease by fright and the use of brandy. I was contantly engaged waiting on the sick and burying the dead: and I owe my escape, I always thought, to my refusal to use stimulants of any kind and my exemption from fright." It may not be out of place to remark just here that this scrap of history furnishes an epitome of Colonel Walker's most prominent characteristics.

WESTWARD WANDERINGS.

In the winter of 1854, Major Woods, who had been stationed at Fort Leavenworth, came to New Paris and gave such glowing accounts of Kansas that a number of families who were "holding" property as before described determined to make Kansas their home as soon as the government would treat with the Indians. Walker was one of the first to make this determination, and accordingly in the following spring he made his first trip to Kansas, in company with Oliver Barber, Thomas Barber (afterward killed in 1855 by the border ruffians), and Thomas Pierson. The party took a steamboat at Cincinnati for St. Louis, as at that time there were no railroads west of Indianapolis. At St. Louis the party was transferred to another boat, by which they reached Kansas City, at that time only a small landing place for Westport. It had, in the way of buildings, only a small hotel, a warehouse, and a few small dwelling houses. Westport, on the contrary, was one of the liveliest places the party had seen in all their trip.

Arriving at Westport on the 1st day of May, 1854, Walker and his companions went directly to a livery-stable kept by Samuel Jones, afterward the notorious Sheriff Jones, of Kansas. Jones asked where the members of the party were from, and, on being told, he remarked that "no d—d abolitionist could get a team from him." He added to this emphatic remark the advice that Walker and the rest had better turn about and go where they came from. If the Indians (then in Washington) ceded the country to the United States the South was going to have it, and "no d—d northern nigger stealers should settle it." The party went to several other stables and met with a similar reception. None would render them the least assistance toward getting into Kansas. Finally, however, a merchant of Westport, named Colonel Boone, offered to find a Shawnee Indian who would help the travelers on their way. The Indian was found, and agreed to do as requested if the party would help him plant his corn. The corn was soon planted. Once more on the move, the party all along the way met with such encouragement as had been given them by Jones at Westport. The unvarying sentiment among the many who were going to the territory from all parts of the South was one of pronounced hostility to the North and all its influences.

Reaching the present site of Lawrence, the party took a look at the country from where the new university now stands, and made up their minds at once that it was "God's country." This was on the 10th day of May, 1854. The next place to attract particular attention was the present site of Topeka, and the next was where the town of Easton was subsequently located. From Easton the party returned to Weston, Mo. The Indians had just reached home from Washington, having concluded the treaty which opened the territory. On the same boat with the returning Indians came David R. Atchison. Walker, and perhaps others of the party, heard Atchison say to a crowd in the barroom of the hotel that the treaty was made, and that if the South was coward enough to

let the damned Yankees come in and settle the territory it (the South) did not deserve to be free. Walker says: "Everything which could be thought of was said to insult us, and it was hard, many times, not to retaliate. But we knew that discretion was the better part of valor, and so we 'kept our mouths shut.' I am satisfied that had it not been for the landlord we should have been roughly treated." The party retraced their steps to New Paris, having a pleasant though uneventful journey.

On the strength of their recommendation, about forty families in New Paris and vicinity prepared to leave at once for Kansas, but by reason of various unforeseen delays all were compelled to remain until spring. Accordingly, on the 1st of March, 1885, the children of New Paris, headed by those who had already been to spy out the land, set out for their new homes in the West. Of this Walker says:

"Bidding all our friends an affectionate farewell, we left by rail for Cincinnati. There we found a boat loading for Kansas City, on which we easily secured passage. Everything went well until we reached St. Louis. Here we were informed that the boat was too large to go up the Missouri river, and we were compelled to take passage on another boat, called the 'Chambers.' This boat afterward blew up, with all on board, just as I wished it would. We found on the 'Chambers' a number of Southern families with their slaves going to Platte county, Missouri. We had paid cabin fare, but we were not allowed to go to the first table with the Southern 'ladies' and 'gentlemen.' The election of the 31st of March was coming on, and we were charged with being a lot abolitionists coming to Kansas to vote. All kinds of insults were heaped upon us. At every landing a crowd of roughs would come aboard 'to see the damned Yankees.' On our arrival at Boonville a delegation of citizens came on board and held a consultation with the captain. What the delegation had to say may best be judged from the fact that the captain soon came to us and stated that his boat could not carry us any further up the river, as the water was low. We demanded some of our passage money but could get none, of course. The captain said if we would wait there until the river rose he would take us to our destination; but the moment we got ashore he backed off and headed up stream with the exultant Southerners all on board.

"That night I attended a meeting in Boonville. It had been called to raise recruits to go over to Kansas to vote. Handbills were posted all over town offering 'three dollars per day, and grub and whisky,' for recruits. At the meeting flaming speeches were made denouncing the North and advising those about to go into Kansas to shoot down the first Yankee who might offer to vote at the ensuing territorial election. One man walked up to the speaker's desk and slapped down $1000 and said he would give that as his share, adding that the money was secured by the sale of a 'damned nigger.' The next morning 150 of these men started for Kansas, well armed and with flags flying. Of course they were supplied with whisky, three barrels and sundry smaller receptables filled with this infallible Yankee exterminator having been loaded into the wagons.

"Our party was obliged to lay over, and either secure teams with which to finish their journey into Kansas, remain where they were in Missouri, or get back to Ohio as best they could. I had money enough to buy one yoke of oxen; Ross Hazeltine bought a yoke, and Thomas Barber lent us a wagon. The others secured vehicles as best they could; and, thus outfitted, our party left Boonville, composed of the following persons: Thomas Barber (afterward killed by the border ruffians), with his family, Robert Barber and family, William Hazeltine, son, and family, William Hazeltine, jr., and family, Ross Hazeltine and family, Eras-

tus Hazeltine and family, Robert Hazeltine, Thomas Pierson and family, George Costley and family, Harvey Costley and family, Mr. Kinzey and family, William Meairs and family, Lewis Duffee and wife, Doctor Borton and family, myself and family, and a number of young men, among whom were Doctor Miller, Bloom Swaine, Alex. Meairs, and George Hay.

"None of our party had any money, except the Barber brothers, Mr. Pierson, and Doctor Borton. The third day after we started we began to meet the border ruffians from Kansas. We received all kinds of insult and abuse from them. They would come into our camp at night and tell our women that they had just been up into Kansas and killed a thousand abolitionists, and that when our party got fairly settled they were coming again, kill off the men, and take them (the women) for wives. We had to stand it, as our numbers and the character of our party would not permit of any serious retaliation. One day, however, the program was slightly changed. We had encountered a large delegation of Missourians, who were all drunk and very noisy. I was driving the foremost team. Just as the party came up one fellow jumped down from the wagon where he was riding, ran up to me, snatched off my hat, and started away with it. Before I thought what I was about I whirled my ox gad in my hand and brought him a whack on the head that laid him out. Our people were all alarmed, fearing the blow would be avenged; but, fortunately for us, the fellow's companions cheered me loudly, and said I had served him right.

"We could not buy anything from the farmers because we were Yankees—or at least Northerners. At night the slaves would bring us in eggs, butter, oats, corn, potatoes, and such other articles as we needed. In this way, with what we could pick up along the road, we were enabled to live.

"As we were going down the hill near the crossing of the Big Blue it was sleeting and very slippery. One of my little girls jumped from the wagon, slipped, fell under the wagon, and one wheel passed over her leg, breaking it in two places. The nearest house to be found was the residence of a Baptist minister. I asked him to allow me to bring the child into his house. He refused, giving as his reason for objection that we were from the North and opposed to slavery. This lovely man of God was kind enough, however, to lend me a plank upon which to lay the little girl while the broken leg was being set. From this time until we reached the Shawnee nation I could not get leave to take the suffering child into a house at night, though the weather was very cold for that time of year. Of such was the hospitality accorded us by the natives.

"Arriving in Lawrence, we found a small collection of mud huts, dugouts, etc. Our party had expected to settle as a community, but we could not find any single body of land such as we wanted, and so every man started for himself. We all started in what is now known as Kanwaka township, Douglas county, Kansas. I selected my farm on the California road, seven miles west of Lawrence. There were then no cabins west of me nearer than Big Springs, where several families had settled. Several more families from Illinois had settled further north, where Lecompton now stands. A man named Burgson had a cabin on the present site of Clinton, and another man named William Jessie had a cabin on the present site of Bloomington. Judge Wakefield was the only man living in what is now Kanwaka township, Douglas county, when I pitched my tent, on the 12th day of April, 1855. Not a sign of civilization was to be seen, but in a week's time I counted twenty dugouts, tents, and cabins. In thus beginning life over again, my worldly wealth consisted of a wife and five children (two of the latter sick), one yoke of oxen, one sack of flour, 100 pounds of bacon, eight dollars in money, and the tent which sheltered us. With this we commenced to

make a farm. In a few days I got a job making rails near where Lecompton now is. I was not a success at rail making, as I could only earn fifty cents per day.

"About six weeks after we made our beginning, I was at work one day on my cabin, when a body of about 150 mounted men came in sight. I at first supposed them to be United States troops, but as they came nearer I saw that they were border ruffians. The leader advanced near me, and I saw at once that it was the same Jones who had given us such a doubtful blessing one year before at his stable in Westport. Jones first wanted to know where in h—l I was from. I told him I came from Ohio. 'G—d d—n you,' was his rejoinder; 'you had better go back there quick; we are going over to the river (meaning Lecompton) to clean out a lot of damned abolitionists.' They went away, and in about two hours I could see the smoke from the burning cabins. In a short time Jones and his party came back. He stopped and said he would give me two weeks to get out, as he was coming up at the expiration of that time to drive all the damned nigger stealers from the territory.

"As soon as the Missourians were out of sight, I dropped my ax and started around the settlement to let my friends know what was up. I traveled all night afoot, and the next day eighty-six men met at my cabin. We organized ourselves into a military company, calling it the Bloomington guards, and choosing for it the following officers: Captain, Mr. Read: first lieutenant, Mr. Vermilya; second lieutenant, Doctor Miller, and myself first sergeant. This was the first company organized in Kansas. None of us knew anything about drill, but Judge Wakefield, who was a very fleshy man, said he had served in the Black Hawk war and could teach us the tactics. Accordingly, the judge was duly installed as drill master of the Bloomington guards. This position he continued to hold creditably to himself and to the advantage of the company until one day he ordered us to charge. This was the rock that wrecked us. The judge, fat as he was, led off at a good, smart pace, and his troops came thundering at his heels. The judge struck his foot against a snag, and over he rolled, a half-dozen or more of the guards tumbling on top of him. The judge resigned. Having no arms, the guards made a levy of two dollars each and sent Captain Read to Massachusetts after Sharp's rifles. The captain never came back, but, just before the invasion of Lawrence, in December, 1855, eighty Sharp's rifles came to my charge from Boston. As soon as I received the rifles I notified the company to meet me at night on the Wakarusa. This was done, and that night we returned to Lawrence a well-equipped army of eighty men.

"While the distribution of rifles was going on the border ruffians at Lecompton somehow heard what I had received, and so came down to search my premises. They found no arms, of course; but to make assurance doubly sure they set fire to my haystacks, corn, and other crops, and destroyed everything we had. Winter was at hand. No work was to be obtained. We had no floor or loft in the cabin, and nothing but a small cook-stove to keep us warm. I made up my mind that, from that day forward, until either the border ruffians or ourselves were driven from Kansas, I would live at their expense; I kept my resolution. Sometimes we had plenty to eat; sometimes we had nothing to eat; but through it all we managed to live."

BORDER BURDENS.

During the summer of 1855 the life led by Walker and his family was by no means an adventureless one, notwithstanding the fact that the border ruffians caused them no inconvenience. Indeed, the new settlers of to-day, who come in on railways and secure farms within reach of all those things most essential to civilization, may consider themselves in clover as compared with the people here

described. For instance, when and where Walker settled there were no wells and very few springs. The best water to be found was in holes on the prairie. The cattle drank from these holes, and the water, before it could be used, had to be carefully boiled. One day Mrs. Walker left the clothes lying in the tubs where she had been washing, a short distance from the cabin, and went to dinner. Returning a half-hour later, she found that a drove of wild hogs had overturned the tubs and devoured the entire contents. The family had no underclothing left. During this time Mr. Walker supported his family largely on wild game, deer, and wolves. When the time came for planting he was compelled to travel as far as Westport in order to secure the various kinds of seed necessary. He paid five dollars a bushel for potatoes, and could of course afford none for family use.

In June, 1855, a party of emigrants came along hunting claims, and hired Walker, at five dollars a day, as a guide. The second day out they discharged him. It was then about three o'clock in the afternoon, and he struck out for home, thinking that he could reach it by nine o'clock. A terrible storm overtook him, however, and, to begin with, he was drenched to the skin. It grew dark early, and he found himself alone on the prairie with no weapons about him, the prairie-wolves howling on all sides, and not a light in the sky to guide him on his way. Trudging along through the tall grass, suddenly he lost his footing and rolled down and down, hundreds of feet, as it seemed to him. He had fallen from a high, steep bluff overhanging Deer creek, and landed in the midst of the remains of a dead and fast decaying Texas steer. He says:

"The steer softened my fall, but left me in a decidedly odorous condition. I was terribly frightened, and tramped on my level best. At last I realized that I was lost, and I returned to wait for daylight. The wolves kept up a continual din, and although I hardly thought they would dare to attack me I feared to lie down. I finally secured a tolerably comfortable lean agaidst a scrub oak and dozed there until sunrise. Judge of my surprise when in the morning I discovered that my cabin was not over 100 yards away. I have been lost on the prairie a number of times, but never passed such another frightful night."

When the bogus legislature met at Shawnee Mission, Walker, who was making a trip thither, lost a valuable yoke of oxen. They were Missouri born and bred, and Walker concluded that they had abandoned their free-state bed and board and pulled out to visit their sisters and their cousins and their aunts in the place of their nativity. He went to Westport but could find nothing of them. Continuing his search, the shades of night overtook him a few miles south of Westport. He was afraid to approach any human habitation, and accordingly he lariated his horse and lay down on the grass, with no covering but the starry mantle of night and a thin summer coat.

"A terrible rain came on and I felt like a drowned rat. I determined to venture into some Indian cabin, and tried several, but failed to find a lodging. At last I found a house more pretentious than the rest, and asked a boy if I could stay all night. He said 'No! By and by bad Indians come, bring whisky, make hell of a row, chopee head off damn quick.' I determined to risk bad Indians rather than wild woods. The woman of the house got me some supper and made me a bed in her own room. About nine o'clock I was aroused by a series of the most unearthly yells it was ever my privilege to enjoy. I feel certain that the border ruffians secured that perfection of elocution for which they were noted from these same Shawnee Indians. About thirty men and women rode up to the house and dismounted. They had a ten-gallon keg of whisky with them. They all entered the house, arranged themselves around the keg, and proceeded to ar-

range themselves around its contents. They dipped it out and handed it around, all the time singing, laughing, and yelling. Two big fellows stood apart and never tasted a drop.

"I remember that their wrists were painted blue, and am inclined to think they originated the blue-ribbon movement. Every now and then some one would get up, come over and look at me, and give me a shake. I lay still and let on to be asleep. When any two of the revelers got into a quarrel the two sober ones would lay them out in short order, and when a man got thoroughly soaked the same two would drag him off and put him to bed. They kept it up all night, and in the morning those who were still able to kick got on their ponies and rode off. When I got up I counted six squaws and nine bucks lying promiscuously in a heap, all dead drunk. I have seen many sprees, but never another like that."

In August, 1855, Governor Shannon made his appearance in the territory. He went to Lecompton (which consisted then of a few shaky shanties), rolling in a fine coach, drawn by six Mexican plugs. He was attended by about 100 border ruffians.

"As he was from our state," says Walker, "several of us went over to hear what he had to say. When he got out of the carriage he could hardly stand. He made a speech to the crowd, stating that he was from the North, but had no sympathy with the so-called free-state party; that that party consisted of a lot of damned abolitionists, whom he hated; that the laws of the bogus legislature should be enforced, and that he had the whole power of the general government to back him. There were several free-state men standing together, whom he evidently recognized. He kept looking at them, and, pointing at them, said: "I have no sympathy with negro stealers." We finally left, completely disgusted, and well satisfied that we had nothing to expect from him, and he did not give us cause to change our views during his whole administration."

FIRST FURROWS OF WAR.

Things were quiet in the territory until November; at that time Dow was killed, and the invasion of Lawrence followed. When Walker and party arrived in Lawrence they were ordered to report to Colonel Holliday, of Topeka. He set them to throwing up earthworks on Henry, between Massachusetts and Kentucky streets. It was warm weather when the party began work, but on the second night one of those terrible Kansas "northers" swept down on them and caused a good deal of suffering. Lane would allow no fires to be built, although many of the men had nothing but summer clothing.

"At about twelve o'clock midnight," says Walker, "I received an order from Colonel Holliday to take ten mounted men and ride out to Franklin and find out what the enemy were at. Picking up the best squad I could find, I proceeded to obey the order. We discovered nothing of the border ruffians until we reached Franklin. There the pickets were all gathered around the fire. We rode around their camp and came in upon them from the southeast. They suspected nothing and talked with us freely. Their purpose was to enter the town about daybreak, raze it to the ground, and drive the inhabitants out of the territory. They were clad as thinly as we were. We finally discovered ourselves to them, and at length succeeded in compromising the matter and getting them to go back home. The cold weather had more to do with it than anything else.

"Our company fared well in Lawrence. We had plenty of frozen vegetables, poor beef, and corn bread. It was the best the town afforded, however, and we were satisfied to get plenty of that. When we were discharged I started straight for home. A disheartening sight awaited me there; my hay, corn, stable and

implements were gone. No shelter of any kind was left for my stock, and mighty little stock was left for my stable, if I had one. The hardest winter I have ever seen in Kansas set in. Oh, it was cold, wet, and dismal. My wife, however, was cheerful, calm, and serene, never complaining at any hardship. Many a day that winter we didn't know where our next meal was coming from, but somehow or other it always came.

"Things were generally quiet during the winter of '55 and '56, nothing occurring except the killing of Mr. Brown, near Easton. Word came to Lawrence that Mr. Manard and his friends were surrounded in their house at Eaton by 500 Kickapoo rangers. At ten o'clock P. M., January 6, I received an order from General Lane, instructing me to proceed with ten mounted men to Lawrence, where I was to join 200 others. It was a cold and stormy night; the wind howled dismally through the tree-tops and the wolves made night hideous with their incessant wailing. The snow fell in blinding clouds, and, piled by the winds in huge drifts, rendered the roads well nigh impassable. Presently the sky cleared, and the aurora borealis, gleaming in the far distant north, lit up the landscape far and wide. By its brilliant light I was able to discover in the hollow near by at least fifty deer, sheltering themselves from the wind, which was still blowing keenly. Attracted by the sound of my horses' feet, as I rode away to notify the men, they approached within fifty yards and followed for a considerable distance. I fired my pistol at them but they were not in the least alarmed. You can imagine my feelings during that ride.

"Early the next morning, accompanied by twenty men armed to the teeth, I started for Lawrence. Arrived there, I found that no one else had yet responded. We were the only ones ready to go to the rescue of our suffering comrades at Easton. Colonel Dickey, of Topeka, one of the bravest of free-state men, was to lead the expedition. We reported to him, and, having secured two days' rations, crossed the river at once, and, without waiting for reinforcements, made for the scene of action. It was storming again and five of the horses gave out. The snow was over three feet deep, even where there were no drifts, but Colonel Dickey determined to push on, and at nine o'clock at night we reached a suitable camping place, near where Tonganoxie now is. Our packhorse, disgusted with the prospect, broke loose and went back to Lawrence, but there were cooked rations enough left among the party for supper and breakfast, and, kindling a fire, we succeeded in making ourselves tolerably comfortable for the night.

"In the morning a Mr. Wright came along and urged us for God's sake not to make an attack with so small a force, but to wait for reenforcements from Lawrence. Colonel Dickey called us together and said that he did not desire to lead us where the odds were so heavy against us unless we were willing and anxious to go. Every man in the party scoffed at the idea of turning back, and we were soon under way again. Arrived at Wright's house, five miles from Easton, we halted for the night, and by the next morning sixty free-state men from the surrounding country had been notified to join us in the attack, but when we were ready to start not a man had reported. We decided to push on, however, and were joined on the road by Mr. Sparks and his two sons. Just as we reached the timber adjoining the town of Easton, a man ran out of a cabin, and, addressing our new recruits, said: 'For God's sake, Mr. Sparks, don't go into that town. There are 500 rangers there, and they will murder both you and your sons.' Colonel Dickey turned to the party and said: 'Is there a man here that wishes to turn back?' 'No, no!' was the unanimous reply. 'We won't leave a ranger in this town!' 'All right,' said the colonel, 'follow me'; and into the town we went, pell-mell, shouting at the top of our voices, our horses on a keen jump,

and our arms all in readiness. Imagine our feelings of relief in finding the street entirely deserted. Not a ranger was to be seen; they had left three days before.

"Manard had about twenty men with him in a large log house. He had been attacked by about fifty rangers, but when only a few shots had been fired the storm came on and drove the ruffians home. The dread of the ruffians was so great that not a soul had dared to venture out of the house to learn the true state of affairs. We stated that we were the advance guard of a column 1000 strong, and in a few hours everything was at our disposal."

Soon afterward Captain Graver dashed into the village at the head of a squad of fifty men, thus confirming the impression created by Captain Manard. The news flew like the wind. At Kickapoo it was rumored that Lane was coming, and the inhabitants immediately crossed the river to Weston, on the Missouri side. They were so alarmed that if the small force had advanced Kickapoo could have been captured easily. When the boys returned to Lawrence, at twelve o'clock at night, the whole town turned out to receive them, bells were rung, cannon fired, rockets exploded, and, better than all, a splendid supper was prepared for them by the ladies of Lawrence.

The old settlers will never forget that winter. The mercury went down lower and lower, until it registered twenty degrees below zero, and remained at that point for several weeks. No one was prepared for it: provisions had run low; no money was to be had, neither any employment. Mr. Walker was driven to such an extremity that he went to Lawrence, searched for work all day, and, being unsuccessful, went to Lane's house in the evening, stating that his family was starving and that he would do anything—chop wood, make rails, or anything else. Lane informed him that he could give him no work, but that he could have an order on the store for eleven dollars, which amount he could pay back when able. Mr. Walker bought flour and bacon and sugar and coffee with it, and started home through the deep snow. He says: "My wife got up, made some batter cakes, fried some bacon, and made some coffee. Such a meal I had never enjoyed in my life."

The early settlers used wild sorrel for pies and wild peas for soup. Wild plums and gooseberries were also very plentiful that year. In the spring of 1856 emigrants passed into the state very rapidly, the road leading into the territory being crowded with them. As a consequence of this emigration, the small stock of corn in the territory sold for fabulous prices, at one time selling as high as $2.50 per bushel, with all other necessaries of life in proportion.

In March, 1856, Walker went to Topeka as a member of the legislature from Clinton. Mr. Walker's name, and also that of Mr. Tooton, does not appear in "The Annals of Kansas" as members of that legislature, although the former served one term and the latter two.

On the 1st of April, 1856, Colonels Buford and Titus arrived in the territory with a force of 1000 men, recruited in the South, and made their headquarters at a distance of three miles from Walker's house, building a very strong blockhouse one mile from Lecompton, and also one on Washington creek, at the same time throwing up earthworks and garrisoning them strongly. At Franklin they stationed 150 men, with a brass six-pounder. Their first overt act was an attack on Mr. Nicholas, by which they sought to drive him from his claim on Washington creek; but Nicholas rallied some of his neighbors, sent to Lawrence for aid, and eight men, headed by Walker, started to his rescue. One of the men, named Luke Allen, had a red shirt, similar to that worn by the Georgians. When about five miles southwest of Lawrence, an officer was observed riding down the Wakarusa. He was mounted on a splendid horse, had a fine sword at his side, and

pistols and bowie-knives in his belt. Behind him were three heavy-laden wagons, drawn by two yoke of oxen, both teams being strongly guarded by a detachment of men. They were conveying supplies from Lecompton to Franklin.

The captain, seeing Luke Allen, and supposing him to be a border ruffian, inquired the way to Franklin, saying that he had come in that direction in order to avoid Lawrence and also to wipe out an abolitionist who had jumped the claim of a friend of his near by. Hearing that Nicholas was strongly fortified, he said that he would wipe him out upon his return. Before the words were scarcely out of his mouth the rebel leader became painfully aware of a displeasingly large number of carbines at his head, and he was told that he had got among the wrong men. Being at some distance from his followers, he was forced to dismount, which he did with ill grace, as he was a brave fellow. In the meantime Walker and Allen climbed up the bank and awaited the approach of the train. As the weather was very warm, the rebels had put their rifles into the wagon cases, and, having seen the captain talking with Allen did not apprehend any danger. They rode up and inquired as to the whereabouts of the captain. They were told that he was down in the ravine just a little way ahead. As they passed by, Walker and Allen leveled their rifles and ordered the entire party to surrender, which they did. Not a shot was a fired. Among the articles captured were one bay horse, six yoke of oxen, three good wagons, loaded with flour, bacon, sugar, coffee, salt, canned fruit, five kegs of powder and a large quantity of lead. One drum and fife, one barrel of whisky, nineteen rifles, twenty revolvers and bowie-knives and one gold-mounted sword completed the list. The captain begged piteously for his horse and sword, saying the ladies of Mobile had given them to him, and that he would prefer death to their loss. Walker, to whom the sword and horse had been given, returned them to him.

SHANNON SHOWS HIS HAND.

About the first of June, 1856, General Whitfield led a party of 250 men into Kansas, to avenge the capture of Pate by Shores and Brown. The border ruffians had a cannon at Franklin, and a number of men, of whom Walker was one, determined to capture it. They secured a guide, who professed to be able to lead them to the exact spot where the cannon was located. The cannon, it may be remarked, was guarded by 150 men in a strong blockhouse near by. Under command of Captain Cutler, the little band of fifteen started. It was a dark and dismal night, yet they kept up good spirits, until, upon their arrival at Franklin, their guide deserted them, thus leaving them in a strange place, where they could not see a yard ahead in the darkness. Suddenly they were startled by the challenge of a sentry. Lying down, with their faces to the ground, they saw a man apply a torch to the cannon, and immediately a discharge was heard and a ball passed over the spot where, but a few seconds before, they had been standing. The rebels opened fire from the blockhouse. It was returned, and a constant battle of musketry was kept up until daybreak, when, knowing the superior numbers of the enemy and fearing that the United States troops would come up, the detachment was about to withdraw, when, to their surprise, they saw by the dim morning light that the cannon and the blockhouse were deserted.

The rebels, it seems, went back to Westport, spreading the news that Lane was after them with 500 men. Had this been known in time the cannon could have been captured. Already the firing had awakened the United States troops, but they were afraid to move until daylight. Not one of the brave settlers received a scratch, the balls all going over their heads. Walker says:

"In the morning we proceeded to Major Abbott's and got something to eat.

Here we found about seventy-five men assembled, all anxious to meet Whitfield, who was said to be at Baldwin City. At Hickory Point we found eighty more who wanted to join us, and I was elected to the command. Brown and Shores were camped about two miles to the southwest of him. In the morning we marched out to attack Whitfield. He seemed to have hard work to get his men into line. Just then Colonel Sumner, with a force of United States troops, came upon the field, got in between us, sent Whitfield back to Missouri, and brought us back to Lawrence. He spoiled a pretty little battle. The border ruffians outnumbered us, but we were better armed than they, and were fighting for our homes and they were not; yet, after all, we were glad that Sumner came. I could not stay at home, as Colonel Titus had out a reward on my head: my house also being near his headquarters and on the public road, it was unsafe for me.

"Early in May 600 border ruffians came and camped on my claim, some 500 or 600 yards from our cabin, where they stationed a picket, and made every passer-by give an account of himself. If it was not satisfactory he was taken to headquarters. A number were arrested in the presence of my wife. They told her that she would never be disturbed, but that if they ever caught her husband they would string him up. My wife would bring something to eat to where I was concealed, in the Wakarusa timber, about four miles away, at the same time giving me all the information she could get. Many of the settlers were very badly treated, especially by Titus's troops. There was a very bitter feeling against him. Everybody's horses were taken away, and over 400 cattle were driven off to Missouri. Very little corn was raised that year."

At last the imminent destruction of Lawrence led to the assembling of 700 men, Walker among them. They could have defended it easily had it not been for the actions of General Pomeroy, Roberts, and a few others, who insisted that they should lay down their arms and submit to the United States marshal. At that time Robinson was a prisoner, Lane was gone, and there were no men left who could be looked to as leaders. Several appeals were made to Governor Shannon for protection, but all in vain. The day before they came in, the committee of safety, with Gen. C. W. Babcock at the head, determined to make one more effort. A letter was drawn up, addressed to Governor Shannon, asking for his protection, but no one would venture to carry it. General Babcock, chairman of the committee of safety, requested Walker to carry it, offering him a horse and a red shirt, thinking that if he was attired in that manner he could pass through safely. Mr. Walker shall tell the story in his own words:

"My road led me past the camp of the border ruffians and past my own house. Not seeing any pickets, I supposed that they had gone into the camp on account of the rain. I went into my cabin to get my overcoat, leaving my pistols in my holster and my old musket at the door. Imagine my surprise on entering to find the guard all in the cabin, a sergeant and six men. As good luck would have it the children were all asleep except the two oldest, who were posted about me. I said nothing, and my wife said nothing. The sergeant asked me where I was going and where I was from. I informed him that I lived on Washington creek, a settlement of pro-slavery people, that I was a member of the grand jury then in session at Lecompton, and that I was not well. I suppose my looks showed that. I asked for an overcoat. My wife said she had one that belonged to her husband, and that I could have it if I would promise to return it. I took the overcoat and left. When I reached the door two men from Missouri came up. They were both heavily armed and well mounted. I told them the same story, and as they were going to Lecompton and believing me to be all right, they told me what was going to be done; that the United States marshal would take his

posse into Lawrence, make his arrests, and then disband them and clean out the town; that they would burn and sack it, and then drive out every abolitionist in Kansas and appropriate their improvements. I sided with them: told them that if they went back South this time to say that the Yankees were getting very sassy.

"When we got near Lecompton we met a man who knew me—Mr. James Curlien. He asked me where I was going. One of the men spoke up and said that I was a member of the grand jury. 'The hell he is,' was all the reply I heard, for I left them just then, not wishing to argue with them on the subject. In a few moments the men came thundering along. I knew that I should have trouble. Dropping my old musket, I drew my revolvers and got ready. When they came up, one of them said: 'Now, damn you, tell me what you are going to Lecompton for.' 'To carry a message to the governor,' I replied. 'They want protection down there.' Putting spur to their horses, they dashed into Lecompton before me. When I reached the town, a man named Corbet, who lived five miles southwest of Lecompton and, though a pro-slavery man, was bound to me by personal favors done him, stopped me on the road and told me that I must not enter the town; that a party was forming to take and hang me. He told me to give him the letter to the governor and light out for his home, where he would bring me the answer. Looking up the road, I saw five mounted men riding like mad towards me, and yelling at the top of their voices. I threw Corbet the letter, and, turning, put my horse on the run. It was soon evident that my pursuers were better mounted than I, and the balls began to whistle around me uncomfortably close. I made for a ravine, and was soon out of sight in the timber. Giving up the chase, the four men went back to town and reported that they had killed the damned Yankee and left him lying in the road.

"That evening Corbet brought me the governor's reply, setting forth, in substance, that the citizens of Lawrence were all traitors, and could, therefore, expect no protection from him. Corbet said that there were several parties looking for me, and that if I wanted to get back to Lawrence I must go south and cross the Wakarusa near Clinton, then east till the border-ruffians' pickets were passed, then north into town. The night was pitch dark and the Wakarusa very high. I missed the crossing, and my horse went down the stream and was drowned. I succeeded in getting out, and, by careful maneuvering, reached Lawrence about daylight, with the governor's letter. The committee advised us to hide our arms, saying that no harm would be done when it was found that the parties sought were not in the city. Captain Abbott, Stone, McWhinney, Saunders, Wright, Leonard, Umbarger and myself determined to take our company and leave. The Stubbs company hid their weapons, and were captured almost to a man. The captain's rifle was taken by a Missouri captain. I afterward had the good fortune to recapture it for him.

"That evening we waylaid a provision train returning from Lawrence, and captured several wagons laden with plunder. Leaving the men camped on the Wakarusa, Henry McClellan and I went to Topeka, and were the first to convey the news of the sacking of Lawrence to Colonels Holliday and Ritchie. The people of Topeka were fortifying and expecting the raiders any day. Setting out in return at twelve at night, we lost ourselves on the prairie, between the town and the Wakarusa, and wandered for several hours. There was not a house then between Topeka and the Wakarusa. In those days no one dared to take a direct route from Topeka to Lawrence. The usual way was to go south to the Wakarusa, then east on the south side of that stream, and then north, crossing at the place where the poor-farm is now. We wandered about till daylight, and then found

ourselves about two miles out of Topeka. We had circled around, hour after hour.

"At that time the prospects for the free state party looked worse than ever before or since. Our leaders were either prisoners in the hands of the United States troops, or were away, back East, looking for aid and succor there. There were but four free-state companies with anything like a complete organization. After the sacking of Lawrence, Captains Abbott, Shores, John Brown, sr., and John Brown, jr., had a few men with them, while Captain Mitchell, of Wabaunsee, and Captain Saunders, had a few more. Two companies at Topeka and my own company were about the only ones that kept up their drill. Our forces did not amount, all together, to more than 400."

WALKER VS. SHANNON.

About this time Walker received notice at his rendezvous on the Wakarusa that Captain McDonald was about to raid Walker's cabin and burn everything belonging to him or any of his connections. Walker picked ten men at once, went directly to his house, sent his family away, cut port-holes for his guns, appointed lookouts, and retired late at night to catch a few minutes' rest. At two o'clock the lookout reported a troop of horsemen approaching from the northeast. In a moment every man was at his post. It was one of those magnificent moonlight nights for which Kansas is famous. The whole landscape was clearly and completely lighted up, and the maneuvers of the assaulting party could be as well distinguished as if it were day. There were about thirty of them, and they rode leisurely up to the house, not expecting any resistance. McDonald's orders were distinctly audible to the ten men peering from the port-holes. "Left, front, into line! Prepare to dismount! Dismount!" They all fastened their horses to the fence and filed into the yard without any particular orders. Not till the last man was inside the fence was there any demonstration from the house, and then out spake ten Sharp's rifles, and four men lay wounded on the ground. The rest scattered in an instant. One man left his coat tail and a bottle of whisky hanging on the picket fence, and several even put off afoot, leaving their horses for the "damned nigger stealers" to care for. Two men were captured, and four horses. John Shannon, son of the old governor, was in the party, but escaped unhurt. One of those taken was a notorious desperado named Wauffle. This man had lived next to Walker for some time, and, when sick and deserted by friends, Mrs. Walker had cared for him in the kindest manner. This fact was generally known, and it was with difficulty that the good lady restrained her husband's fellows from stringing the villain up then and there. When day broke Walker ordered his men to scatter, and retired himself to the house of a friend to sleep.

Governor Shannon, as soon as he heard of this occurrence, called out several companies of militia and about three companies of United States soldiers, under Captain Sturges, an old friend and playmate of Walker's. The governor's son had not yet got back to Lecompton, and was reported killed. The old man determined to avenge John's death, and rode in company with his troops to Walker's cabin. Walker says:

"The governor swore he would have my scalp before night. He asked my wife where I was. She said I had gone and taken all the spoils of last night's fight with me. Shannon grew very angry and attempted to ride into my cabin. Captain Sturges, however, caught his bridle and held him back, at the same time ordering a couple of soldiers to guard the door. Shannon then ordered the men to scatter, and take all the horses they could find, to pay for those they had lost the night before. Some of the party went to the house of Captain Thomas,

and while there let fall the remark, 'I believe Walker can be found over at Robert Barber's.' Mrs. Thomas immediately dispatched her little daughter Dolly to inform me of the state of affairs, and asked the men to stay and dine with her. The little girl was presently missed, and suspecting what had been done the men jumped on their horses and rode straight to Barber's cabin. In the meantime Dolly had arrived and told her story. I was on the alert at once and retired to the back yard, there to meditate in the tall grass and weeds. When Shannon's men got to the house and inquired for me, Mrs. Barber told them that she knew nothing about me. They then asked whose horse that was picketed out in front. Little Dolly spoke up directly and said it was her's, and that she had just come after it. That satisfied them, and as Dolly mounted my pony to ride home the men mounted theirs and continued their investigations.

"As soon as the coast was clear I left for the Wakarusa and waited there until evening, believing that my cabin was burned and my family homeless. A poor man's cabin, be it ever so small and humble, is as dear to him as the finest mansion to the rich. When evening came I started for town. Reaching the claim of Captain Barber, and while trudging along lost in thought I was suddenly startled by the tramp of horses, and looking ahead of me beheld coming along the road Governor Shannon, Colonel Titus, Captain Sturges with about fifty soldiers, and young Spicer, whose father's property I had often, as guide, saved from the ravages of our troops. They were coming single file, Spicer first, Titus next, then Shannon, and then Sturges followed by the men. I jumped into a clump of bushes not ten feet from the path and cocked my rifle, determined to kill the governor at least, if I was discovered. But God willed it otherwise. The first three of the party happened to be examining some object off at one side of the road, and did not see me. Captain Sturges and men all noticed and recognized me, some smiling, some nodding, and some giving the military salute. The governor went into the house of William Hazeltine, whom I had been with the night before. He found Hazeltine at home and, after abusing him and his wife soundly, arrested him and kept him a prisoner for four months. He captured several more of my friends, but never succeeding in proving anything against them.

"I went on my way after the governor and posse had passed, and soon met Captain Bickerton, who informed me that my family was safe. It seems that about two hours after Shannon left my house Colonel Titus came along and peremptorily ordered my wife to clear out, giving her two hours to move our furniture. Through all her hardships in Kansas my wife had never shed a tear until now. She spent little time in idle weeping, however. With the assistance of the children she soon got all the household goods into the road, and, in the evening, Thompson Wakefield came along and took her to his father's house to stay over night. Bickerton told me, besides all this, that the country was full of parties in search of me, and that I must lie down in his corn-field and sleep an hour or so while he stood guard over me. At midnight he woke me up, and, pointing in the direction of the California road, bent his head to listen. We heard distinctly the tramp of horses' hoofs and some one calling my name. I readily recognized the voice as that of a Mr. Hoyt, a friend of mine who was afterwards killed at Fort Saunders. He brought welcome news. Captain Cutler, hearing of my situation, had come up to Wakefield's with thirty men to escort me to Lawrence. They had met a small party of the enemy and fired on them, but nothing serious had resulted. I was soon with them, and Hoyt insisted on my riding his horse home. The rest all walked. I was very thankful to Cutler and his men, for it was no agreeable task to march twelve miles and back again in the

night-time. Those were strange days. The free-state men were bound together like brothers, and would do anything for each other.

"We were under arms, in constant readiness, for several days after that. Finally, I got anxious and insisted on reconnoitering my neighborhood once more. Near the United States camp, west of Lecompton, I met a solitary horseman. He was well armed with shot-gun and pistols. His horse was a good one and he started to run. I ordered him to halt, which order, backed by a couple of bullets, soon had the desired effect. I took his gun and revolvers and made him ride ahead. Pushing south we soon struck the Wakarusa timber, and then I tied my man to a tree and rode into Clinton. Finding Alfred Curtis, I told him I had a pet lariated out in the woods. When Curtis and I got to the place my 'pet' thought that his time was come and begged like a good fellow, promising, if let off, to go straight home to Alabama and not say a word to anybody. We stripped off everything valuable he had, and that night I escorted him to South Lawrence and let him go. He started in the direction of Westport but the moment I was out of sight he turned and put for Lecompton. Arrived there, he had Curtis and me indicted for highway robbery. A day or two after the boys from Lawrence and Captain Abbott's company attacked the fellow's store in Franklin and cleaned him out of everything. He left there, and did, I think, go home to Alabama.

"When the legislature met at Topeka a large number of free-state men gathered there, with no fixed object in view but just to be on hand if anything should turn up. As I said before, our leaders were either away East or in the hands of the enemy. Colonel Sumner was at this time camped near Topeka with about 600 men. The evening before the opening of the legislature Colonel Sumner sent me a note, saying he wished to see me at his camp on important business. I went, and found the colonel surrounded by United States marshals and deputies and a large party of distinguished pro-slavery men, among them Governor Woodson, General Stringfellow, General Strickler, Judge Cato, Judge Elmore, and others that I did not know. My surroundings didn't suit me exactly. I felt uneasy. Colonel Sumner said to me: 'The marshal and the governor both say that if I attempt to disperse the legislature to-morrow you fellows will resist: that Lane is on the other side of the river with 400 men, and that you can command a thousand more on this side.' 'That's all nonsense,' said I. 'There are not 400 men in Topeka. Lane is out of the territory, and no one will think of hindering either you or the marshal in the discharge of your duties.' The marshal jumped up and commenced pacing up and down. 'Do you pretend to say,' he demanded, 'that the governor and I would misrepresent the facts in the case to Colonel Sumner? If he should go into Topeka and attempt to read the governor's proclamation he would be shot down at the end of the first line' 'Bah!' said I, 'no such thing. I am not armed, but I'll go with the colonel and stand before him till he reads all the messages in Kansas, if you say so. There will be no resistance.'

"On that a Texan named Perkins, an officer in the regular army, sprang up and handed me his pistols, with, 'By God, as good a fellow as you sha'n't be without arms, if I can help it.' The governor stared at the marshal, and the marshal stared at the governor. They began to lose confidence in the troops, and well they might. Many a night, after being hounded all day by the United States soldiers under the marshal or governor, I have walked into their camp and received the treatment of a prince—food and ammunition, more than I could carry away. Colonel Sumner called me to one side and said: 'Walker, I don't want to hurt any one; you are all right, and have my sympathies: but the gov-

ernment is against you, and I must obey the government. If the members will disperse quietly, there need be no trouble.' He then dismissed me, and I went back into Topeka. Many of the number had publicly proclaimed that they would not leave the hall alive; that they would resist to the death. I did not tell any of them what Sumner had said, for I wanted to see how many of the brave legislators were ready to die.

"Morning came, and all was excitement and bustle. The legislature was out in full force, soothed and sustained by the plaudit of the ladies and the muskets and uniforms of the 'Topeka guards.' Fiery speeches were made and grand resolutions passed. They would willingly die on the altar of freedom, but would never retreat or surrender. One fine speaker was especially eloquent and brave. He soared aloft like the eagle, and in words of burning patriotism exclaimed: 'The eyes of the world are upon us. We represent a great cause, and must be true to it. I know not what others may do, but as for me, I will never leave this hall except at the point of the bayonet.' Just at that moment Colonel Sumner dashed into sight. The artillery wheeled into position and let fly a blank discharge. Colonel Sumner, with his bodyguard, rode up to the door of the state-house, and the 'Topeka guards' melted away like dew before the morning sun. The legislature was ordered in stentorian tones to disperse, but it was not there to hear the order. It was gone, all gone—pretty legislators and pretty guards. And the orators, where were they? Ask of the corn-fields and hazel brush that for miles around concealed their quivering forms. The ladies were the only ones to stay quietly in their places. Alf. Curtis and I were all that stayed to represent the 'grand cause'; he, because he really had a brave, true heart; I, because my country was dear to me, and—I knew the colonel would n't shoot. A few ladies returned presently, and, seizing Sumner the moment he dismounted, literally carried him into the hall and up to the speaker's chair. He refused to accept so distinguished a position, however, and, freeing himself, began reconnoitering the premises. The member who had been speaking when Sumner came up made his exit through a back window, jumping fifteen feet to the ground, and through the dust of his exodus could dimly be seen in the far distance a flying coat tail and a pair of heels punishing the ground forty-five strokes a second.

"A. D. Richardson, correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, and one of the best and bravest fellows I ever met, accompanied me that night to Lawrence on foot. We took a long circuit, and stopped at my cabin about daybreak for breakfast. Colonel Sumner came along and I had considerable conversation with him. He said, among other things, that I must go home and stay there; that ours was the right side, but the government was against us, and we could not hold out against that. Colonel Sumner was soon after removed and General Smith put in his place; Col. P. St. George Cooke, however, to direct command. He was a Southern man, but a friend to the free-state people, as was also Lieutenant Colonel Johnson, afterward general in the confederate army.

"About that time I received a note from Governor Robinson, then a prisoner in the United States encampment, asking me to visit him. Accompanying the note was a pass from Major Sedgwick. I concluded to go, and, taking a circuitous route, succeeded in getting within a half a mile of Lecompton without meeting a soul. Just as I was congratulating myself on my safe journey I ran into a deputy United States marshal and two men that I had met before. One of them was the fellow who left his coat tail and whisky bottle on my picket fence. I afterward learned that the deputy had a warrant for my arrest."

The marshal had taken that roundabout way to get to Walker's house, expecting to find him at home unprepared for visitors. The marshal asked to be

directed to his residence, saying that they had lost their way. He was informed that he could be directed to the house, but when he asked whether the captain was at home, Walker said "no," that he was the man himself. The three men then came toward him, holding out their hands as if in welcome. Walker told them to keep away, as it was his rule not to shake hands with any man unless he knew his business; that if they would give their word of honor that they had no writs for him and would not molest him, he would let them come nearer. They pledged themselves, and said that their only desire was peace; that they had been sent out in order to take him to Lecompton in order to see if an arrangement could not be effected that would put an end to so much bloodshed. The whole party then shook hands, sat down, and a conversation ensued, Doctor Brooks being their spokesman. He boasted of their strength and that of the South, saying that they had always had a contempt for the Yankees, but that they had changed their minds since they had fought against them. The marshal told Walker that if he would go to Lecompton the next day a buggy would be sent for him, but Walker begged to be excused, first thanking him for his kind intentions.

Upon arriving at the United States camp, Walker found Governor Robinson, Judge Smith, the two Browns, Williams, and other prisoners, all enjoying themselves as nicely as they could when surrounded by 600 troops. The governor informed Walker that General Lane was coming from the states with 400 men, and that General Richardson had passed over from Missouri with 500 men to intercept him; that Lane was camped near Nebraska City, and that no communication could be effected with him. He asked Walker to return to Lawrence, select fifteen men, and be back at the camp some time that night, in order to start from Topeka and find a route to Nebraska City. He also wished Walker to ascertain Richardson's position, if possible, without coming in conflict with him, saying that he had sent Doctor Root on the same errand a short time since, but that he could hear nothing from him. Walker was furnished $200 for his expenses. At that time there were no white inhabitants north of Topeka until the Nemaha was reached, in Nebraska. The country all belonged to the Indians, and there were no roads except Indian trails, and no fords across the streams. Walker was given an order for a fine saddle-horse belonging to Governor Robinson, and a pass from the major to enter the camp.

That night Walker returned to Lawrence, selected the men, and was back to his cabin by seven o'clock that evening, accompanied by fifteen brave men. They were thoroughly armed and well mounted. At the cabin he found a man named Buck Scott, then a slave of one Bishop, at Lecompton. This Scott always kept Walker informed as to the movements of the border ruffians. Many times he would ride into Lawrence at midnight, tell Walker what was contemplated, and return to his post before morning. They could not make a move without its being known in this manner. Poor Scott would not have lived a day had they known what he was doing. Many times in recent years articles have appeared, written by different persons, claiming to have given information that was conveyed by Scott alone. He trusted no one but Walker. This negro informed the latter that Judge Wood expected that the marshal would capture Walker, and that when the marshal returned Wood called him a d——d coward, saying that he would take him himself, upon which the writs were given him. Scott further informed him that a party was coming out that night, commanded by Wood, to capture him. Walker deferred his trip for that night, and, sending the horses to the timber, awaited the coming of the posse. Walker says:

"They did not come; but if they had we would have given them a fine recep-

tion. In the morning I sent the boys to await us at Big Springs, keeping George Earle with me. I went to the United States camp to get our money, and found orders from Governor Robinson. He was uneasy at my delay, but being informed of the cause appeared satisfied. I received the money and his final orders to get the party through as fast as possible, as the border ruffians were overrunning everything. Just as we came out of the prisoners' tent we met the same deputy and the same two men of the day before. I asked him the time of day, but he did not seem to wish to talk. He rode away to Captain Sackett's tent, spoke to the captain, and then galloped away to Major Sedgwick's headquarters. As soon as his back was turned, Sackett said: 'Get out of this as soon as God will let you. The marshal has a warrant for you, and is after a posse to take you.' We saw him talking to the major and pointing toward us. We mounted our horses and got a mile away before 'boots and saddles' sounded. At Big Springs the marshal gave up the chase.

"Arrived at Topeka, we found that Doctor Root had returned. Captain Frost was there also with thirty men, and the report being confirmed that Richardson was waiting to fight the immigrants, he concluded to join us. Our party only numbered forty-eight, but we thought we could 'clean out' Richardson for all that. We pushed on and reached the Nemaha falls at about —— o'clock. There we met a Kickapoo Indian, who informed us that Richardson was encamped at Marysville with a large force, and that a detachment was camped about two miles from there, up the stream. We decided to investigate the detachment at once, but on arrival at the point designated found, instead of border ruffians, old Captain Brown, his son and son-in-law, and ten others. They were making their way out of the territory by the way of Nebraska. Cutting loose from the Topeka company, who were on foot, we pushed on with Brown to Nebraska City, where we heard that the Lane party was encamped. Riding all night, we reached our friends about daybreak.

"We found a splendid body of men, 350 in number, well armed and equipped. Many of them are now the foremost men in the state. Mr. Howe, of Boston, Colonel Eldridge and Colonel Dickey seemed to be in command. Lane was away in Iowa, keeping out of the hands of the United States marshal, who was after him for bringing armed men into the territory. I told Mr. Howe that if he would push on in our trail he could pass Richardson and join the Topeka company at the Nemaha falls. It was decided that Lane must not accompany the party, as his name might cause trouble with Richardson. A letter was prepared and directed to Lane stating the decision, and I, as a well-known friend of Lane, was appointed to deliver it. Geo. Earle and I left our men at Nebraska City and crossed over to Civil Bend, where Lane was. We found him at Doctor Blanchard's and gave him the letter. After reading it he sat for a long time with his head bowed and the tears running down his cheeks. Finally he looked up and said: 'Walker, if you say the people of Kansas don't want me, it's all right, and I'll blow my brains out. I can never go back to the states and look the people in the face and tell them that as soon as I had got these Kansas friends of mine fairly into danger I had to abandon them. I can't do it. No matter what I say in my own defense no one will believe it. I'll blow my brains out and end the thing right here.' 'General,' said I, 'the people of Kansas would rather have you than all the party at Nebraska City. I have got fifteen good boys that are my own. If you will put yourself under my orders I'll take you through all right.' He assented, and Doctor Blanchard set to work to disguise him. Mrs. Blanchard brought out some old clothes, but Lane looked more like himself in those than in the new ones. The doctor undertook to use nitrate of silver on the grizzly old

veteran, but it did n't seem to have any effect. We agreed that I should go back to Nebraska City, and get my men, while Doctor Blanchard pulled Lane across the river in a canoe.

"Lane and my little company reached the place appointed for meeting at about the same time. He was readily recognized, and the boys, who did n't know he was coming, nearly went wild over him. We found some emigrants twelve miles south of the city, and camped near by them. Here I received a message from Lawrence urging me to return as soon as possible. I told Lane the news, and he said we must get down there by the next night. The streams were full and no fords. Lawrence was 150 miles away. Lane rode that distance in thirty hours; the rest of us had to give it up.

"Our party now consisted of about thirty persons, we having been joined by old Captain Brown and his men. The captain left his wounded in a place of safety, and determined to go back with us. Accordingly we struck out for Lawrence, Lane leading. All that night he pushed on, halting a little just before morning to let the horses graze. The boys threw themselves upon the grass, and were soon fast asleep. Brown himself went some distance from the camp, sat down with his back to a tree and his rifle across his knees, and also went to sleep. When Lane got ready to go ahead he directed me to go and awaken Brown. I found the old man asleep, leaning against a tree, as described, and not thinking of danger, I put my hand on his shoulder. Quick as lightning he was on his feet, with his rifle at my breast. I struck up the muzzle of his gun not a second too soon, as the charge passed over my shoulder, burning the cloth of my coat. Thereafter I never approached Brown when he was sleeping, as that seemed to be his most wakeful time.

"At about ten o'clock that night we reached the Kansas river, opposite Topeka, our party having been reduced to six, the others giving out, one by one. We could not cross the river by ferry, as the ferryman lived up in Topeka. The only chance left was to ford. My horse was the only one able to swim across with its rider. The others refused to swim and one was mired in the quicksand. Lane and Charlie Stratton swam over. Going into town we three got something to eat, the first we had had since leaving Nebraska City. Lane and Stratton got fresh horses and we started for Lawrence, though it was raining as hard as it could. Before I reached my home I fell off my horse three times from the effects of hunger and fatigue. Each of the three times Lane helped me to my saddle again. On reaching home I could go no further. Stratton continued two miles before he gave up; and Lane went into Lawrence alone, reaching there at three o'clock in the morning.

"When Lane left me at my house he ordered me to go in the morning to Bloomington, collect as many men as I could, establish a camp at Doctor Macey's, on Washington creek, and stay there until I got orders from him to move, no matter what should happen. By night I had collected sixty men, and before morning over 200 more came into camp. News was received from Lane that he had captured Franklin and got possession of the old cannon 'Sacramento.' A number of his men had been killed and wounded, but, all things considered, the news was good. Lane ordered me not to make any move on Fort Saunders until he came up. Captain Hoyt proposed to go into the fort in order to find out the strength of the border ruffians, supposed to be 200 strong, but in reality only 100. They were commanded by Captain Treadwell, a brave man from Tennessee. The fort was a two-story log blockhouse, about twenty-five feet square, with port-holes above and below, and surrounded with splendid earthworks. It stood on the open ground on a high bluff on Washington creek,

from which it was visible from any direction. Army officers said to me, during the war, that that little post was as strong a one of the kind as they had ever seen, and that 100 men could have defended it against 1000 without artillery. We all remonstrated with Captain Hoyt, but it was of no use; he said he was a Mason, and that he had no fears. He started about nine A. M., and it was the last we ever saw of him alive.

"The fort was about three miles from our camp. It was but a short time until word was brought that Hoyt had been killed. The excitement was intense. The men demanded to be led against the post at once. I told them about my orders from Lane, and said that he would surely be there that night with the cannon and reinforcements from Lawrence, and furthermore that we could not take the post without losing many men. But the excitement got greater and greater. Finally the men declared that I was a coward; that if I was not, I would lead them on. I told them I would not take the responsibility after having received my orders to the contrary, but if they wished they could elect another man to lead them and I would follow. Captain Amberger was then chosen. He at once stepped out and ordered the men to fall in line, but myself and three others were the only ones that responded. The captain then quit in disgust. The boys concluded to follow my advice, and it was well that they did so, for if the attack had been made that day our force would have been beaten and a large number would have been killed.

"In the night Lane arrived, with about 200 men from Lawrence and the captured cannon taken at Franklin. Captain Shombri, from Richmond, pushed ahead with what mounted men he had. He came in the night, and our force now numbered about 500 men. In the morning Lane sent Captain Shombri with about fifty mounted men to bring in the body of Hoyt. It was found about a mile from the fort, with a little dirt thrown over it—not enough, however, to cover the feet. When it was brought in it worked the men up to fighting trim, which was just what Lane wanted. Collecting all the wagons he could get, he had poles cut about as long as a man, and then tied hay to one end of them; placing them in the wagons, it produced the impression that they were filled with men. When we climbed the hills in sight of the fort, about three miles off, we made a big show in front with our mounted men behind the wagons, and, still further behind, the men on foot. At a distance it looked like an army of 1200 men. We could see the enemy standing on top of their blockhouse, looking at us. They did not hesitate long, but, mounting their horses, left in a hurry, leaving everything behind them—dinner cooking, 1100 Springfield muskets that never had been taken out of the boxes, large quantity of powder and lead, a great number of wagons and horses, flour, bacon, sugar, and coffee—in fact, stores of all kinds. It was just what we needed.

"When we reached the fort and saw how strong it was, we all felt glad that they had left. The boys were feeling in high spirits because I had obeyed Lane's orders. After the plunder was all gathered up I noticed that something was happening at Mr. Campbell's house, just in sight of the fort. Mr. Campbell was a pro-slavery man, and owned slaves. Going over to the house, I found a young lady with an ax in her hands, brandishing it, and declaring that she would kill the first one that attempted to enter the house. A number of the men were disputing with her about entering, but they all knew that she would hurt the first one that offered to go in. Coming up, I told her our only object was to search for arms and border ruffians—nothing else would be disturbed. She said that I might take one man and search the house. We found Mrs. Campbell fanning a beautiful young lady, a sister of the one at the door. She was in bed, and ap-

parently had fainted. I asked what was the matter. Her mother said that she was frightened to death. I informed her that I was a good doctor, and could cure her. Reaching under the clothes, I drew out a fine silver-mounted rifle and a navy revolver. The young lady sprang out of bed, threw her arms around my neck, and begged me not to take them, as they belonged to her cousin in Missouri. I told her that she was better off without them, as they had evidently made her very sick.

"In the evening Lane called us all together and turned the command over to me, and without another word of explanation or advice of any kind he turned, put spurs to his horse, and galloped away toward Topeka, followed by fifteen men. That was the last we saw or heard of him for a long while. When we did hear of him he was building a fort near the falls of the Nemaha. Lane never gave any reason for his strange conduct on that occasion. There we were, 500 men, and in reality with no commander. Not knowing what to do, I marched the men back to camp, and making the best disposition of the plunder that I could, I ordered the men to disband and go home to Lawrence. Most of the men had gone when I left the camp. I started to Mr. Barber's to get some rest, as it had been a long time since I had had any. I had just got there, eaten supper, and retired, when a man rapped on the door and asked me to get up, saying that a fight was going on at Judge Wakefield's. Reaching Wakefield's, I found the Lawrence men and the others that I supposed had gone home, all there on the road in front of Wakefield's in the worst kind of confusion. It seemed that I had scarcely left camp when a messenger arrived with the information that a party of emigrants coming through had lost their way and got into Lecompton, and that they were going to be hung in the morning. Runners had been sent out and everybody brought back. They then started in a mob for Lecompton. Arriving at Wakefield's, the head of the column met Colonel Titus, who had 400 men, coming out to burn Wakefield's house and those of other settlers. A fight at once took place. Titus retreated, with a loss of one killed and several wounded. None of the free-state men were seriously hurt.

"Coming up to the men, I asked them what they intended to do; told them it was utter nonsense to try to rescue the prisoners, for the governor was there, the United States troops were there, and Titus alone had double the number of men that we had. The United States troops, I said, would obey the governor. I told them it was better that fifty men should be shot than that all of them should be cut to pieces. At last I persuaded them to wait until morning, hoping that in the meantime something would happen which would change their minds. It was a night never to be forgotten by me. It had always been our policy not to come in contact with the United States troops. Major Sedgwick, one of our best friends, was in command. His camp was two miles southwest of Lecompton and one mile west of Titus's fort. In a conversation with the major some time before, he stated that if we could attack and capture Titus before the governor sent orders to him that he would not interfere, but that if he got the orders he would be compelled to stop us. As I have said, it was a night of intense anxiety to me. There lay 500 determined men, bound to march to Lecompton in the morning. The governor was prepared by this time and would have troops in readiness to oppose them. It would be certain destruction to attack.

"All that night I slept but little, and kept hoping something would happen to turn them from their mad purpose. Daylight began to break. I could see no way out of the difficulty and had given up all hope, when the stage from Lecompton to Kansas City drove up to the door of my cabin where a number of men were (the balance having camped a short distance away). The driver called

me to one side and asked me whether I wanted to take Titus; that if I did now was the time. He said that in the skirmish of the night before Titus's men had become scattered, and that the greater part of them were in Lecompton, thinking that we were coming there. He further said that Titus had only fifty or sixty men with him. Here was just the thing. I felt satisfied that by the time the men got through with Titus they would not want to go to Lecompton. Mounting my horse, I went to the camp and ordered every man that had a horse to follow me; the rest to stay and cook breakfast, and follow after us. I believed I could take Titus by surprise, and gain an easy victory.

"Arriving near Titus's camp, I counted the men and found there were just fifty. I then divulged the information I had received, and divided them into three squads. I gave ten men to Capt. Joel Grover, with instructions to get between Titus's Lecompton troops and those of the United States, and allow no messenger to go to the camp—all of which he did to the letter, arresting several within sight of the United States camp. I gave ten men to Captain Shombri, with instructions to place his men along a fence that ran in front of Titus's house, and about 200 yards from it. I took the balance of the men, and attacked the camp, a short distance from the house, and drove them out of the grove, so that, when the enemy retreated from the camp to the house, Shombri, with his Sharp's rifles, could rake them. If he had done as he was directed he would in all probability been living to this day, but the moment that we charged the camp Titus was standing in his door, and he called to his men to come into the house. Shombri, seeing the move, mounted his men and dashed up to the door of the blockhouse. There were a number of men already in the house taking aim through the port-holes. When Shombri had advanced to within six feet of them they fired, and at the first round killed the captain and wounded every man but one. A steady fire was opened on us from the blockhouse. We sheltered ourselves as best we could behind trees, fences, and outhouses, and returned the fire, but in a short time we had eighteen out of the forty now comprising the attacking party wounded. At one port-hole there seemed to be stationed a man who was doing the most execution. I ordered some men from behind a stable to fire into it. They informed me that several had tried it, but had been wounded. I got off my horse and took a rifle from one of the men, but just as I got the rifle to my shoulder a musket was stuck out of the hole. Both guns were discharged at once. I do not know what effect my shot had, but I received three buckshot in my breast and a man behind me got eleven. The shock was hard enough to knock us both down, but the wounds were not dangerous. The men jumped and picked me up; then springing up they poured such a hot fire into that hole that there was no more firing out of it.

"The fight was kept up for several hours but without any effect on the fort. At length some reinforcements came in sight, and Captain Bickerton brought the cannon to within 300 yards of the fort and let loose, hitting it nine or ten times, but I soon saw it could not be battered down. Sending some of the men a short distance for a load of hay, we backed it up nearly to the blockhouse and had the torch ready, when a white flag was run out as a token of surrender. Twenty-seven men marched out, six were badly wounded, and one was found dead. Riding up, I asked who was in command. Captain Donelson replied that he was. I inquired as to the whereabouts of Colonel Titus. He answered that he did not know. I was certain that he was in the house and therefore sent several men in to search for him. They could not find him and I sent them again, as I was determined to burn everything. At length the men returned with him. He was all covered with blood, having received several severe wounds. The moment he

was seen a hundred rifles were leveled at his head and he shook like a leaf. Seeing me on my horse he cried, 'For God's sake, Walker, save my life! You have a wife and children; so have I. Think of them and save me.' He was a pitiable object and his appeal touched me. After ordering the arms to be taken out, and everything belonging to the ruffians to be burned, I took Titus into the stable. The men were intent on his life, and I had to knock one fellow down to keep him from shooting the poor wretch on the spot. While I was talking to Titus in the stable the troops outside grew more and more angry, until I began to fear for my own life. I determined to make a last appeal to them, and stepping to the door said: 'Colonel Titus sits here wounded and bleeding. He can make no resistance. I love him as little as you do, but in his present condition I should be ashamed to touch him. But if in the crowd of brave men there is one sneaking and brutal enough to shoot a wounded and defenseless man, let him step up and do the deed.' Thank God, no one offered himself.

"When I came to examine the spoil I found we had 400 muskets, a large number of knives and pistols, thirteen fine horses, a number of wagons, and a fair stock of provisions. Thirty-four prisoners taken. While the house was burning, a man dashed out of it with a satchel in his hand. I snatched it from him and threw it back into the flames. He had it again in a moment and was off. Titus informed me that that satchel contained $15,000 with which he had intended to pay his soldiers off, in a few days. The money was from Virginia. The thief got away with the swag, but it did him little good. He died a miserable death in the far West.

"Having plundered Titus's house in the presence of governor and the troops, my boys felt well satisfied with their morning's work, and willing to leave the rest of Lecompton alive. By this time, 200 or more of the Lane party had come in and were ready to march back to Lawrence. We made quite a show, as we filed slowly out of town, 'escorted' by Major Sedgwick, his troops, and the noble governor, who kept urging the major to attack us. The major declined, however, saying that we were too strong for him.

"When I arrived at my cabin I was at my wit's end once more. Judge Wakefield was there, from whom Titus had stolen a number of horses and cattle, and whom he had abused in other ways time and time again. When the old judge learned that I would not allow Titus to be shot, he made a violent speech, urging his immediate execution. My wife went back on me, too, so to speak, and declared if I did not give the villain up she would never live with me again. This started the boys once more, and it was all I could do to keep order. He would have been torn limb from limb had I not prevented.

"At a little way out from Lawrence I met a delegation sent by the committee of safety with an order for the immediate delivery of Titus into their hands. Knowing the character of the men I refused to give him up. Our arrival at Lawrence created intense excitement. The citizens swarmed around us, clamoring for the blood of our prisoner. The committee of safety held a meeting and decided that Titus should be hanged, John Brown and other distinguished men urging the measure strongly. At four o'clock in the evening I went before the committee, and said that Titus had surrendered to me; that I had promised him his life, and that I would defend it with my own. I then left the room. Babcock followed me out and asked me if I was fully determined. Being assured that I was, he went back, and the committee by a new vote decided to postpone the hanging indefinitely. I was sure of the support of some 300 good men, and among them Captain Tucker, Captain Harvey, and Captain Stulz. Getting this determined band into line, I approached the house where Titus was confined and

entered. Just as I opened the door I heard pistol shots in Titus's room, and rushing in I found a desperado named 'Buckskin' firing over the guards' shoulders at the wounded man as he lay on his coat. It took but one blow from my heavy dragoon pistol to send the villain heels-over-head to the bottom of the stairs. Captain Brown and Doctor Avery were outside haranguing the mob to hang Titus despite my objections. They said I had resisted the committee of safety, and was myself, therefore, a public enemy. The crowd was terribly excited, but the sight of my 300 solid bayonets held them in check.

"On the following day Governor Shannon and Major Sedgwick came to Lawrence to negotiate an exchange of prisoners. They held about thirty of our men and we forty of theirs. It was agreed to 'swap even,' we surrendering all their men, including Titus; they to hand over all of our men and cannon they had captured at the sacking of Lawrence. I insisted very strongly on this last point of the contract, for when the gun was taken I swore I would have it back within six months. I had the pleasure of escorting our prisoners to Sedgwick's camp, and of receiving the cannon and the prisoners held by the enemy there, in exchange. Nothing further occurred of note for some time, until one day I got a message from Major Sedgwick, which read something like this:

"'LECOMPTON,———. *Dear Captain:* I am coming down to-day with 600 men, six pieces of artillery and a United States marshal to arrest you, Sam Tappan, General Lane, and Sam Wood. I shall reach and surround Lawrence at about two o'clock P. M. You fellows had better get into the bush, and stay there till I am gone. Yours fraternally, SEDGWICK.'

"I told the boys what was up. Lane went down and hid on the island, and Wood and Tappan crawled into the Emigrant Aid boiler, which stood below where the jail stands now. At the appointed time the United States troops appeared on Mount Oread. A line of pickets shot off to the north, and then to the south; six cannons were planted along the brow of the hill, and the gunners stood with lighted matches. Presently we saw the marshal and a posse of fifty men riding into town. With him were Captain Wood and Captain Chittenden. The marshal did not know me, and, while he read his warrants aloud to the assembled citizens, I went up and shook hands with the boys, many of whom I knew quite well. The marshal did not get much satisfaction out of that crowd. One told him that Lane had just gone out on the California road with a cannon under each arm; another had seen Wood pulling off down the Kaw toward Kansas City; a third accompanied Walker four miles south the night before, and left him in a haystack there. Presently an egg came whizzing round the corner of Wesley Duncan's store and struck the marshal square in the breast; another, and then another, till the air was full. The fire was too heavy, and so the marshal withdrew. I took supper with Sedgwick that evening, and we had a hearty laugh over the day's proceedings.

"On about the 1st of September, 1856, General Lane, returning from the pursuit of General Read, who fled from Bull creek, determined to release the prisoners at Lecompton. He took 400 infantry and advanced toward the enemy's camp by the river road; the mounted men he gave to me, with orders to ride up on the California road, drive the border ruffians from their camp near Clark's place back to Lecompton, and, if possible, get in between them and the United States encampment. I succeeded in carrying out my intentions to the letter, and drew up in line of battle near Lecompton, where the graveyard is now. Lane marched from Lawrence to Lecompton in three hours, and formed his men on the bluff east of town. His guns commanded everything, and, if he had ordered a general assault at once, he could have easily taken the whole bloody crowd prisoners

back to Lawrence. He preferred, however, to send in an order for those of our prisoners held by the authorities in Lecompton. The town was thoroughly frightened, and we could see them running here and there and some swimming the river to escape.

"By this time Colonel Cooke had arrived on the scene of action, with 600 soldiers and a battery of six guns. When he came in sight of my men he formed four quadrants in line and charged us, sword in hand. I said to my men: 'Sit still and do n't make a move; we have done nothing, and they dare not ride over us.' The colonel, seeing that we were not frightened, called a halt when he got within 100 yards of us, and riding up, he called out to me: 'Walker, what in —— are you doing here?' 'We are after our prisoners,' I replied. 'How many men have you?' 'About 400 foot and 200 horseback.' 'Well, I have 600 men and six cannon, and you can't fight here—except with me.' 'I do n't care a d—— how many men you have; we are going to have our prisoners, or a big fight!' 'Do n't make a fool of yourself, Walker; you can't fight here. Show me to General Lane.'

"We rode off together. As soon as Cooke was seen on the bluff the United States marshal dashed up and ordered him to arrest General Lane and myself, for whom he had warrants. 'Go to ——, or rather go back to your camp,' was the brief but emphatic response. 'I can't go alone; these men will shoot me on sight,' whimpered the marshal. 'I will go with you,' said I. 'I can get you through the lines safe.' Lane had his pickets and skirmishers thrown forward clear into town. Passing through the pickets, they all asked if they might shoot Cramer. The latter was terribly frightened and was as white as a cloth.

"Lane refused to see Colonel Cooke at all, and demanded that the prisoners be given up before he would retire. Cooke rode to Lecompton, and returned, saying that the prisoners would be given up and the militia would disband and go home. As soon as the prisoners arrived at Lane's camp, the general returned to Lawrence and the United States troops returned to camp."

ALMERIN GILLETT.

ALMERIN GILLETT was born in Ontario county, New York, May 24, 1838, and, when three years old, was taken by his parents to Wisconsin, in which state he lived until 1866. He was graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1861, and immediately began the study of law.

In 1862 he was commissioned as captain and raised a company of volunteers, which was accepted as company D, Twentieth Wisconsin infantry, in August of that year. He was wounded at the battle of Prairie Grove, Ark., December 7, 1862; served as ordnance officer of the second division, Thirteenth army corps from October, 1863, till January, 1864; commanded a battalion of mounted infantry at Brownsville, Tex., May and June, 1864; and was chief picket officer of General Granger's command in southern Alabama during the fall and winter of 1864, and received the honor of promotion to major at the muster-out of his regiment, in August, 1865.

After the war he returned to Madison, Wis., and resumed the study of law in the office of Hon. Wm. F. Vilas, and was admitted to the bar in December, 1865.

He was married to Miss Eugenia Chapman, daughter of Doctor Chapman, of Madison, Wis., and in the spring of 1866 removed to Emporia, Kan., and cast his lot with the young and growing West.

His strict integrity, sound sense, good business qualifications and eminent legal ability were readily recognized by the people of Kansas, and he was frequently honored with positions of trust and profit, and rapidly took place among the distinguished men of whom Kansas is justly proud. In 1876 he was chosen state senator from the twenty-fourth senatorial district, consisting of Lyon and Greenwood counties, and served four years with distinguished ability.

In February, 1884, he was chosen by the state executive council to fill the vacancy in the state board of railroad commissioners occasioned by the death of Maj. Henry Hopkins, in which capacity he served until 1889.

In 1889 his wife died, and in the following year he took up his residence in Kansas City, Kan., and opened a law office there; later opening an office in Kansas City, Mo.

In 1893 he was married, in Hutchinson, Kan., to Mrs. Anna B. Zimmerman, a lady of high social position in that city, and thereafter resided in Kansas City, Kan., in the beautiful residence at the corner of Fourth street and Greeley avenue.

The Hutchinson *News* (August 31, 1893) says of him: "With a tall and stalwart frame, and a constitution inherited from a line of hardy ancestors, he deemed himself equal to any exertion, and exhibited the most untiring and indomitable industry, which seemed to increase rather than diminish as the years drew on; and, in addition to the labors imposed upon him as a lawyer of large practice, and by his official positions, he was a man of extensive business affairs, and became interested in lands and cattle." His health was always perfect until his final illness; and he was confined to his home only for three weeks previous to his death, which occurred on May 15, 1896, at the age of fifty-eight years. His body was buried with his first wife at Emporia.

He was a brave, strong, earnest and efficient man, of good heart and unblemished character, useful and honorable in every station in life in which he was placed, and commanded the confidence of the bench and the entire state to an exceptionable degree.

He left a widow, to whom he had been recently married, and three lovely and amiable daughters (Misses Katherine, Frances, and Eugenia), by his first wife, who retain their residence in Emporia and have resided there since the death of their mother.

A. J. ARNOLD.

ANDREW JACKSON ARNOLD, youngest son of Ephraim and Edith Perry Arnold, was born in Columbus, Bartholomew county, Indiana, January 2, 1845. After the death of his father, in 1848, the family removed to Bloomington, for the educational advantages offered. Jack attended the district schools till 1860, when he started to college. Here he remained for nearly two years, when he volunteered for three months' service in the war. After this experience he enlisted in the Second Indiana cavalry, serving till the close of the war, or till his discharge from Andersonville prison.

In 1866 he again entered Indiana University, graduating therefrom in 1868. Immediately thereafter he went into business for himself, and in October, 1869, married Louise, daughter of Prof. M. M. Campbell. Early the following year (1870) they came to Kansas, and located in Topeka. Mr. Arnold bought Doctor Greeno's drug-store, north of the river, and established the business that he continued in for twenty-nine years. In 1893 he took his only son, Edgar C., into full

partnership, the firm being known since as Arnold & Son. During this year Mr. Arnold was appointed postmaster in Topeka, serving until February, 1898. His health began failing about this time, but he rallied until the following spring, when, after three weeks' prostration, he went to his rest, Wednesday, March 29, 1899.

The *Journal* of that date says: "One of Topeka's foremost citizens passes away. Andrew J. Arnold, late postmaster, died at his home, 927 North Jackson street, this morning. As a citizen, Mr. Arnold has long been recognized as a leader, not only in North Topeka, but throughout the city and county. In all public enterprises he was among the foremost. His example has been one of good morals, sobriety, and culture. He was not given to ostentation, but many in lowly walks of life will hold his good deeds in kind remembrance." Other papers testified in similar language to his worth and usefulness.

He was much interested in the work of the Kansas State Historical Society, being a member of its board of directors from 1896 to the time of his death.

In politics Mr. Arnold was a democrat; during the rebellion, a war democrat. But his democracy was of the liberal order. It was not in his nature to be narrow and contracted in anything. He was a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, joining Lincoln Post in December, 1881. After the organization of a post in the first ward he was transferred to its membership. Mr. Arnold was also a Mason and an Odd Fellow. But more than this, he belonged peculiarly to the first ward of Topeka. He was known by everybody, and respected by everybody, and he will be missed by everybody.

The *Capital*, of February 1, 1898, at the expiration of Mr. Arnold's term of office, said: "Topeka has been fortunate in her postmasters, but never more so than in the last four years, under the administration of A. J. Arnold. And the *Capital*, as representing the opposite party, and as being, with the exception of the Santa Fe and Rock Island railroads, the heaviest patron of his office, takes pleasure in giving expression to what we believe is the universal feeling of the business community. Mr. Arnold has devoted himself closely to the details of his duties, and from the day he went into office made it his chief study to become familiar with every department. He made a record of efficiency to which every patron will cheerfully testify."

HENRY HOPKINS.

Written by FLORENCE M. HOPKINS, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

COMING to Kansas when only twenty-four years of age, Henry Hopkins spent the remainder of his life, with the exception of a year and a half, in her service. In a new country, with its institutions still in embryo, the ideas and principles of those in charge of them during their early formative period must have a strong influence in shaping their characters, and Major Hopkins spent sixteen years of his life at the state penitentiary, in the practical study of the problems of penal institutions; and again, as chairman of the first railroad commission in the state, his ideals of honesty and justice must have had some influence. The profound thought and conscientious labor that he expended in his duties certainly entitles him to a remembrance among Kansans.

Henry Hopkins was of English birth, born in Nottingham, England, August 12, 1837; consequently was only forty-six years of age when he died, in the prime of life. His mother died when he was a child only two years old, and very

shortly afterwards his father came to this country and settled in Wilmington, N. C. When he was seven years old his father died, leaving him in the care of a bachelor uncle, who took him to Albion, Ill. This uncle died when he was a boy of twelye or thirteen years of age. Thenceforth he had to make the struggle of life for himself. This fact, no doubt, had its influence in developing the reticence and self-reliance that characterized him; it also gave him a great sympathy with those who had to fight the battles of life single-handed. He had always a strong desire for an education, and made strenuous efforts to achieve a college education, attending for a time the Illinois College, at Jacksonville, but he never graduated.

Always interested in public affairs, his patriotism was profoundly stirred by the startling news of the bombardment of Fort Sumter, April 13 and 14. He, with two or three others, immediately published a call for a public meeting and an appeal for volunteers. The result was the formation of a company for three months' service—so little did the men of that time understand the long struggle they had entered upon. In May this company was in rendezvous at Camp Douglas, Anna, Ill.; but, finding the regiments for that service full, and many of the men who had not made provision for their families for a longer term being unwilling to enlist for three years, they disbanded, and after recruiting others, they came to Kansas in the fall.

In a private letter from Fort Leavenworth, under date of November 12, 1861, Major Hopkins states that his company has been accepted. A member of his company says:

"He succeeded in securing the requisite number of men, making no pledges for positions, as so many of the recruiting officers were doing, and was mustered in as captain, in the then Ninth Kansas cavalry. In obedience to orders from department headquarters, the Ninth moved from Fort Leavenworth in January, 1862, to Quindaro to find winter quarters. There they were employed in protecting the borders of Kansas from bands of bushwhackers under Quantrill. In March they were consolidated with the old Second, under Colonel Mitchell. (A short time after this Colonel Mitchell was promoted to brigadier general.) Ex-Governor Crawford was ranking captain, and Captain Hopkins was second in rank; the latter a young man, unacquainted with the country, was often sent out in command of scouting parties, and soon became known as one of the bravest and best officers in the regiment."

April 16 orders were issued directing the regiment to join the New Mexico expedition, concentrating at Fort Riley. On the 21st they left Shawneetown, Kan., enroute for Fort Riley. The first or second day out Captain Hopkins and 150 men were detailed from the Second Kansas cavalry to report at Fort Leavenworth to man a battery of light artillery. This battery, formerly known as Hollister's, was under the command of an officer of the regular army, and had been sent to Fort Riley to join the New Mexico expedition, but upon reaching Manhattan it was ordered back to Fort Leavenworth, for the purpose of joining a brigade ordered to Tennessee, under the command of Brigadier General Mitchell.

In May the following officers were assigned to duty with this battery: Capt. Henry Hopkins, company B; First Lieut. R. H. Hunt, company I; Second Lieut. John Rankin, company H; and Second Lieut. Joseph Cracklin, second battalion, adjutant. The organization was known thereafter as "Hopkins's battery." They embarked upon a steamer and proceeded down the Missouri river to the Mississippi, then to Columbus, Ky.; from here they marched to Trenton, Tenn., where they received orders for all the troops in that part of the country to join the army of the Potomac. They then marched back again two days in the direction of Columbus, when the order was countermanded, and they again returned to

Trenton, thence to Jackson, by way of Humboldt. It was while they were at Jackson that General Logan, of Illinois, issued his order for doubling his guards to prevent the Kansas troops from stealing negroes. On arriving at Corinth they were assigned to Major General Rosecrans's corps of the army.

About the 1st of August Captain Hopkins and Lieutenants Hunt and Cracklin were relieved from duty and ordered to report to the department of Kansas at Fort Leavenworth, where they were temporarily assigned to duty with the post battery. At the same time the men who remained in Tennessee were mounted, and, under command of Lieutenant Rankin, were sent to Brigadier General Mitchell, at Iuka, Miss , and did not return to Fort Leavenworth until January, 1863. The battery, I believe, was turned over to an Indiana regiment, and thus disappears from Kansas history. The second-mentioned battery, also called "Hopkins's battery," was captured at the hard-fought battle of Old Fort Wayne, Ark., and was the result of much more bravery and pluck than any experience encountered in this inglorious expedition to Tennessee.

In an old letter of Major Hopkins's, written on the 1st day of October, 1862, at Dry Creek, ten miles below Fort Scott, he says: "I had not been in camp two hours after rejoining my regiment before we were ordered on a three days' scout, and, after marching four days and nights on half rations, we were returning to Fort Scott, and met the camp and garrison equipage three miles out, all the troops being ordered to Sarcoxie, Mo., seventy miles southeast."

On the 4th of October they left Sarcoxie and proceeded in the direction of Newtonia, approaching from the north, and, with no knowledge of the route, the regiment moved forward until it encountered the enemy's pickets, who fled at the first approach. At ten A. M. the regiment moved forward at a gallop, and entered the town of Newtonia without seeing a rebel. On the 10th of October, at sunrise, they started for Pea Ridge, or Elkhorn tavern, and again encountered the enemy's pickets and drove them back; but knowing that there was a strong rebel force in the vicinity, the regiment was placed in line of battle, while scouts were sent out in every direction. The night passed with men lying in line of battle in readiness for instant attack. Next day the command moved cautiously forward, as information had been brought in to the effect that the rebel force was over 3000. They reached Cross Hollows just before sunset and took a position a mile back, leaving Lieut. John Johnson in command, with a strong picket of seventy-five men, who were attacked during the night but stood their ground. In the morning they proceeded to within three miles of Holcomb Springs, driving in the enemy's picket, capturing some prisoners, and a number of stands of arms. In this constant skirmishing and watchfulness there was a continued call for courage and endurance; each one felt the dangerous probability of their retreat being entirely cut off. It was a daily test of their bravery and fortitude. On the 21st of the month (October), at four o'clock in the morning, the Second was in advance of the column on the road leading to Maysville, Ark.

On the 22d, half an hour before daylight, they reached a point two miles east of Maysville. For the events of this 22d day of October, 1862, as they personally concerned the subject of this sketch, I will refer to an old letter, written in pencil, with all the boyish enthusiasm of a recent victory. It says:

"On the 22d of October, near ten A. M., an act not often equaled! Without drawing sabers or pistols, having nothing but rifles to fight with (we had them, but did not see fit to use them), we charged on a battery of brag Texan artillery (Howell's battery), supported by two or three thousand troops, took it, and routed the enemy completely, killing and wounding 200 of them, bringing the battery off, losing only eight, killed and wounded, on our side. Six hours passed in a few minutes; but when night came there was a reaction. We had been marching

and 'standing to horse' for two weeks previous, and the whole regiment was worn out; but the boys stood like heroes, while cannon and musket balls were flying thick and fast over and among them like hail. One-fourth of the men were holding the horses—for we were fighting on foot. Slept on the battle-field, and slept soundly."

After this engagement of Old Fort Wayne, as it is called, Captain Hopkins and company D were detached from the regiment, and ordered to man the battery, and this is the first appearance of the Hopkins battery that took part in the battles of the Indian territory, Arkansas, and southwest Missouri. From camp on the battle-ground of Old Fort Wayne the command marched southward, and the battery's first engagement was at Cane Hill, Ark., November 28, 1862. At the battle of Prairie Grove, December 7, 1862, where Generals Blunt and Heron met the confederate force under Hindman, the battery did active service. Twenty days after they took part in the Van Buren engagement.

In January, 1863, Hopkins's battery was assigned to the third or Indian brigade, and ordered to Fort Gibson, Cherokee nation. It remained there until July 17 of the same year, when it participated in the battle of Honey Springs, twenty miles below Gibson. I think it was shortly after this that Captain Hopkins resigned command of the battery to accept promotion as major of the Second Kansas cavalry (October 19, 1863), to date from September 18. Thenceforward it was known as the Third Kansas battery.

After his promotion he joined his regiment and took part in the expedition to Camden, in April, 1864, where it was supposed that General Steele could leave Little Rock and make a junction with General Banks on Red river, who had Kirby Smith in front of him, Price standing ready to come north or go south as occasion might dictate, and Marmaduke left free to worry Steele. To show how severe the service seemed to the union soldiers, I will take an extract from a letter written by Major Hopkins upon their arrival in Little Rock:

"Left Camden on the 25th of April. The twentieth day out we were attacked by the rebels at the crossing of Saline creek, forty miles above Camden. That same night General Steele, learning that quite a body of the enemy had already gotten ten miles start on a parallel road, and contemplated an attack on Little Rock, all available cavalry was ordered to that place in forced marches, in order to reenforce it. Consequently we moved six miles from Steele's command, and commenced our march at eleven o'clock the next day. At sunrise the following morning we heard fighting: as soon as the fighting ceased we moved forward to Waldon, marching sixty miles without halting or eating, reaching Little Rock the next morning. We had marched 135 miles, escorting a train of 500 (half the distance through the swamps), and had but three meals in five days. Never saw such severe service since joining the army. I wrote to you by a man who is appointed lieutenant in my old company, but in the fight and capture of the train below Pine Bluffs he was captured by the rebels. We have had fighting about thirty days in some manner or other."

"P. S.—The whole of Steele's command arrived to-day."

On the 12th of September, 1864, Major Hopkins was sent from Fort Scott to Fort Gibson in command of a supply train of 300 wagons and an escort of 200 men, which was afterwards increased to 600 by the arrival of some Cherokee Indians, under the command of two or three white officers and one Indian officer, Captain Tahala. At twelve o'clock at night, on the 19th of September, at Cabin Creek, Cherokee nation, the enemy, numbering four or five thousand, and six pieces of artillery, under General Gano, opened with artillery upon their lines within 100 yards of their position. Having sent dispatches to the commanding officer at Gibson for assistance, Major Hopkins encouraged the men to hold until daylight; and they fought with a desperation of doomed men, but were compelled to fall back and abandon the train. I shall never forget my fright

and horror on reading the announcement in the papers of this engagement and the reported capture of Major Hopkins and the entire escort, nor the interval of time elapsing before learning of their escape. I happened to be in Cincinnati at the time. Major's report of this engagement may be found in Mr. J. B. McAfee's Military History of Kansas, page 103; also, the reports of Cane Hill, page 450, and Prairie Grove, page 451.

In connection with the affair at Cabin Creek, the following letter, accompanying a very much-soiled and travel-stained major's and captain's commission, may be interesting:

"WICHITA, September 9, 1871.

Maj. Henry Hopkins, Warden State Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kan.:

DEAR SIR—Your note, bearing date of September 5, is received. I send you the papers by my friend, Mr. Charles Miller. I obtained them from one of my men on the occasion of a little dispute concerning the right of possession of one certain wagon train at Cabin Creek, Cherokee Nation, in the late difficulty about state rights. I had several applications for them during my late residence in the nation by parties representing themselves friends of yours, but I refused to give them up to parties I was unacquainted with, hoping to be able to return them directly to you some time. Very respectfully,

A. B. BARNES, *Captain C. S. A.*"

Major Hopkins was mustered out of the service January 19, 1865.

In accordance with an act passed by the legislature in the winter of 1867, the Kansas State Penitentiary was organized. In March of the same year Major Hopkins was appointed deputy warden, and in 1870 Governor Harvey commissioned him warden, which position he filled until his appointment on the board of railroad commissioners, April, 1883.

When he first became identified with the prison, it was simply a stockade, situated on the banks of the creek at the foot of the hill upon which the institution now stands, and at that time not much more than the foundation was in existence, and those taking charge were inexperienced in the management of penal institutions, while the practical questions arising daily called for judgment, discrimination, patience and, above all, firmness. There was a crystallization of ideas and principles going on in the major's mind during these early years that resulted in decided views as to what the form of prison government should be—views founded upon experience and a determination to be just to all parties. When opportunities offered to enlarge his knowledge by other people's experience and thoughts, who were in a like position with himself, he gladly availed himself of them. During the prison congresses held in Cincinnati and New York, he gave very close and thoughtful attention to the various questions discussed by our own and foreign delegates, going with them to the penal institutions within reach. The theories and practical methods of known successful managers became topics of deep study which he combined with his daily experience.

Major Hopkins possessed by nature a quality which greatly aided him in his government of the motley crowd under his jurisdiction, viz., a quick discernment of the character of the man before him. His subordinate officers often said that upon the reception of a prisoner of whom he had previously known nothing, by the time he was described and registered the major had made up his estimation of his character, and assigned his duty accordingly. Nine cases out of ten he was correct. I remember very well a person employed in clerical work in the office, but not a prison official, saying to me, "I often wonder *why* major said thus and so, or gave such and such an order, but before much time has elapsed I see the wisdom of it."

In looking back over this long period of his life in facing criminals, two dominant principles seem to run parallel in his nature—the desire to find some good

to appeal to, and the unflinching determination to have obedience and the strictest discipline.

A prisoner who had been looked upon as incorrigible once said that one of the most solemn impressions of his life was made upon his mind by major's saying: "I intend to use every man here so that I shall not be ashamed to meet him in this world or at the judgment bar of God." This same prisoner afterwards changed his course of conduct, and testified his appreciation of his treatment by writing a letter to the major after his release, inclosing the following poem:

Stern ruler!
Yet gentle as the evening sun
That scorched the tender plant at noon,
But heals in pity ere its race is run.

Cold justice
Is throned upon thy brow, but mercy's vine
Winds round and round the throne its gentle flower,
Not withered by the rod of power or lapse of time.

Dead speaker!
Were tongues unused, thy acts would tell of more
And deeper love for erring man,
Than all the written words of love.

Man lover!
Thy kindness as the rains of heaven fall,
Not gauged by lines of caste or birth,
But spread, God-like, on all.

God fearer!
No thrill of shame nor blush thy face shall mar
When ruled and ruler meet on earth,
Or at God's judgment bar.

Truth seeker!
Not mere report or outward show
Stays thy keen search to learn the man;
For all thy study is the truth to know.

Live on, kind heart, unchanged in way;
Thy love acts will outlive decay;
Live on, and serve thy land and state,
And help to make the nation great.

Live on, "to lift the man that's down,"
And win thyself a royal crown.

Live on; thy virtuous home defend,
That none may steal this priceless friend.

Live on, in strength, until thy hair
Be as the robes that angels wear.

And when the ruthless hand of time
Shall bind the deathless sheaf of time,

May the boat with the muffled oar,
That bears it to the star-lit shore,

Find an entrance through the gate
Which thy Saviour calleth "straight."

Thy victory won, all trials o'er,
Rest thou in peace forevermore.

Although a quiet man, of few words, he was energetic and executive, and it required these characteristics to keep the varied machinery of this little kingdom in running order. So systematically and monotonously was carried on the massive work of building a wall twenty-four feet high and four feet thick on three sides of the prison inclosure, and a warden's building and cell house on the remaining side, that the immense labor involved was scarcely realized: the stone to be quarried and the brick to be made and burned on the premises.

But the time came with the passing years when the nearing completion of these buildings made the question, What shall be done to make the prison self-sustaining? a very important consideration to the warden. A few prisoners were employed by contractors, but quite a surplus remained; and there were strong prejudices in the minds of the people at large against employing prisoners in the various trades, thus bringing them in competition with other laborers; some even favored shutting them up in idleness.

In the fall of 1878 the idea of sinking a coal-shaft began to suggest itself, and one evening in September or October of that year major talked it over in a social way with one of the directors, and they presented their views to the full board the next morning. It meeting with their cordial approval, they consulted Governor St. John, who suggested that the legislature appoint a committee to consider the question. Of course all was not smooth sailing; although the state was very fortunate in the selection of a committee, there were unbelievers and croakers, and it was a period of great anxiety.

I well remember the excitement and restlessness we felt, as the men working in the shaft neared the end of the 600 feet, where it was supposed they would find the coal. It was a sleepless night as far as the warden was concerned, and there was rejoicing and relief when some large pieces about two feet square were brought to the surface. Early the next morning a fine, large specimen was sent up to the legislature, which was then in session.

In a personal sketch such as this, extending over so many years, there is necessarily no space for many facts and events that might have interest and throw light on the character and ability of one entrusted by this state with such large financial interests.

In a social way, the persons who were friends and guests of the institution, partaking of its hospitalities at various times, would include governors, judges, members of the legislature, men noted in Kansas politics, orators and writers, whose personnel would make several chapters in Kansas history, many of whom have now gone over to the great majority.

In April, 1883, the executive council, which was invested with the power of selecting the members of the railroad commission, under the new law creating such a body, met in the office of the secretary of state, organized in form, and unanimously elected the board, as follows:

For three years, Henry Hopkins, of Lansing.

For two years, James Humphrey, of Junction City.

For one year, L. L. Turner, of Sedan.

One of the most surprising peculiarities of this council session was the fact that all its proceedings were compressed into a page of manuscript.

A prominent editor of the state, in his comments upon the selection of this board, says of Major Hopkins: "He is one of the best-known men in the state. His administration of the trust committed to him as chief officer of the state's correctional institution has proved him to be a man of sound judgment and high order of ability. He is of mature years; has not reached the age when physical and mental powers begin to decay, nor will he for some time to come. The highest

possible tribute to his character is found in the fact that he has been called from an office of responsibility and great importance to another office surrounded by peculiar difficulties, because of the fact that it is connected with the putting in operation a new law from which great things are hoped for by a large part of the people of the state." At the same time the Hiawatha *World*, in its frank, characteristic fashion, remarks that the officials under this new law "would have the liveliest chance ever offered in Kansas to make the golden rule a part of our railway policy. We wish them joy! If they do their duty they will earn their salaries; but the law and the man are likely to be changed many times before justice is secured." Of Major Hopkins it says: "He has long been tried in a difficult place as an executive officer. He is a strong, practical man. He, too, will be more tempted than he ever was before. An unruly convict can be shut up. To deal with Jay Gould is not so easy."

To those who had knowledge of the facts, this board had to contend with a state of affairs more difficult to manage than attacks upon their integrity. Many railroad men took the position that the legislature of the state had no more right to attempt to regulate rates than it had to regulate the prices farmers charge for their corn and wheat, and that this new railway law passed by the legislature was an act of public robbery. On the other hand, another party declared that all railroads were public robbers, their owners thieves, their managers rascals, and, in their opinion, the state should seize and control them. The commissioners found themselves between the "upper and nether millstones" of antagonistic parties. The position that the state was stronger than the corporations it had created, and its duty and right were to see that the corporation did not oppress or wrong its citizens, made the commission a sort of arbitration court, and the problem of justice to both parties was a difficult and profound study, involving a knowledge of cost of construction, indebtedness, bulk of traffic, salaries paid employees, etc. That major gave serious study to the solutions of these questions, is testified to by an official of the Santa Fe railroad, who, after major's death, said:

"There is no question about it, the man killed himself by hard work. Conversing with him at the Copeland hotel, I put to him a proposition regarding freight tariffs between competing points, and asked a solution regarding the matter. He passed his hand wearily through his hair and replied that he had labored hard upon that very proposition, and was giving himself little rest, but the matter was too deep for early mastery. 'This freight business,' he said, 'cannot be understood by any commissioner the state may pick up and put in office. It requires study, and in order to compete with the railroad officials with whom we come in contact, upon such questions as you have just propounded, one must understand the matter as thoroughly as they do. This is impossible without constant effort.'"

The mistaken idea of duty urged him on in the performance of his public obligations at the time when his failing health should have warned him that he needed medical treatment and entire rest, and he was prostrated by a malarial typhoid fever from which he never recovered. He passed away from earth December 18, 1883.

That his name is something more than a passing memory is evidenced by the following mention written at the time of the organization of the Henry Hopkins Post:

"The charter of Henry Hopkins Post No. 301, G. A. R., was yesterday sent from Topeka to Stafford, Stafford county. In making application for the charter and claiming the name, the members of the post said: 'We have named our post Henry Hopkins Post, after our late lamented Major Hopkins, hoping that no other post is ahead of us in name, as this was our special pride to name our

post in honor of him, recognizing in him a straightforward, pure man, with large ability.' "

It has been said of Major Hopkins: "Although the services he performed for this state were of incalculable value, his name seldom occurs in our public annals." This is undoubtedly true; but there never lived a man more deeply or devotedly loved in his own home or whose memory is more sacredly cherished. He was a man of whom it could be said:

"Love took up the harp of life, and smote on all the chords with might;
Smote the chord of self, that, trembling, passed in music out of sight."

THOMAS A. OSBORN.

Written by CHARLES S. GLEED for the Kansas State Historical Society.

THOMAS A. OSBORN was born in Meadville, Pa., October 26, 1836, and died in the same city February 4, 1898. He was educated in the common schools, and learned the printer's trade. He came to Lawrence, Kan., in November, 1857, and began work on the *Herald of Freedom* as compositor, assistant foreman, and temporary editor. One of his co-workers on the paper was Preston B. Plumb. These two young men were destined to travel side by side in a most conspicuous manner through a long and eventful chapter in the history of their adopted state.

Young Osborn went to Doniphan county from Lawrence, in the spring of 1858. He doubtless carried with him in his pocketbook a pleasant little clipping from the *Herald of Freedom* of March 13, in which the editor thanked him for his editorial work on the paper. Within one year after his arrival in Doniphan county he appeared as a candidate for the legislature, and in December was elected state senator. His associates in the senate were men who were to be seen and heard of much in the future history of the state. Among them were J. P. Root, E. P. Bancroft, J. C. Burnett, H. B. Denman, P. P. Elder, H. W. Farnsworth, O. B. Gunn, S. D. Houston, John A. Martin, Josiah Miller, Robert Morrow, S. N. Wood, John J. Ingalls, and Jacob Stotler.

In 1862 Osborn was elected president *pro tem.* of the senate over John J. Ingalls. In the same year the republican state convention nominated him for lieutenant-governor over John J. Ingalls and George A. Crawford, who were also candidates. He was elected in November, and presided over a senate in which were Cassius G. Foster, Sol. Miller, Byron Sherry, S. M. Strickler, and D. M. Valentine.

In 1863 he presided over a convention at Paola in which a resolution was adopted asking the removal of Generals Ewing and Schofield and the establishment of a new military department.

In April, 1864, he was appointed United States marshal for the district of Kansas.

On May 12, 1866, his name appears as an organizer and director of the Northern Kansas Railroad Company, at Hiawatha. His associates were E. N. Morrill, Samuel Lappin, Frank H. Drenning, W. B. Barrett, David E. Ballard, Samuel Speer, George Graham, John E. Smith, and Edwin C. Manning.

In 1867 he was removed from the UnitedStates marshalship because he was opposed to the policy, or lack of policy, of President Johnson. This advanced him in the love and esteem of his fellow citizens.

In 1868 he served on the republican state central committee, with such rising

young men as George W. Martin, B. F. Simpson, P. P. Elder, J. M. Spencer, and M. M. Murdock.

On September 4, 1872, he was nominated for governor, over John M. Price, John C. Carpenter, Charles V. Eskridge, R. B. Taylor, and George W. Smith. Following are extracts from his first message to the legislature:

"Our vote at the late election was larger than the vote of either of the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Nebraska, Nevada, Oregon, South Carolina, West Virginia, California, or Minnesota—larger than the vote of any New England state except Massachusetts, and larger than the combined vote of Nebraska, Delaware, Nevada, Rhode Island, and Oregon.

"In 1862 not a a mile of railroad was in operation in the state. Now we have 2039 miles in actual operation, while several new roads are in process of construction. Kansas has more miles of railroad than either of the twenty-six states named below: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, California, Oregon, and Nevada. Of all the Southern states which opposed the admission of Kansas into the union, only one, Georgia, has more miles of railroad. She exceeds us but sixty-nine miles, and will not lead us many weeks longer."

In January, 1873, when the thirteenth annual session of the Kansas legislature began, Osborn was governor; A. L. Williams was attorney-general; D. W. Wilder, auditor; S. S. Prouty, state printer; Edward Russell, superintendent of insurance; and Messrs. Kingman, Brewer, and Valentine, judges of the supreme court. In this year the governor induced the president to remove all troops from the Cherokee neutral lands. In 1874 the governor received many votes for United States senator, ex-Governor Harvey receiving the election. In the same year he was renominated for governor, over James C. Horton, W. H. Smallwood, and George T. Anthony. In 1874 the governor called a special session of the legislature.

In 1875 Osborn was governor and some of his associate officers were: Thomas H. Cavanaugh, secretary of state; D. W. Wilder, auditor; Samuel Lappin, treasurer; Gen. John Fraser, superintendent of instruction; A. M. F. Randolph, attorney-general; George W. Martin, printer; Orrin T. Welch, superintendent of insurance, and Alfred Gray, secretary of the state board of agriculture.

In 1875 Kansas was a sufferer, and was an object of charity. Crop failures, the plague of grasshoppers, etc., had driven the poor settlers of the frontier into very close quarters and terrible suffering was the result. A committee for the collection and distribution of relief supplies was formed, and money to the amount of $73,863.47 was distributed, together with over 15,000 packages of food and clothing, and $20,000 worth of army clothing and $75,000 worth of army rations. This committee carried through this magnificent work without error and without scandal, and their success was largely due to the splendid assistance given by Governor Osborn. In concluding its work the committee adopted the following resolutions:

"The contributions by the railroad and express lines of the country, in the way of free transportation of freights, have probably amounted to fully $100,000, and should be gratefully acknowledged. The Kansas Pacific and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe roads, over which most of our supplies have been transported, estimate their free freights in this behalf at $25,000 for the former, and $35,000 for the latter. The express lines, particularly that of Wells, Fargo & Co., have been equally liberal; and the Western Union Telegraph Company has generously allowed us the free use of its lines to an unlimited extent throughout the state.

"The committee did not expect or desire to have anything to do with the matter of supplying the impoverished victims of the last season's plague with

field and garden seeds for spring planting. The failure of the legislature to provide for this contingency, however, made it necessary for somebody to make an effort in that direction; and it was therefore decided in general meeting of the committee, early in March, to devote all remaining funds to that object. The result is exhibited in detail in the schedules of purchases and shipments on this account. The amount expended for seeds was about $20,000. The purchases were made in Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri, of the best qualities and at the lowest possible prices. The average rate paid for seed corn was sixty-five cents per bushel, and for seed potatoes one dollar per bushel, delivered at Topeka. We desire, in this connection, to acknowledge the receipt of liberal donations of garden seeds from the Plant Seed Company, St. Louis; John Kern, St. Louis; Geo. S. Haskell & Co., Rockford, Ill.; Henry Mitchell, St. Louis, and James Vick, Rochester, N. Y. . . .

"The books, papers and correspondence of the committee have been arranged in convenient shape for preservation and reference, and deposited for safe-keeping with the secretary of state, where they will be open for all time to the inspection of anybody who may have leisure or inclination to examine them. These documents embrace a complete account in detail of all the committee's seven months' labor, including vouchers for every transaction, large and small, from the beginning to the end of the gloomy period of poverty and helplessness which made this humiliating work a necessity.

"We were under special obligations to Hon. Thomas A. Osborn, governor of the state, for his hearty and helpful coöperation with us, and to the other state officers, and the officers of the various counties, for valuable counsel and assistance. Our grateful thanks are also due to Gen. James S. Brisbin, U. S. A.; Gen. N. B. Baker, adjutant general of Iowa; Hon. J. J. Valentine, superintendent of Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express Company, and Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York *Tribune*, for services rendered in procuring and forwarding contributions of money and supplies. The newspaper press of Kansas and the country generally is likewise entitled to conspicuous mention for aid extended in furtherance of our undertaking. And, finally, we desire to express the earnest acknowledgments of this committee and of the stricken thousands of our citizens to the people of the United States for their generous sympathy and their prompt and liberal benefactions."

In 1875 the governor presided over the ceremony of opening the new Missouri river bridge at Atchison. Among those in attendance were Gen. B. F. Stringfellow, John J. Ingalls, Senator Harvey, James N. Burnes, Gen. James Craig, Will L. Visscher, and O. B. Gunn, who was chief engineer of the bridge.

In 1875 misconduct was discovered on the part of State Treasurer Samuel Lappin. Governor Osborn, with great promptness and rare good judgment, took possession of the treasury, put the vaults under seal, secured the resignation of the treasurer, and thus made sure of the safety of the state's funds and valuables. When the legislature convened in 1876, it passed a resolution thanking the governor for his course in the Lappin matter.

In April, 1876, the supreme court of the United States decided the Osage ceded land case in favor of the settlers on the land. This case had been fought out in line with Governor Osborn's suggestions, George R. Peck having charge of the litigation for the settlers.

In 1877 Osborn was again supported by a strong faction for the United States senate, but Plumb was elected. In the same year Osborn was appointed minister to Chili, leaving for his post of duty June 21 of that year. In 1880 he presided over the peace conference on board the United States steamship Lackawanna, to secure peace between the governments of Chili on the one side and Peru and Bolivia on the other. Later he was promoted to a more important position in the government service, being made minister to Brazil.

In 1881 he received the public thanks of the government of Chili for having settled the very delicate question of the boundary between Chili and the Argen-

tine Republic. This work received much praise at home as well as among those directly interested in South America.

When Governor Osborn returned from his protracted stay in South America he settled in Topeka and took up a quiet business life, giving only such attention to political matters as one in his position and with his experience would naturally bestow. Most of his time was given to business enterprises. For this he showed an especial aptitude. It is not often that one whose life has been spent in active politics can so readily become a man of skill in business affairs. Governor Osborn, however, was recognized as an especially capable banker, and his ventures in real estate, mining, town building and stock investments were almost without exception successful.

When the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company was about to be reorganized, Governor Osborn was selected to be one of the directors of the company, and this selection was afterwards approved by the reorganizers of the company, who continued him as a director of the new company. In this position Governor Osborn continued until his death. This latter event occurred while he was on his way from a meeting of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe directors in New York to his home in Topeka. He had stopped at his birthplace and old home in Meadville for a visit among friends, when he was suddenly attacked, in his room at the hotel, with a hemorrhage which resulted fatally within a few hours. The funeral was held in Topeka, from the First Methodist Episcopal Church, which was filled with a large audience of mourning friends and admirers. The interment took place in the cemetery at Topeka, to which resting-place the governor's wife had some years before been borne. Mrs. Osborn was the daughter of Judge Mark W. Delahay, who was appointed judge of the United States district court for the district of Kansas by President Lincoln. One son, Edward D. Osborn, survives his parents and continues a resident of Topeka.

Thomas A. Osborn was a patient, quiet, magnanimous and imperturbable man, who wasted no strength in useless excitement and no time on revenges. He readily forgot hostilities but never forgot favors. He was always companionable, liked giving other people a fair show, took defeat good naturedly, and in all his work, public and private, brought to bear a singularly level and well-balanced judgment. His extended travel in South America and Europe, his wide experience with all classes of people, his continued prominence and responsibility in affairs of the utmost importance, his experiences in the appointment of very large numbers of men to positions of power and responsibility, all combined to develop his naturally broad and liberal nature and render him one of the most charming of men. Kansas had scarcely a public man who had not been directly or indirectly under the governor's influence. He appointed more men to office than any other Kansas official, and was, from first to last, found on the right side of more public questions that almost any other citizen of like prominence. His part in the early affairs of the state will gain in importance in the public mind more and more as time passes.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

VALUE OF LOCAL HISTORY, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF PRESERVING IT.

By William E. Connelley.

I SHALL notice but two topics of this subject: (1) Genealogy: (2) Personal recollections of individuals. Genealogy is now recognized as one of the most important branches of history. It is receiving great and increasing attention in all the states east of the Mississippi. In the West it is no longer considered a disgrace or a misfortune of even of no importance to be descended from an ancient and honorable family. We have our societies composed of descendants of revolutionary soldiers and sailors, and it is an honor to be able to show by the records that one is eligible to membership in them. It is an honor to be able to show that one is entitled to membership in the Sons of the Veterans and Volunteers of the War of the Rebellion. It is a matter of pride to our young men when they can say that they are native Kansans. It is a matter of pride, too, to be able to say that one came to Kansas in the fifties, or even the sixties. In the coming years our children will point to such facts with commendable dignity and self-respect. The soldiers of the Spanish war are forming themselves into societies as rapidly as they are mustered out. To keep an accurate and plain record of all the descendants of these people is one of the offices of genealogy. Another of its offices is to trace a family or an individual back and determine his ancestors. I believe that librarians will tell you that they have an increasing demand for genealogical records. If one can trace his ancestry back through several generations of honest and patriotic people, it is some guarantee that he will not go far wrong in his life; it becomes an inspiration to him. He is given a place to maintain in society; he does not wish to fall behind his ancestors in position; it is an incentive to exertion and effort. Ask your physician the tremendous power of heredity.

It is not meant to convey the idea that one descended from a revolutionary soldier or a soldier of the civil war, or any officer, civil or military, is of better blood or entitled to superior consideration by society than one descended from an honest family that has no claim to distinction. A man may be descended from even a dishonest father and still be an honest and honorable man; the West recognizes and concedes that fact much more readily than the East. Such a man would have the character of his ancestry to contend with, and it would be an obstacle in his path all his life. It is meant to say here that one descended from an honorable ancestry has a *prima facie* case of his honorable character made up for him; some fail to maintain it.

The personal recollections of individuals are of the first consequence to the history of a country. They are not to be confounded with history; they are the materials from which history is written — the foundation of history, or one of the foundations. I believe the importance of this feature of my subject will be conceded, and that it is not necessary to devote time to proving it; it is, too, so well understood that no time need be taken to explain it.

As illustrating, though, the nature of the facts valuable to history, I will cite an instance in my recent experience. In preparing my sketch in the life of Gen. James H. Lane, I found that all the histories said he was in the East at the time Lawrence was sacked first, in May, 1856. I could find nothing upon which the histories based their statement. While my search was not exhaustive, I found nothing to support the statement. There was nothing to do but to follow what all said. When the work was in press I chanced to meet Hon. Albert Griffin and mentioned this point. Mr. Griffin immediately cleared the whole matter for me. He was present at the meeting in Chicago addressed by Lane on the 31st day of May. He informed me that Lane did not leave Lawrence until the town had been destroyed; that he escaped in disguise on a boat down the Missouri river; that at the meeting he wore a portion of the disguise, consistiug of a blue flannel shirt, open at the throat, and a pair of tall boots into which his trousers were stuffed. If Mr. Griffin had only recorded his recollections of those days in the archives of the Historical Society, history would have been correctly written; it is hoped that he will write out some account of his long and useful life in Kansas and his recollections of the pioneers.

Another point in this same matter came up. Mr. Speer, in his "Life of General Lane," leaves it uncertain as to where he intended to settle in Kansas; he intimates that it was by the merest chance that he came to or stopped at Lawrence. I read in the *Capital* of recent date that a Topeka pioneer came up from St. Louis on the boat with Lane when he was first coming to the territory. He advised Lane to turn from his intention to settle at Leavenworth and to go to Lawrence. If I remember rightly, the gentleman's name is Armstrong, and he owes it to history to write out his recollections of General Lane, and all the other pioneers, and place them in the collections of the State Historical Society.

I have used these incidents to show how vital to history are matters which seem insignificant in themselves. If a reputable witness says in a letter or any sort of record that he saw a certain man at a certain place at a certain time, his statement is worth all the theory of all the historians of the country. You can never tell what fact is going to become vital in the writing of history, and for that reason all facts should be preserved. No two men can make the same record of any event, and we get facts from one that the other omits.

I desire to call your attention to the importance of keeping diaries. Many of the facts of history rest upon the statements made in diaries of private individuals and public officials. Five hundred years from now the daily life of the present will be as much a mystery as is the private life of a bygone age to us. It is in such diaries as I urge that the small things of life are recorded, and as time passes these small matters are lost in the ever-changing customs of a people. This makes these diaries works of worth, and their value increases with every year of their age. When the Wyandot Indians came to Kansas a number of their men were educated; they realized the necessity of making some record of their daily life. Two of them have left us records of this character, of this highest import and gravity. These men were Gov. William Walker and Abelard Guthrie. The Wyandots made the first efforts to establish a government here in Kansas, and this effort at government building would have remained unknown to us had not Governor Walker kept a diary of the things he considered of serious signification. This record has become of so much value historically that I have published it in a volume entitled "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," the country then being known as Nebraska down to the Indian territory. Those competent to judge say that it is one of the most valuable historical works yet published in relation to Kansas.

Many of you here to-day have lived in Kansas from the first days of its settlement. If you have not kept diaries of your experiences during all these years, you are urged to now begin the work of committing those experiences to paper. I will venture the assertion that the people in this room are in possession of historical facts of the very first consequence to the history of the state which have never been recorded anywhere. This is a momentous matter. You get much pleasure and companionship from your association together as a Society; it is entirely proper that you should. But to come here to meet and greet old-time friends and have a pleasant hour is the least part of your duties and your responsible obligations; you owe it to posterity and the future generations of the state to leave a written statement of your experiences in building this powerful and intelligent commonwealth. I suggest a skeleton plan for use in the writing of these reminiscences, and this is intended as *only* a suggestive outline; it is to be hoped that very many of you will make a record much larger than the adherence to its topics will permit.

1.—Make a complete genealogical register of your family:

(*a*) Begin as far back as possible; include all collateral branches of the family. In this record give dates of births, marriages and deaths of every and all members of the family, from as far back as you can obtain the information down to the present hour.

(*b*) Without fail give the state in which each was born, married, moved to, or died in.

2.—Make a narative of your own life: make it full and complete. Bring out all the points:

(*a*) Where born; when born; all removals of parents; your education; your occupations; marriage.

(*b*) Your coming to Kansas: (1) When did you come? (2) Why did you come? (3) Incidents of the journey.

3.—Your settlement in Kansas:

(*a*) Where did you settle first:

(*b*) Give date of settlement; removals; why you settled there; why you removed; your occupations; how you obtained your land; what it cost you; what you got for it; your progress in subduing the soil, etc., etc.

(*c*) Your neighbors. (Give all the information you can about each one of them.)

4.—Your recollections of important events and public men:

(*a*) Events in chronological order (full).

(*b*) Official courses of public men.

(*c*) Reminiscences of public men.

(*d*) Reminiscences of your neighbors all along since coming to Kansas.

File these papers in the archives of the State Historical Society. If you can get your local papers to publish them, do so by all means. The newspapers are the great mirrors of our public and private life. Most of them are eager to obtain just such material for publication as I have suggested. The Leavenworth *Advertiser* is now publishing a series of letters written by that grand old pioneer, Hon. H. Miles Moore. These letters are so valuable that many people over the state are taking that paper to preserve for the sake of the historical information contained in it. I may say that the *Jeffersonian Gazette*, of Lawrence, is doing a grand work in the same line. It is to be hoped that other papers over the state are doing the same. I have found those I here refer to of much value

to me in my work. The Leavenworth *Advertiser* has a standing notice that it will pay a small sum for all information of the kind that it can use. Those papers not engaged in this particular work will find here a means to become popular in their home counties and well known over the state. I find the papers of Topeka so valuable that I cut many pieces of historical worth from them.

Do not wait until you have completed your record to send it in. Write a few days, and when you have completed any branch of work send to the secretary of the State Historical Society.

There are some pioneers who cannot write on account of infirmity. A committee should be appointed to wait upon these, and take their statements. This committee should consist of your most enthusiastic members. They should be those having time and leisure, if you have such. They can enlist young people as scribes, if they go about it in the right way. Utilize every one and every means in this important work. Let nothing escape. I have one book full of inscriptions taken from tombstones, and I wish to suggest that much information can be preserved if the old graveyards are visited, and the monuments studied and their inscriptions copied. When I was a boy I rarely joined the other boys in play; I never did if there was an old lady or gentleman whom I could visit and converse with. I sought out all the old people in our country, and obtained all the information they could give about the early settlement of eastern Kentucky, where I was born and grew up. I have the only information in existence about the settlement of that portion of my native state.

Encourage your children to collect such material; it will teach them to write well. The foundations of great careers in literature or journalism may be laid in this work. The material for romance exists in every school district in the state. In the preservation of the local history of the state, your children may become interested in the data which they may later develop into polite literature.

TOPEKA AND HER CONSTITUTION.

An address by Gov. Charles Robinson, before the Kansas Historical Society, February 26, 1877.

IN my schoolboy days I remember reading a legend giving an account of a person who had been made the sport of the gods and had led a turbulent life. At length he found rest on the Libyan shores. At a feast given by the queen she called upon him to recount the incidents of a certain struggle in which he had figured conspicuously. He replied:

> "Great queen, what you command me to relate
> Renews the sad remembrance of our fate;
> An empire from its old foundation rent,
> And every woe the Trojans underwent;
> A peopled city made a desert place.
> All that I saw, a part of which I was,
> Not even the hardest of our foes could hear,
> Nor stern Ulysses tell without a tear."

Now, while Topeka and her constitution claim no relationship to the gods, as did the hero of this legend, she can truthfully say with reference to the founding of a state in Kansas, "All of it I saw and a part of it I was"; and no person could hear or tell, unmoved, all the experiences of her citizens while the old territorial government was from "its foundations rent," and its capital city, Lecompton, made a desert place. First in order in the formation of a state is

population. Men are wanted, and especially was this the case in making a state in Kansas. The daily prayer was:

> "God give us men. A time like this demands
> Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;
> Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
> Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
> Men who possess opinion and a will;
> Men who have honor—men who will not lie;
> Men who can stand before a demagogue,
> And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;
> Tall men—sun-crowned, who live above the fog
> In public duty and in private thinking."

In answer to this prayer, a party of men and women arrived at Lawrence in the latter part of November, 1854. A committee of the party was selected to traverse the territory, in company with the agent of the Emigrant Aid Company and find a suitable site for a city. That committee, some in the carriage of the Emigrant Aid Company and some on horseback, went up the Kaw valley as far as Fort Riley, and thence south and east through the better portion of the territory then open to settlement. On returning to Lawrence, the committee had seen so many desirable places they were completely confused, and left the territory without selecting any. On consultation with the company's agent, and upon his advice, four or five of the men started for the place now known as Topeka. They were to go without observation and secure the site before the pro-slavery men could guess their destination. In a few days the remainder of the party were to follow. A short time before the arrival of this party from the East a gentleman appeared in Lawrence, hailing from the state of Pennsylvania, with good looks and good address, a smooth, if not oily tongue, and store clothes. He was selected by the agent of the aid company as a suitable person to superintend the building of the capital city of the future state. Subesquent developments have demonstrated the wisdom of the choice; for whether Diogenes with his lantern might or might not pass him by in his researches, no one will question that for city building C. K. Holliday stands without a rival.

The founders of this republic landed on Plymouth Rock and commenced operations in the month of December, and the same month of the year witnessed the laying of the foundation of the capital city of the queen state of the West. The hardships and privations of the ensuing winter well prepared the pioneers for the part they were destined to take in the great work before them. A position among stars of the first magnitude, whether for states, cities, or individuals, can only be obtained by surmounting obstacles. The rougher the road the more vigorous the traveler; and, in fact, as we read, none are regarded as worth saving in the final accounting except such as come up through great tribulation.

In the brief sketch possible on this occasion, it is not intended to record the history of Topeka except some events in connection with the constitution bearing her name, the old "blood-stained banner" of '56.

That constitution had its conception in the invasion from Missouri at the election of the 30th of March, 1855. As is well known, our ballot-boxes were invaded, and a legislature foreign to the territory inaugurated at the Shawnee Mission, near Westport, Mo. In the proclamation for that election, all contests and objections must be made within four days. The testimony had to be taken in due form and delivered on the east line of the territory within that time or the certificates would be issued to the usurpers. The governor (Reeder), fearing force would be used to compel an issue of certificates to persons not elected, sent to Lawrence for citizens to afford him protection. A sufficient number went down

duly armed and equipped. We demanded of the governor that he should set aside the entire election, on the ground of invasion of the polls in nearly all the voting precincts. Nothing short of this would enable the territory to have a legislature of its own citizens, in accordance with the organic act. To this demand he turned a deaf ear.

From that moment one person, at least, advocated, in season and out of season, repudiation of the entire outfit, knowing full well that, if once recognized, this legislature would fasten slavery upon the territory, and their own rule indefinitely. He accused the governor, who professed to be in favor of free state and honest government, of betraying the interests of the people. Some defended the governor's motives, and insisted that he meant all right, etc. They were told that if he intended to do justice he must repudiate this legislature sooner or later, and the proper time to do so was at the election, by refusing certificates. The governor thought otherwise, but soon saw his mistake. The legislature was called to meet at Pawnee, the then capital of the territory, turned out all the free-state members elected to fill vacancies in contested cases, and adjourned to the Shawnee Mission. The governor took this occasion to disown the legislature, and repudiated its acts as illegal and void.

Between the time of the election, on the 30th of March, and the meeting of the legislature, July 2, diverse opinions prevailed among the people relative to the policy to be adopted. Some were repudiators from the start; some wanted to wait for further light; some were ready to indorse the legislature, whether frauds might have been practiced, and some favored the organization of the democratic party as a remedy for all difficulties.

The repudiators held meetings at Lawrence on the 8th and 25th of June, and resolved that they had a right to regulate their own domestic affairs, and, by the help of God, would do it; that they were not bound to observe any laws passed by the bogus legislature about to assemble, and, to the threats of war from Missouri, they said: "We are ready."

The democrats also met at Lawrence, with Col. Jas. H. Lane as chairman, on the 27th of June. They resolved that the best interests of Kansas required the early organization of the democratic party upon truly national grounds, and they fully indorsed the democratic platform of 1852. The 4th of July came and with it the first celebration, when nearly 2000 people assembled near Lawrence to indorse anew the declaration of their fathers. The orator of the day left no one to doubt his position. He said: "Let every man stand in his place and acquit himself like a man who knows his rights, and, knowing, dares maintain them. Let us repudiate all laws enacted by foreign legislative bodies or dictated by Judge Lynch over the way. Tyrants are tyrants, and tyranny is tyranny, whether under the garb of law or in opposition to it. So thought and so acted our ancestors, and so let us think and act."

The expelling of the free-state members from the legislature did much to prepare the way for the movement for a constitutional convention. On their return to Lawrence, a meeting was held July 11, at which this proposition was urged, and a call issued for a convention to be held August 14, to further consider the matter. That convention denounced the Shawnee Mission legislature, repudiated its authority, and resolved to resist its enactments. It also recommended the Big Springs convention for September 5.

While this convention was in session a call was issued, signed "Many Citizens," for a convention irrespective of party, to be held the next day, the 15th of August, to consider the matter of a constitutional convention. This convention called another, to consist of three delegates from each representative district,

to meet at Topeka, September 19, "then and there to consider and determine upon all subjects of public interest, and particularly upon that having reference to the speedy formation of a state constitution, with an intention of an immediate application to be admitted into the union of the United States of America." The historian says that this was really the starting-point in fixing the capital at Topeka, and that it was brought about through the influence of Mr. C. K. Holliday, in the committee of business.

The convention of the 14th of August was the first free-state convention participated in by General Lane. He came to Kansas a democrat, having voted in congress for the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and he was loath to abandon the democratic party. He insisted that President Pierce was a free-state man, and would give his right arm to insure freedom to the territory. General Lane at this time had a great dislike for abolitionists, and would only commit himself in favor of a free state on condition it should be a free white state. He said at this meeting that, if Kansas had been a good hemp and tobacco state, he would have favored slavery, but as it was not, he would favor a free state, providing it was white. But he got bravely over all such notions before Kansas was admitted into the union.

The famous Big Springs convention was held September 5, with ex-Governor Reeder in attendance. This was his first appearance at a party convention. He was completely cured of his bogus legislature, and could talk repudiation with the loudest. The most determined and outspoken resolutions presented to that convention were written by him, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That we owe no allegiance or obedience to the tyrannical enactments of this spurious legislature; that their laws have no validity or binding force upon the people of Kansas; and that every free man among us is at full liberty, consistent with all his obligations as a citizen and a man, to resist them, if he chooses so to do.

"*Resolved*, That we will endure and submit to these laws no longer than the best interests of the territory require, as the least of two evils, and will resist them to a bloody issue as soon as we ascertain that peaceable remedy shall fail," etc.

For an abolitionist or freeholder to use such langurge would have caused no remark; but for an ex-governor and a democrat to be thus firm and defiant was more than we had dared hope. It was too strong meat for many members of the convention, and General Lane desired to soften down the language used. He, among other things, proposed to substitute the "sanguinary issue" for "bloody issue." But the free-soilers were delighted that Reeder had, with one bound, placed himself squarely upon their platform, and were in no mood for qualifying or softening the Anglo-Saxon of their new ally.

At this time Colonel Lane was still in favor of a white state, and presented a resolution to that effect, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the best interests of Kansas require a population of free white men, and that in the state organization we are in favor of stringent laws excluding all negroes, bond or free, from the territory," etc.

This convention indorsed the convention previously called at Topeka to take into consideration the formation of a state constitution, and thus the movement was fairly inaugurated.

That convention was held at Topeka September 19, and a call for an election of members to a constitutional convention issued. The election was held on the second Tuesday in October, and the convention assembled at Topeka on the fourth Tuesday of the same month.

I have thus briefly traced the movement for the Topeka constitution from its

inception to the city from which it derives its name. Here it tarried for sixteen days, and was domiciled in the large, imposing building (for that time) called "Constitutional Hall." It was the guest and companion of some forty men, representing all occupations and professions known in the territory. As I call them to mind, I find a large proportion of the more active members of that convention have closed their labors in Kansas and have passed on to other scenes. Among them are W. R. Griffith, George S. Hillyer, A. Curtiss, A. Hunting, W. Graham, Morris Hunt, J. A. Wakefield. W. Y. Roberts, P. C. Schuyler, G. W. Smith, and the president, James H. Lane. Many others have gone from the public view, and many have joined the company of those above named. Of those who are alive, or were when last heard from, are Robert Klotz, M. J. Parrott, M. W. Delahay, S. M. Latta, Caleb May, R. Knight, C. K. Holliday, G. A. Cutler, J. K. Goodin, R. H. Crosby, C. Robinson, J. S. Emery, and M. F. Conway (who was elected, but did not take his seat on account of sickness).

Eighteen of the members gave their politics as democrats, six as whigs, four republicans, two free-soilers, one free-state, and one independent. The democratic party, being in power at that time, was the fashionable party, and Kansas was a fashionable state politically. The lines were distinctly drawn between the conservative and radical members from the first. The former had their headquarters at the Garvey House, and the latter at the Chase House, near the river bottom. Much slate making was indulged at the Garvey House, and the officers under the constitution were all arranged for before it was made. The radicals wasted no time or thought upon the officers, as they accepted the conclusion that no radical could be made available for office. None but democrats, whigs of the old school, black-law men, could be fellowshipped. Men who had anti-slavery convictions, who would tolerate free negroes in the state, and especially such as would vote to enfranchise them, were regarded as abolitionists of the darkest dye, and likely to be fit subjects for an insane asylum before one could be provided for their accommodation.

Evening sessions were held for the purpose of discussing a resolution approving of the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The democrats and conservatives were desirous of being loyal to their party, and insisted that the troubles in Kansas were not the legitimate fruits of the bill but in consequence of the violation of its spirit. The radicals denounced the repeal of the Missouri compromise and declared the pretense of squatter sovereignty was a sham and mockery, and was so intended to be by its authors. The convention was nearly equally divided on this question, there being seventeen ayes to fifteen nays. So strong were the party ties that these men who had witnessed an invasion of their ballot-boxes and the inauguration of a usurpation under the name of territorial legislature, and all indorsed by the national administration, would not give up their party allegiance. They would denounce everything done under the organic act and by the party in power, and yet they indorsed the act and adhered to the party that trampled the dearest rights of the citizens to the earth.

In the call issued by the territorial executive committee for an election of members to the constitutional convention, they use such language as the following:

"WHEREAS, The territorial government as now constituted for Kansas has proved a failure—squatter sovereignty under its workings a miserable delusion—in proof of which it is only necessary to refer to our past history and our present deplorable condition; our ballot-boxes had been taken possession of by bands of armed men from foreign states, and our people forcibly driven therefrom; persons attempted to be foisted upon us as members of a so-called legislature unacquainted with our wants and hostile to our best interests, some of them never residents of our territory; misnamed laws passed and now attempted to be en-

forced, by the aid of citizens of foreign states, of the most oppressive, tyrannical and insulting character; the right of suffrage taken from us," etc., etc.

Such was the working of the organic act as described by this committee, who were afterwards members of the convention, and who in that convention indorsed that act by speech and vote, at the bidding of party or to conciliate party leaders. Colonel Lane and others still clung to a white state, and a proposition was submitted with the constitution directing the legislature to exclude all negroes from the state. This proposition was approved by a vote of 1287 in favor to 458 against. From this it appears that the people who lived in Kansas at that time were less troubled about the principles of the declaration of independence as applied to all men than as applied to themselves.

Some amusing and almost tragical as well as comical incidents occurred during the session of the convention. The characteristics of Colonel Lane were placed in bold relief. He was a candidate for president of the convention, and the only reason he urged for his candidacy was a scandal in Lawrence with which his name was connected. He claimed his election would indorse him and put a quietus upon the scandal, and he was elected on that issue; but the scandal would not down, and a duel was inaugurated. One night about twelve o'clock the sleepers in the Chase House were aroused by G. P. Lowrey, Governor Reeder's private secretary, who said he had been challenged by Colonel Lane to a duel, and he had come to get Doctor Robinson to act as his second. Doctor Robinson didn't believe in duels, regarded them as barbarous, and particularly aggravating under the circumstances, as calculated to bring reproach upon the constitutional movement and the free-state cause. He, therefore, in defiance of all rules of the code, went to the Garvey House, and found Colonel Lane in bed, greatly agitated. He was soundly reproved for his course, and urged to desist. The reply was that Lowrey had repeated the Lawrence scandal, and he intended to put an end to it. He was told that killing Lowrey or Lowrey's killing him would have no effect upon the scandal, while nothing but evil could come of it. He finally said that he could and would have no further talk upon the subject.

Mark J. Parrott was his second, and he had nothing to do with the management of the duel. He was told that the interview was not at the instance of Lowrey, as he was eager for a meeting, but it was prompted by desire to prevent a new scandal which would disgrace the cause and every one connected with it. The time named in the challenge was eight o'clock the next morning, and the place across the river, but before that hour had arrived the Lane side of the duel proposed to postpone it till eleven o'clock. The session of the convention opened and proceeded as usual until about ten o'clock, when Colonel Lane took the floor and made a characteristic speech, talking till near the fatal hour, when he with great dignity gathered up his cloak and hat and marched out of the convention. The seconds were about to follow, when Judge Smith, in a very excited manner, announced that a hostile meeting was about to take place to which some members of the convention were parties, and he introduced a resolution expelling all members who should take part in such affair.

As Lowrey's friends had kept the matter a profound secret, they were not slow in coming to the conclusion that Judge Smith was in the interest of Colonel Lane, and that that gentleman was not so eager for a fight as appearances the night before would indicate. But Lowrey was not a member of the convention, and he insisted upon a fight or satisfaction. Doctor Robinson, being a member of the convention, and not believing in duels and not knowing anything about the code, resigned his position as second to James F. Legate, a gentleman who

had lived in Louisiana, and was presumed to understand all about affairs of honor. Mr. Legate insisted upon a fight, or an unconditional withdrawal of the challenge. The challenge was withdrawn and the tragedy turned into a farce.

This convention was not wanting in its contribution to the literature of the country. One day Colonel Lane arose in his seat with all the solemnity of a first-class funeral, and commenced a long, eloquent harangue with these words, "David Dickey is dead." Who or what was David Dickey, or what possible connection his life or death had with this convention, did not appear. The tribute, however, was paid to his memory, and duly reported in the *Kansas Freeman*, a paper published by Mr. Garvey. At the close of an editorial upon the life and death of David Dickey the writer said, "Let us drop a tear or two to his memory." It is said that, when the editor read the manuscript of his eloquent tribute, containing the "tear or two," some wag suggested that it would be more impressive and more worthy of the character of the deceased to add, "or perhaps three," and it was so added, not only to the editorial but to the literature of the country, as it has been used more or less from that day to this on appropriate occasions throughout the land.

The convention located the capital temporarily at Topeka, by a vote of twenty for Topeka to sixteen for Lawrence. This vote can be readily accounted for from the fact that C. K. Holliday was a member of the convention, and from the further fact that the appeals of the Topeka ladies to the average legislator are as irresistible as their charms.

The constitution was ratified by the people December 15, by a vote in favor of 1731, and against, of 46; and the state officers were elected January 15, 1856. The nominating convention was held at Lawrence, December 22, where the slates of the Garvey House party were badly broken. Colonel Lane, who had pledged his support to Mr. Roberts and Judge Smith, was himself a candidate for governor. No radical was a candidate, as it was understood the conservatives were largely in the majority. But, much as the people might dislike abolitionists, they dreaded selling out more. It was well known that Colonel Lane had no sentiment against slavery, as at the first free-state meeting he attended he frankly admitted that he had no conscientious scruples upon the subject, and would as soon own a "nigger" as a mule. The people well understood that if a person had no convictions against slavery, and was only actuated by ambition for office and power, he might find the most direct road to the latter by joining the enemy. Hence, to the surprise of all, a radical independent was nominated for governor.

It was this feeling among the people that induced them in the Wakarusa war, that had just closed, to place in command a person who knew absolutely nothing of the details of an army or a battle, instead of one who had been a colonel in the war with Mexico. It is a satisfaction to that person at this time to know that he endeavored to give full credit to the officer second in command, who knew more of war than the first. In his farewell address to the soldiers he spoke as follows: "To the experience, skill and perseverance of gallant General Lane all credit is due for the thorough discipline of our forces and the complete and extensive preparation for defense. His services cannot be overrated, and long may he live to wear the laurels so bravely won."

The other nominations were about equally from both wings of the free-state party. But many thought it would never do to have an abolitionist head the ticket, and a bolting convention put a conservative "anti-abolitionist ticket" in the field, with W. Y. Roberts for governor.

The abolition or radical ticket was elected by a vote of 1296 to 410 for the anti-abolition ticket.

This election was a death-blow to conservatism. From that time General Lane was to be found among the prophets of radicalism, and went to the other extreme, compelling the governor elect and other radicals to put on the brake, lest the new state movement should fly the track and be wrecked. It was one of the characteristics of Colonel Lane that he had no use for a minority party. When, on his arrival in the territory, he could not get the people of Lawrence to join the democratic party, he joined the people in a free-state party, and after the election of state officers, he had no further use for a free white state, and it was never heard of afterwards. So unpopular did the white state become that the Leavenworth constitutional convention, of April, 1858, not only admitted the colored man to the territory, but permitted him to vote. The word "white" was ostracized, and even the word "male" came near sharing the same fate, as in the schedule of that constitution, section 12, it provided that "the first general assembly shall provide by law for the submission of the question of universal suffrage to a vote of the people."

A reaction, however, came over the people, and the "white male" was duly installed in the Wyandotte constitution, where he would have remained to this day had not the federal constitution discarded the color.

The first meeting of the legislature under the Topeka constitution was convened March 4, 1856. That constitution had been denounced by the democratic party of the nation, and was bitterly opposed by pro-slavery men everywhere. Even the president thought the case of sufficient importance to call attention to it in his message to congress. He said: "No principle of public law, no practice or precedent under the constitution of the United States, no rule of reason, right, or common sense, confers any such power as that now claimed by a mere party in the territory. In fact, what has been done is of a revolutionary character. It will become treasonable insurrection if it reaches the length of organized resistance by force to the fundamental or any other federal law." If the people did not desist, he threatened to bring against them the army, navy and militia of the country. The situation was described in the message of the governor elect as not the most inviting. He said:

"It is understood that the deputy marshal has private instructions to arrest the members of the legislature and state officers for treason as soon as this address is received by you. In such event, of course, no resistance will be offered to the officer. Men who are ready to defend their own and their country's honor with their lives can never object to a legal investigation into their actions nor to suffer any punishment their conduct may merit. We should be unworthy the constituency we represent did we shrink even from martyrdom on the scaffold or at the stake, should duty require it. Should the blood of Collins and Dow, of Barber and Brown, be insufficient to quench the thirst of the president and his accomplices in the hollow mockery of 'squatter sovereignty' they are practicing upon the people of Kansas, then more victims must be furnished. Let what will come, not a finger shall be raised against the federal authority until there shall be no hope of relief but in revolution."

It is difficult at this day to realize that such language could ever have been seriously uttered in Kansas, or that it could ever have been appropriate for submission to a legislature in a message. Yet those who were actors in that scene will bear witness that every word found a response in the heart of every free-state man. The legislature remained in session until the 15th of the month, when it adjourned until July 4. A few laws were passed, and a codifying committee was appointed to prepare work for the adjourned session, and Reeder and Lane were elected United States senators. After adjournment a new peril threatened the Topeka government. It was found that the territorial courts were to indict all parties connected with it, and thus break it up.

Early in May the congressional committee, Messrs. Sherman, Howard, and Oliver, visited Tecumseh to procure testimony. Mrs. Sherman, Mrs. Robinson and her husband started for Topeka on the same day. When near Tecumseh they met James F. Legate, a member of Douglas county grand jury. From him they learned that the men connected with the Topeka government living in Douglas county were to be indicted during that term of the court, and when the court should hold its session in Shawnee county the legislature would be indicted. Messrs. Sherman, Howard and W. Y. Roberts joined the first party at the Garvey House that evening. In an upper room the whole situation was reviewed and discussed until near morning. It was there decided for the first time to resist the federal authorities, should it become necessary in defending the Topeka government. The officers living in Douglas county could avoid arrest and the legislature be called together before the session of the court in Shawnee county, pass a militia law, and be prepared to defend the state government against all comers. The governor elect, living in Douglas county, would be first indicted. Hence he was to absent himself until the meeting of the legislature, which was to be called together June 15 by Lieutenant-Governor Roberts. Accordingly he started East with the committee's testimony, intending to visit republican governors in the Northern states and enlist their sympathy and assistance. But, alas, the best laid schemes of men often miscarry. The people of Missouri well understood the plan of the territorial officials, and the state governor was stopped at Lexington and brought back a prisoner.

Reeder, Lane, Brown, Deitzler, G. W. Smith, S. N. Wood and Jenkins were also indicted for treason. The printing-presses and hotels of Lawrence were destroyed, and no proclamation for convening the legislature was issued. As the time approached for the adjourned session, July 4, all parties were more or less agitated. The pro-slavery party had determined to break up the session by force, if necessary, and preparatory steps were taken accordingly. United States troops were called into the field at convenient distance from the capital, and all communication cut off from the prisoners' camp near Lecompton, where the state governor was confined. He however managed to get a letter of encouragement to the members of the legislature through the lines by the aid of the hostess, Mrs. Jenkins, who concealed it upon her person when she went to a neighboring cabin for milk.

The members of that legislature and the citizens of Topeka and other parts of the territory deserve great credit for their conduct on that occasion. Neither the governor nor lieutenant governor were present, one of them being already indicted and arrested for treason. The proclamations of the president and acting governor had been issued denouncing their movement as treasonable; the troops were collected both north and south of the town, with artillery and all the circumstance of war, and Acting Governor Woodson was fuming with rage against everybody and everything connected with the state government. Some 800 men, about half of them armed, came together to witness the opening of the session. Acting State Governor John Curtis convened the members on the 3d of July to consider the situation. A majority determined to meet on the next day, the time of the regular adjournment, and remain in session until driven out. The following narrative of events on this, perhaps the most exciting day of the free-state cause of Kansas, I find in Mr. Holloway's history:

"Secretary Woodson, who was acting governor, with several pro-slavery officials, had arrived at the camp of Colonel Sumner. In accordance with the program which they had arranged, United States Marshal Donaldson, with Judge Elmore, entered Topeka about ten o'clock on the 4th. They went to the

place where the popular convention was in session, and intimated to a few persons that they had something to communicate to that body. Having taken their places upon the platform at the invitation of some of the officers, the marshal announced that he had several proclamations to read to them, but as he was no speaker, Judge Elmore would attend to it. The judge then proceeded to read the president's proclamation of February, and several of Governor Shannon's, and finally one from Secretary Woodson.

"The convention quietly and respectfully listened to the reading of these various documents. When they were finished, the two territorial officials descended the platform and retired through the crowd. As they did so, Marshal Donaldson halted and asked if they had any communication to send to Colonel Sumner.

"He was then informed of his mistake; that this convention was not the legislature to which the proclamation referred, and hence could make no reply. About noon Colonel Sumner, who seems to have been aware of the time the legislature was to convene, approached the town with his companies of dragoons in battle array. At the center of their front the American flag floated to the breeze, and a band was playing 'Hail, Columbia, Happy Land.'

"They moved rapidly and impressively down Kansas avenue, and wheeled into line, facing Constitutional hall. It being the 4th of July, two companies of Topeka volunteers were drawn up near where the troops halted, to receive a banner from the ladies, and the street was filled with men, women, and children. Two cannon were also planted up the street a few hundred yards, loaded, the fuses smoking, and the cannoneers ready for the word 'fire.' The dragoons from the bottom approached the edge of the town on the north, and stood ready for a charge. Thus was the entrance as though they expected armed resistance.

"Colonel Sumner then entered the hall, and, when the clerk had finished calling the roll for the second time, he said:

"'Gentlemen, I am called upon this day to perform the most painful duty of my whole life. Under authority of the president's proclamation, I am here to disperse this legislature, and therefore inform you that you cannot meet. I therefore order you to disperse. God knows that I have no party feeling in this matter, and will hold none so long as I occupy my present position in Kansas. I have just returned from the border, where I have been sending home companies of Missourians, and now I have been ordered here to disperse you. Such are my orders, and you must disperse. I now command you to disperse. I repeat that this is the most painful duty of my whole life.'"

Thus was the legislature dispersed. This gross violation of all precedent and constitutional right reacted against the party in power, and both the president and secretary of war disowned it.

The state government remained inactive till January 6, 1857. In the meantime Governor Geary professed to favor the settlement of the difficulties by the admission of Kansas under the Topeka constitution. He thought his party would be glad to accept it, with a proviso that it should be again submitted to a vote of the people and a new election of state officers held. After a long interview with him in the attic of the log building now near the depot at Lecompton, then used as the executive office, the state governor decided to resign his nominal office, and proceed to Washington for the purpose of testing the feasibility of this program. He soon found that Governor Geary's plan had no adherents among members of his party, and the visit was a failure.

The legislature convened January 6, but was promptly arrested by territorial officials. The troubles in Kansas had figured largely in the presidential canvas and had seriously damaged the party in power; hence, the great pacificators, Governor Walker and Secretary Stanton, were sent out. They made such promises of fairness in the territorial election pending that many free-state men began to hope an end might be put to the troubles by securing the territorial legislature. A letter was addressed to Mr. Stanton proposing to participate in the elections under territorial auspices provided certain guaranties were given for a fair election. This letter was signed by some fifteen men, including the Topeka

governor. While the terms proposed were not accepted, renewed assurance were given of fairness, so that a convention was called at Grasshopper Falls to consider the matter. It was there decided to take the officials at their word and participate in the election. The frauds were perpetrated as predicted and feared by the free-state men, but to their lasting honor, be it recorded, Walker and Stanton fulfilled their pledges, and threw out the Oxford frauds, and restored the ballot-box to the residents of the territory.

Before this result was reached, the state governor having withdrawn his resignation by request of the popular convention, the Topeka legislature had a session, June 9, and passed such acts as were necessary to keep the constitution alive, and formally located the capital at Topeka. It was impossible to procure a legal quorum without declaring a large number of seats vacant. Such had been the promises on the part of Governor Walker and Secretary Stanton, that many were hopeful of recovering the right to regulate their own affairs under the territorial act. Could that be done they were ready to end their troubles at once.

Some of the original conservatives (and now radicals), including General Lane, bitterly opposed having anything to do with the territorial election till the day of the convention at Grasshopper Falls. Even on his way to the convention General Lane denounced the policy, but on his arrival he found the people were for the doctrine, and he went with them.

But the territorial legislature and government were not the only enemies to free Kansas. That legislature had provided for an election of delegates, June 15, 1857, to meet in September, at Lecompton, to frame a constitution for a state government. The election law was so framed as to preclude the possibility of a fair election.

The *Missouri Democrat* said of it: "If ever means were taken to pack a convention they have been taken in this case. Nothing has been omitted: nothing left to chance. The plan of packing is as elaborate and as perfect as the wit of man could make it. The time, the mode and the machinery have been selected with satanic skill. Every contingency has been provided for in this compact and complicated scheme. From the taking of the census by the county sheriffs to the organization of the convention, through the graded surveillance of the election judges, probate judges, etc., the felon legislature has provided as effectually for securing the desired result as Louis Napoleon did for getting himself elected emperor." The free-state men in convention, at Topeka, March 10, refused to touch the unholy thing. They talked as follows:

"WHEREAS, The act of this assembly is partizan in its character, clearly contemplates fraud, etc.: therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the people of Kansas territory cannot participate in any election under such regulations without compromising their rights as American citizens, sacrificing the best interests of Kansas, and jeopardizing the public peace.

"*Resolved*, That the census act of the late Missouri-Kansas legislature is a cheat and a swindle, requiring in one section, as a condition for voting, registration without residence, and in another residence without registration, the design of which is apparent to all who are familiar with usurpation.

"*Resolved*, That with the most infamous to execute the laws and issue certificates of election. past experience has shown that legal voters are not essential to the election of any man to office; and that until the people can choose their own election officers, or have them appointed by some respectable official, we request the people, the governors of the territory, congress and the president of the United States to treat all elections under territorial auspices as an infamous mockery, and null and void."

The state legislature was urged to convene in June, perfect the state organization, including towns and counties, and have it in readiness to put into active

operation in advance of the Lecompton constitution and state government. It was claimed that if the people were once organized as municipalities, independently of the territorial government, and under the auspices of the state government, nothing could dislodge them or prevent their ultimate recognition by congress. This the territorial officials evidently feared.

When the town of Lawrence adopted a charter and municipal government of its own, Governor Walker issued his proclamation, July 15, and told the people: "It is obvious, if you are permitted to proceed, and especially if your example should be followed, as urged by you, in other places, that for all practical purposes, in many important particulars, the territorial government will be overthrown." Governor Walker marched against the town with a large force of United States troops, with a view of destroying the city organization. He was treated with cool indifference, and became the object of ridicule throughout the country. At a public meeting the people were advised "to attend to their ordinary avocations, and pay no kind of attention to Governor Walker or the troops. The governor had got into a disgraceful scrape, and let him get out of it as best he could." Ridicule was the only weapon used by the people in this war, and it was victorious. The Leavenworth *Times*, published by the Vaughans, father and son, was terribly effective in this encounter. Its correspondence from Lawrence was too much for Governor Walker, backed as he was by the army and navy and the whole force of the United States. The following are a few sample notes of this correspondence:

"Ye Great Isothermal War.
Full Particulars of ye Proceedings of ye Troops.
Ye Lawrence Fanatics Subdued.
Triumph of ye Union and ye Blessed Constitution, to say Nothing of ye Governor and Providence.
Ye Governor Sucks Beverages.
Quiet Secured—No Bloodshed—Ye Grand Finale.

"When, from our office window, on blessed Friday of last week, we saw distant companies of dragoons prancing towards Lawrence, headed by his excellency, Maj. Gen. Robert J. Walker, we instinctively felt a glow of generous pride, and immediately dispatched a corps of crying and inquisitive reporters to note down everything of interest or importance that transpired. In this way we are enabled to present a full account of our governor's patriotic doings. Before giving our reports, however, it may be well to state that the union is all 'O. K.,' and the dignity of the laws vindicated. It is also generally surmised that the comet was just about to smash us into chaos when his erratic highness heard of Walker and plunged off into space at a most astonishing rate of speed. What do we not owe his excellency?"

"Lawrence, Saturday night.—Walker pale and thoughtful—perspired freely all night—said 'd—n' once in my hearing. It created fearful excitement. Troops full of enthusiasm. Walker read his proclamation to them and then got under the influence of beverages."

"Sunday Morning.—The governor had a restless night. Troubled with bad dreams. Lawrence quiet. Troops expect an attack from the citizens."

"10 o'clock a. m.—No attack been made—Walker rode into the city—took a sherry cobbler and called for a straw—took a little water and sugar with some whisky in it—muttered something—went out to the troops. Terrific excitement in camp."

"Noon.—Walker indulges in beverages frequently—crowds seen in the streets—troops ordered to form. Crowd discovered to be persons coming from church—his excellency takes a little gin."

"Night.—Whisky been working. Governor tight. Troops grumble. Walker wants to raze Lawrence. All go to sleep."

"MONDAY EVENING.—Walker dispatched 792 dragoons this morning to arrest an audacious youngster who was selling peanuts in violation of the organic act and our beloved constitution. Boy to be tried by court-martial for high treason. Governor somewhat boozy."

"TUESDAY EVENING.—Walker said he 'd be gol-darned if he ever sweat so in his life. Says he has to put on a clean shirt every day—willing to make such sacrifices for the peace of the country and the union. Little boy discharged. Walker imbibes too much."

"WEDNESDAY EVENING.—Troops damn Walker, and Walker damns the troops. Both want to know what the devil to do. Weather awful. Governor thinks he would n't like the army. Dog heard howling and company sent to arrest him. Dog escaped. The governor three sheets in the wind."

"THURSDAY EVENING.—His excellency has the bowel complaint. Takes paregoric. Troops growl and Walker swears like a trooper. The citizens do n't seem to mind the presence of the army. The governor says he feels blamed mean and danged small. Gets tight and oblivious."

"FRIDAY EVENING.—Walker 's got the headache. Says he 's been sold—thinks he won't be the next president. Damns republics, and Kansas troops laugh and snicker—whisky shops do a staving business. The governor says he 's going home—do n't think his mother knows he 's out. All quiet in the city. Walker inebriated."

"This last dispatch was received just before going to press, and convinces us that the governor has had a most glorious and successful campaign. The re-arresting of that peanut boy was a master stroke, and every act of the governor during the momentous crisis was worthy of the hero and the man. . . .

"P. S.—We stop the press to announce we understand three settlers in the Neosho country have referred the matter of a disputed claim to a committee of squatters, in violation of the constitution of the United States. Such a high-handed and infamous usurpation of power would sever the union into splinters if allowed to go unpunished and unrebuked, and we hope Governor Walker will march an army down there without delay, accompanying it himself, to prevent bloodshed, and serve the miserable fanatics and lawbreakers as he has served those at Lawrence."

Such shots as these, fired from the press of the whole North, were too much even for Walker, and he evacuated the town, leaving for once the people "perfectly free to regulate their domestic institutions in their own way."

But the danger was still imminent that the Lecompton constitution would be recognized, in defiance of the will of the people. The convention that framed it submitted it to a vote of the people only with the alternative of "constitution with slavery" or "constitution with no slavery," but the constitution with no slavery was more pro-slavery of the two. A vote for the constitution with slavery was a vote to establish and forever maintain the institution, with the power in the legislature of emancipation; while a vote for the constitution with no slavery was a vote to recognize the existence of slavery then in Kansas, to keep those persons then in the territory, and their natural increase, slaves during their lives, with no power in the legislature to emancipate. Of course the free-state men could vote for neither, and refrained from voting altogether. The election was held December 21, 1857, and 6226 votes were returned for the constitution with slavery and 569 for the constitution with no slavery; 2720 of these were fraudulent votes, as declared by commissioners appointed by the legislature. So strong had the free-state party become that the powers at Washington and elsewhere began to give it some recognition, and Acting Governor Stanton called the territorial legislature, now free state, together for the purpose of submitting the Lecompton constitution to a direct vote of the people, with proper safeguards to secure a fair election. That vote resulted in 10,226

against the constitution, 138 for the constitution with slavery, and 23 for the constitution without slavery.

An election for state officers was held under that constitution on the first Monday in January, 1858. The question was, Shall the people participate in this election? They now had the Topeka constitution and officials under it, and the territorial legislature, and should they try their hand at the Lecompton state government? A large convention was held at Lawrence, December 28, 1857, to consider this question, when it was decided by a majority of delegates present in the affirmative, 47 to 44; but when voting by districts it was decided in the negative, 64 to 75.

The *Herald of Freedom* says: "The convention remained in session two days, during all of which time an animated discussion was kept up, limiting the speakers most of the time to ten minutes. Messrs. Schuyler, Hanna, Vaughan, Conway, Judge Davis, Doctor Robinson, G. W. Smith, Emery, W. Y. Roberts, J. M. Winchell, Doctor Hale, Ewing, Pomeroy, Noteware, O. C. Brown, E. Heath, J. A. Wakefield, and, in short, nearly all the old settlers and active free-state men in Kansas, advocated the voting policy, while the movement was opposed by Hinton and Thacher and those who were opposed to voting in October."

The resolutions finally adopted were, "that the free-state party of Kansas will not take part in said election; that our territorial legislature be requested to submit the people's constitution framed at Topeka to popular vote at an early day; that in view of the extraordinary circumstances that surround us, it is the duty of the governor of the state to issue his proclamation to the members of the state legislature, urging full and prompt attendance in January next, and that said legislature is hereby requested to enact without delay a code of laws for the use and protection of the people so soon as the exigency of the case shall require."

As soon as this delegate convention decided to take no action to secure the election of state officers under the Lecompton constitution, a mass convention was organized and a ticket nominated, with Judge G. W. Smith at its head. The free-state ticket was elected, and memorializes congress not to admit Kansas to the union under that constitution.

The state legislature of the Topeka constitution met at Topeka, January 5, and the territorial legislature met at Lecompton, both in possession of the free-state party. Both adjourned to Lawrence, where committees were appointed to see which should make room for the other. The state legislature asked the territorial to repeal all territorial laws and adjourn *sine die*, leaving a clear field to the state legislature. But the territorial legislature relished Uncle Sam's pap too well to let go, and the Topeka constitution then and there died for want of sustenance. It lived, however, long enough to see freedom secured to Kansas — to see the government which had been wrenched from the people by fraud, in March, 1855, restored to its rightful proprietors, the *bona fide* inhabitants of Kansas. Nothing but the menacing attitude of the Topeka constitution and government compelled the territorial officials to restore the ballot-box to the people. This was made clear by the proclamation of Governors Walker and Stanton relative to the Oxford fraud, when they discarded that vote at the election of the territorial legislature in 1857. They say:

"In view of the condition of affairs in Kansas for several years past, of the efforts so long made to put in operation here a revolutionary government, and of the fact that this effort was suspended under the belief that the political difficulties of this territory might at length be fairly adjusted at the polls, if that adjustment should now be defeated, and the people deprived of their rightful power

under the laws of congress by fictitious returns of votes never given, it is our solemn conviction that the pacification of Kansas, through the exercise of the elective franchise would become impracticable, and that civil war would immediately be recommenced in this territory, extending, we fear, to adjacent states and subjecting the government of the union to imminent peril."

The throwing out of the Oxford returns was necessary to give the legislature to the majority party, and it is evident that nothing short of the Topeka government could have forced the officials to throw out that fraud.

The Topeka constitution was equally important as a rallying point for the free-state men. No mere party platform or organization could have prevented the recognition of the territorial legislature and laws until the people should have a fair election. The first legislature had provided for "returning boards" for four years, and in that time slavery would be established, and a pro-slavery constitution fastened upon the state. Recognition of that usurpation would have been fatal, and the Topeka constitution was the only instrumentality that rendered a prevention of that recognition possible. This was the grand mission of that constitution, and it was fulfilled to perfection. The first successful battle against the slave power of the country was fought under that banner. It was the beginning of the end of slavery in the United States. The tide of propagandism was stayed in its blighting course, and the refluent wave of freedom swept over the land, from Topeka to Florida, giving liberty and equality before the law to every human being, thus making our entire country, in fact as well as in name, "the land of the free" as well as "the home of the brave."

And Topeka—what more shall I say of her? God bless her; she is here, and speaks for herself. For beauty of location; for the energy, enterprise, intelligence and culture of her men; for the beauty, refinement, moral excellence and general loveliness of her women, Topeka stands without a rival. And may her future destiny equal her present promise.

THE BURNING OF OSCEOLA, MO., BY LANE, AND THE QUANTRILL MASSACRE CONTRASTED.

An address by JOHN SPEER, president of the Kansas State Historical Society, at the annual meeting of the Society, January 17, 1899.

IN the conflicts of the war, Gen. James H. Lane, in command of the Kansas brigade of United States troops, destroyed the thriving town of Osceola, Mo.: and the principal defense of the most terrible massacre of the war comes from enemies of the union, claiming that the destruction of Lawrence and the murder of 180 unarmed citizens by Quantrill was an act of justifiable retaliation for Lane's act in the destruction of Osceola.

I have always had a longing to visit Osceola, the town captured and burned under the command and by the orders of Lane, thirty-seven years ago. In October last this desire was gratified in a two-days' visit, and a pretty good opportunity to see the town, and the people of both town and country; for my first entry was just as the people were assembling to hear Hon. A. M. Dockery, their member of congress, and I drifted with the multitude to the court-house, which was pretty well filled. Taken all together, the audience seemed very much like a Kansas audience, lacking the usual complement of ladies, not a half-dozen being present. Mr. Dockery is a pleasant and attractive speaker, and I understand always attracts a good audience. The town, I was told, had from 2,000 to 2,500

inhabitants. It is doubtful whether it has as many inhabitants as it had the day Lane destroyed it, and has no such business as was then transacted. At that day it was the head of navigation on the Osage river, steamboats plying constantly in season. Pattonsville was higher up the stream, but the river was smaller and more difficult of navigation. It seemed like a pleasant village of very orderly, intelligent people. The town is pleasantly situated, at an elevation of forty or fifty feet above the stream, with good business houses and many pleasant, neat, comfortable dwellings.

My purpose was to look at the town on account of its historic interest, and get information in regard to the conduct of Lane and his Kansas army on that terrible day thirty-seven years ago, and I conversed with many of them with great satisfaction. A Kansas man might naturally suppose that he would strike some persons who would be disposed to resent such inquisitiveness, especially from a man who had written and was selling a life of Jim Lane; but if there was the least spirit of revenge anywhere I failed to discover it. On the contrary, it seemed to give people pleasure to relate the story of Osceola, and there was no bitterness manifested against the author of all their misfortunes. But nearly all the victims of that disaster have passed away.

I quote a few statements from prominent men of the period. Mr. Thomas D. Hicks is a leading business man, and witnessed the scene. He said:

"General Lane entered from the southeast, and was fired on from the brush by twenty-five or thirty men, and Lane's men immediately fired through the woods, wounding quite a number of persons—perhaps seven or eight. Just after that Lane fired on the court-house from about a quarter of a mile distant. Finding no one in the court-house, Lane was considerate enough to box up all important records, which he got away, and then fired the town, including the court-house. It was a wealthy place, with many storehouses, goods being brought up the Osage river by boats. He must have destroyed fully 100 houses, the larger portion business houses of all kinds, stores, offices, etc. I never knew of any abuse of women. The houses spared were occupied by families, some of them confederates and some of them union. Immense quantities of salt, coffee and many other articles were burned, and farmers and others gathered them up in a damaged condition. Nails were burned, and melted in masses. One wholesale house had 150 barrels of whisky, and it ran down to the Osage river on fire; others had 150 more. This whisky on fire ran down a ravine 200 yards to the Osage river. After the war, the county sent a man to Lawrence and got the county records, except two or three books—I think through Lane's instrumentality. He murdered no person after capture."

Mr. Hicks is sure if Lane had been discourteous he would have heard of it.

Dr. J. Wade Gardner has probably had as much personal knowledge of the event as any man, though not present. A gentleman of the republican party, in commending him, said he was not only very reliable, but he was regarded as the "war horse of the democratic party." No man would dispute his accuracy on historical events. He said:

"On the 23d of September, 1861, Gen. James H. Lane and Colonel Montgomery, having under their command about 1500 soldiers, came to the town of Osceola (which was and is the county-seat of St. Clair county, Missouri), and burned all the stores, shops and dwelling-houses in the town, except eleven dwelling-houses and one livery-stable. A small detachment of about thirty confederates, under command of Capt. John M. Weidemere, then living here, but now a large merchant of Clinton, Henry county, Missouri, fired upon Lane's men as they entered the town on the road from Roscoe, and then retreated. In this little skirmish, one confederate, Mr. Woodall (a brother of I. M. Woodall, now of Newton, Harvey county, Kansas), was killed, and one or two confederates were wounded; but as to how many, if any, of Lane's men were either killed or wounded I know not. Lane took all the court records of said county to Lawrence, Kan., and kept them there until after the close of the war; they were delivered to B. G. Roberts,

who was then sheriff of St. Clair county, Missouri, and he delivered them to the proper authorities of said county, and they are now there.

"The wounded confederates that fell into Lane's hands were humanely and kindly treated by Lane and his men.

"It has been falsely charged, by people who did not know the facts or had a strong desire to misstate them, that Lane and his men treated women and non-combatants in a cruel and improper manner; that women were insulted, etc.; but with the exception of the burning and carrying away of property, none of these things were done, and no person who was here then will now claim that they were.

"Osceola then had no railroad, but was the head of navigation on the Osage river. Two mercantile firms of Osceola then each owned a large steamboat, and these boats, when the Osage river was in proper condition, constantly plied between Osceola and St. Louis.

"The Granby lead mines, about twenty-five miles southeast of Joplin, Mo., were then in full blast and doing a large business. Lead was hauled in wagons from Granby to Osceola to be shipped on said boats to St. Louis, and it was no uncommon thing in 1858, 1859 and 1860 to see from 25 to 100 teams come daily from Granby to Osceola loaded with lead and go back to Granby loaded with salt, whisky, and various kinds of merchandise. Osceola then had two wholesale houses that did an immense jobbing business in southwest Missouri and northwestern Arkansas.

"This being the case, it was well known that in 1861 said wholesale houses had immense stocks of groceries, whiskies, boots, shoes, clothing, etc., on hand.

"General Sterling Price and his army were at Lexington, Mo., where he captured General Mulligan and his army, when Lane was at Osceola, and General Lane might have thought Price would get the groceries, etc., for his army if he (Lane) did not, and so took them. When Osceola was burned James Wade Beck was clerk of the circuit court and recorder of deeds, and remained in Osceola, and was kindly treated by General Lane and his men."

Mr. W. H. Scobey and his family were citizens of Osceola since 1840, except from October 29, 1859, until January 25, 1862, while the family were residing at Montevella, Vernon county, Missouri. They saw General Lane at that place. Mrs. Scobey (the husband being dead) was visited by the writer, and she said:

"General Lane placed a guard around our house for protection against disturbance, and treated everybody courteously. We returned to our house about four months after the city was burned by Lane, and we had every opportunity to learn of his conduct. When we returned, we found my husband's house saved, because the lady in its occupancy had appealed to Lane to save it on account of a very sick woman in it. But few houses were spared. The business houses and the court-house were all destroyed. Most of the men were with General Price, three companies having been raised in Osceola. Many of the women and children had fled to friends in the country. The best ladies who remained told me that Lane detailed men to help remove their furniture and personal goods. He talked with ladies, and they told me he treated them and all others with respect. A small body, about twenty-five men, fired on Lane's command from the brush, and he returned the fire. One of the volunteer citizens was wounded, but no violence or insult was offered to any person. My husband and I heard that Lane gave as a reason for destroying the town that it was supplied with immense stores which might be used for military supplies. Price did camp in and about the town with his army for several weeks afterwards, commencing near the last of November."

It was said that Lane "robbed the bank"; and I therefore went into the same institution, and, seeing a young man, I told him my mission—that I wanted to ascertain whether General Lane, when he burned Osceola, had stolen or confiscated the treasures in that institution. He said substantially:

"My name is Lewis, and my father was one of the directors. Lane went through it all right, but I think got nothing; for the directors got notice of his coming, divided the treasures, and each hid portions in different places."

His mother was living, and I intended to call on her; but receiving this information I did not, I am sorry to say, see her. Mr. Lewis said he never heard

of anybody being injured, or even insulted, after the skirmish as Lane's forces approached the city. However, Maj. Thomas J. Anderson differs with Mr. Lewis, saying that Lane gave him $4000 at Osceola, and directed him to divide it in payment of "the boys who had no money," or had not received their pay. In doing that he exactly followed the precedent of General Lyon at Springfield, when, among others, he gave Capt. Frank B. Swift nineteen twenty-dollar gold pieces for the same purpose, taken out of the Springfield bank.

Mr. J. W. Campbell, now residing at Frankfort, Kan., was a citizen of Osceola immediately after its destruction, and is a very reliable man. He said Lane admonished the people that if they bushwhacked his men he would burn the town, but if they came out and gave him fair fight he would treat them as honorable enemies: but when they fired on him from the brush, the town went up in flames.

I conversed with many people, making it a specialty to inquire whether Lane had murdered prisoners or non-combatants. I told them it had been said he fired into a building occupied by women and children. The responses were: "There is no truth in any such statements." "Never heard of it." "All such statements are false." Of course, all said he burned the town, and gave exultant statements of its prosperity and its immense stores and the wealth of the people.

I have thus taken pains to ascertain the facts of the destruction of this town, because, in all the charges against Lane and the Kansas troops, of depredations and wrongs in Missouri, I have seen no specific statement of his destruction of property or recklessness of life any place but at Osceola. If there was a single town, or a hamlet or a farmhouse which he burned, or an individual whom he maltreated in his acts of war, I have never heard one of them named: and yet, the horrible massacre at Lawrence—the brutal murder in cold blood of 180 defenseless persons after the town was surrendered, including the burning alive of several persons, Mr. Palmer and Mr. Pollock, a merchant in the Eldridge House, among them—have been justified as retaliatory measures for Lane's outrages in Missouri, when it is well known that Quantrill's horror was so infamous a butchery of innocent men and boys that no reasonable union man has the audacity to hold the confederate organization responsible for his acts.

One author has said: "It should not be inferred, however, that Lane was afraid of blood or opposed to killing people, as, afterwards, when Quantrill was not near, he marched through some of the counties of Missouri and made a clean sweep of all men found, whether union or disunion Quantrill was more considerate than Lane had been, as he told one of his prisoners taken at the Eldridge House that he would spare the women from outrage, which Lane, in his raids in Missouri, did not do."

There never was an individual case named where Lane murdered any man before or after the Quantrill massacre. After Lane failed to rally more than thirty-five men against Quantrill's 350 to 400, August 21, 1863, he never led any troops, with or without command, into Missouri or elsewhere, except as volunteer aid for General Curtis in the Price raid of October, 1864. In fact, after his campaign of 1861, he was in the senate during the sessions of 1861–'62, until January 27 to February 26, 1862, when, thwarted by General Hunter, he gave up his attempt to get command of a Texas expedition, and issued a card saying he would return "in sadness to his seat in the senate." He is the only man who ever went to the United States senate in sadness! And four days afterward Quantrill made his first raid into Kansas, killing three men at Aubrey. Thenceforth he illuminated the prairies and darkened the atmosphere with the burning homes of Kansas, and reddened every highway and byway with his trail of blood, from Baxter Springs to the Kansas river. Never did Quantrill put his face

across the Kansas border when Lane had any command. Here stands the record which is demonically claimed as the provocation for the Lawrence massacre—one man dead in fair battle at Osceola, his name given—180 as the record of Quantrill's murders at Lawrence! Name some other man.

Now for the destruction. Why such summary measures! On September 20, 1861, Gen. Sterling Price captured General Mulligan's command at Lexington, Mo. The next day, late, General Lane got the news; that night he marched on Osceola, met the enemy in the brush, returned fire at random, and killed one man; the next morning burned the storehouses and all places of refuge and storage, and checked Price's advance upon Kansas by cutting off his sources of supply, and, to all reasonable appearance, prevented Price's second advance, as he had his first, when he met him at Drywood.

This was the home of Waldo P. Johnson, United States senator, and he was the life and leading spirit of the town. Ben. Perley Poore, the official historian of congress, has written his biography. It reads, in full, as follows:

"Johnson, Waldo P., was elected United States senator from Missouri as a democrat, serving from July 4, 1861, to January 10, 1862, when he was expelled by the senate."

If Lane made a mistake so did the senate. Lane burned him out, and four months afterward the senate turned him out.

Osceola was at that time the great supply depot of all that part of southwestern Missouri, the head of navigation, with no railroads west of the Missouri river, except a few miles of the Missouri Pacific, unable to compete with water communication. Osceola's jobbing houses supplied Springfield, extended into Arkansas, the Indian country and Texas. It was a town of great wealth, the abode of the aristocracy and intelligence of the slaveholding oligarchy, who had poured out their treasures for seven years in attempting to establish the institution in Kansas, with Price apparently approaching them for more supplies. If Lane had done otherwise he would have proved his incapacity to lead.

If Price's real object was to invade Kansas when Lane destroyed Osceola, he made three attempts at invasion. First, at Drywood, toward Fort Scott: second, by way of Lexington and Osceola; third, by Westport, and down the border, where he had four sanguinary battles, and in his retreat burned all before him, as he fled from Westport to Mine Creek, leaving behind him claims for damages preserved in the archives of Kansas for over $400,000—the homes of the rural population of the state, their barns, and their crops.

(For Lane's power and responsibility in the Price raid, see Governor Robinson's article in the Lawrence *Journal*, October 20, 1864, entitled, "How Long, O Lord, How Long!")

That was war—honorable war—and no Kansas man has any feeling toward General Price except that of respect for a gallant soldier fighting for his own convictions of right.

Lane's acts, too, were the acts of war; and, as General Sherman has said, "war is hell"; this was almost literally hell to the enemies of the union. The situation is indescribable. Osceola had from 300 to 500 barrels of whisky. Lane's men burst them; some laid down and drank out of the rivulets of liquor, while others applied the torch, and great tongues of flame ascended skyward, as a liquid stream of hell-fire flowed down a ravine 200 to 300 yards, and almost literally set the Osage river ablaze; and yet so orderly were Lane's troops that the country people, attracted to the scene, rushed into the city unmolested, to see only the smoke of its past and the embers of its destruction—the whole a testimony to the wisdom, the honor and the humanity of the Kansas troops.

This is the record made for Lane and his troops by his enemies, every one of them, except Mrs. Scobey, sympathizing with the confederates.

Now let us take the murder of 180 surrendered prisoners of Quantrill, as told by his leading man, Capt. William H. Gregg, in contrast with Lane's conduct.

We have seen from loyal and disloyal testimony that no acts of outrage were committed by Lane or his men at Osceola, and yet the destruction of this depot of rebel supplies has been the only attempt at justification for the horrid murders of Quantrill and his men.

Doctor Gardner's testimony was given to me with evident satisfaction, in the opportunity afforded to be able to testify to the truth in regard to the destruction of his own town. The statements I have given are not from abolitionists nor sympathizers with abolitionists.

Everything is magnified by this Quantrill lieutenant, Captain Gregg, who says he fired to the right and Quantrill to the left as they entered the town, riding up Massachusetts street, the principal street in the village, as Lawrence was then. He exultantly declares that they rode over and murdered the occupants of "forty tents of soldiers, killing them all." Forty tents of men could not have contained less than eighty persons, if they had been soldiers for the defense of the town. The truth is, there were twenty-one boys in tents, and three escaped. They were not soldiers, having no drill as soldiers. They were boys so young that it was a common remark that Captain Beam was gathering in all the infants—boys so young they were considered as infants unfit for service. They were called "Beam's babes." They were not mustered into the service, and perhaps few of them could have stood the tests of a mustering officer, and it is doubtful whether a boy among them could have been legally held to service without the consent of his parents. It was murder—ruthless murder—to ride up on such boys, most of them asleep, and slay them. They had not a single gun, and they would have had to pass the test of muster before arms would have been furnished them by the government. But the wretches who killed them would never have entered the town—such was their bravery—if the boys had had guns in their hands. They had, however, the blue uniform on them; and I met one of the three escaped boys afterwards who had succeeded in being enlisted, and he told me that he was in his tent when they advanced on him, and was pulling on his pants, when the blue color suggested to his mind that they would be sure to recognize him as a soldier as he ran, and fire upon him; and he then threw the soldier's pants aside and fled in his nightclothes.

This brutal lieutenant says they injured no women or children. Now for facts. Several of Quantrill's men went into a house where an amiable lady was sitting alone, in a lonely part of the city. They rummaged drawers, found infant's clothes, and in a most insulting manner told her of her condition, which she modestly and in agony confessed. They cursed and swore about "more abolitionists," and used her so roughly that her husband took her from the scenes of her sorrows to friends at Detroit, where, in nervous prostration, she died in childbirth. That will do. A good woman will almost die before she will reveal such scenes of shame! And the brutes who know of them, and know their own guilt, therefore, feel safe in denial, where no accusation is made.

These men shot Mr. Swan, his child in his arms, and his wife by his side. In the same manner they murdered Mr. Eohrle, and his child for years afterwards was the editor of the *Frie Presse*, the German paper of Lawrence. The parents could not speak English, and the father said "Nicht versteh." They replied, "G— d—— you, we will make you versteh!" The mother grasped the infant as the father fell, and fled to my house, a mile away. When I returned, she sat

among sympathizing ladies, swinging to and fro in a rocking-chair, exclaiming, in broken English: "My mon! My mon! They murder my mon!" They pursued Judge Carpenter, wounded; and when his wife and sister threw their bodies upon him to save him, they pulled the women's clothes and persons from him and stuck their guns between them and gave him two death shots! The only merciful part of it is that they did not shoot through the wife's and sister's bodies.

Our first schoolmaster, who taught the free-state and pro-slavery parents' children alike, and never spoke of politics in his school, Edward Fitch, was wantonly murdered in his home and the house set on fire. The widowed wife and mother succeeded in dragging the body from the flames. They cursed her, and threw it back, and it was consumed. One of them discovered her looking at her husband's photograph, with her three children around her. He grabbed it and cast it into the fire. Nobody could conceive a cause for this cruelty till the mother said: "My little child had gotten a toy American flag, and had climbed upon the shed and placed it there." And they call that honor towards women and children!

So considerate of women and children were these men, that one of them violently grabbed her baby from Mrs. H. D. Fisher's arms and gave her choice, with a revolver at her head, whether she would be shot, or light a lamp to enable them to find her husband in the cellar, to shoot him and burn him with the house. She lit the lamp. But her husband lay so closely in a trench by the cellar wall that they did not find him, but sat with cocked guns to shoot him in any attempt to escape. Mrs. Fisher and Mrs. John Sugrue carried him out in a roll of carpet, and piled chairs, pots, kettles, etc., over him and saved his life. "Truth is stranger than fiction"—and more horrible!

They went to the house of Doctor Griswold, called out the men, pledging the honor of soldiers that they would not hurt them. Expecting to be treated no worse at most than as prisoners, they went out, only to be shot down in the presence of their wives and children. There fell Doctor Griswold, Editor Josiah Trask, Senator Thorp, and H. W. Baker, now (as then) one of the firm of Ridenour & Baker (now of Kansas City), shot through the lungs, left for dead, still living to tell all he knows of the horrors of that day. These are but few specimens.

Now to my own home. A mother who knew not the fate of her boys, but believing it impossible that they would murder such children, clung to the house through all this. It was a mile from the heart of these scenes. About twenty men came and set it on fire. One man showed her some sympathy by helping her as she was attempting to drag a heavy sofa from the flames. She asked him why that home should be burned over her and her little children. He said, "I will ask the lieutenant," and he did; to which came the brutal response: "No, G—d d—n the abolitionists; why should this house be saved?" That ended it. From the heartless manner in which Gregg rode over "Beam's babes," and "shot right and left with Quantrill," and from the fact that he did not shoot her and her poor little children, I suspect that that man must have been Quantrill's second lieutenant. But she saved the house after he left. All my other property was destroyed, as I expected. That was war. All else was demonism, murder, butchery.

In expiation of these crimes, Gregg says "the Kansans" went to Jackson county and robbed and burned the houses of two citizens, Messrs. Sanders and Crawford, and "took them to Blue Springs and killed them." He names no individuals as engaged in it, and no such crime was ever traced to a Lawrence citizen. And for these alleged deaths they murdered 180 Lawrence people. He

says the perpetrators of that deed "refused to let the women folks put on so much as a bonnet, although it was in the winter." And for this incivility, by unnamed persons, these avengers made 80 mothers widows and 250 innocent children orphans.

The statements about Quantrill having "a grievance" are all false. He was an all-around tough, and came to Lawrence as a better place for opportunities, dishonoring his parents by changing his name to Charley Hart. He belonged to a gang who stole negroes from Missouri and held them for the reward. He sneaked from Lawrence as a horse-thief. He never was an abolitionist, nor did he come to Kansas with abolitionists. He came with Colonel Torrey, of Paola, Kan., an honest, upright man, but never an abolitionist. That story has been told with many variations—generally that the abolitionists robbed him and killed his father and brother; but he never had a father or brother in Kansas. That is like the fables told about the James boys and the Youngers to palliate their murders and bank and train robberies.

Gregg's story about Lane "going out to a pond and getting under water all but the tip of his nose" is such contemptible "rot" as to make a person doubt whether he ever was with Quantrill. Three men captured Arthur Spicer, and compelled him, with revolvers at his head, to mount a horse and lead them to Lane's house. There was not water enough in less than half a mile—the Kansas river—to cover Lane's toes, and to get there he would have had to pass in sight of Quantrill's forces.

"It is strange men cannot be brave enough to tell the truth. . . . Quantrill and his men went to Lawrence with hell in their necks and raised hell after they got there," says this man. It took his mouth thirty-five years to get open. Time passes and but few of the sufferers are alive. Then I was in the prime of manhood, and I have lived to be eighty-one years old before I heard the howl of the hyena around the graves of his victims. Baxter says every criminal but the hypocrite has been converted; the hypocrite never. Pollock did not live long enough to properly cauterize the hypocrite, but he made a pretty good stagger at it for a youth:

"In the grave
The hypocrite had left his mask, and stood
In naked ugliness. . . .
. . . Of all the reprobate
None seemed maturer for the flames of hell;
Where still his face, from ancient custom, wears
A holy air, which says to all that pass
Him by: I was a hypocrite on earth."

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

An address by O. E. LEARNARD before the Republican Editorial Association of the Second Congressional District, at Osawatomie, May 18, 1898.

WE are met to celebrate the anniversary of a memorable incident in the political history of Kansas. Thirty-nine years ago, here in Osawatomie, the republican party of Kansas, as a distinctive political organization, was born. The time and circumstances were ripe for the event.

After a long and bitter struggle between freedom and slavery, involving the fate of the future state, and not only that, but far-reaching national interests as well, slavery had been vanquished, its territorial expansion stayed, and Kansas was free—forever free.

The free-state party organization, under whose banner the contest had been waged and won, had but a single plank and a single purpose—freedom for Kansas. Composed as it was of men whose former party predilections and affiliations were largely dissimilar, often antagonistic, they strove together loyally and faithfully until the victory was assured. When the purpose of that organization had been achieved and the time approached when, under a state organization, an alignment of parties on a national basis would necessarily ensue, a convention was called for the purpose of organizing the republican party of Kansas, on May 18, 1859, at Osawatomie; indeed, republicanism inhered in Kansas, for it had been both its occasion and its inspiration.

The convention was composed of representative men from nearly every settled portion of the territory. Most of them had been active participants in the late conflict, thoroughly imbued with its spirits and aims. Nor were they less prominent and influential under the state organization that followed, which was largely the product of their efforts. The history of Kansas is for the most part a record of their lives and labors.

Of some of the incidents of the occasion, the influences that were active in it, as well as of some of the preliminary steps that led up to it, I shall speak briefly. As I have already indicated, there was a diversity of views among those who had constituted the free-state party that was sharply defined, and as to which there was more or less doubt in the minds of many as to the possibility of being able to reconcile and harmonize them, and this was particularly true, strange as it may seem at this day, on the question of the negro in Kansas, a question that had from time to time shown signs of vitality in previous years. Of course, there were radical abolitionists among us, able men, and true to their convictions; there were, also (and it was numerically the strongest), a conservative element, not a few of whom were declared "black-law men," so called because they favored the entire exclusion of the negro. This hardly seems possible, in the light of the persistent and unyielding opposition to slavery that characterized the early struggles of Kansas. And these facts cannot readily be reconciled from the present point of view.

But I think I am warranted in saying that it is nevertheless true. In other words, a majority of the free-state men of Kansas had no purpose or wish to interfere with the institution of slavery where it existed, nor did they covet the presence of the colored element, slave or free. In support of this assumption, I refer you to the fact that the word "white" was put into our constitution at Wyandotte, and that when, in 1867, a constitutional amendment was submitted striking out that word, it was defeated at the polls by a vote of nearly two to one, and it remained in the constitution until after the adoption of the fourteenth amendment to the national constitution, for the ratification of which, by the way, as a member of the state senate, I had the honor to cast a vote.

These divergent views and the struggles they might involve in the proposed party organization caused not a few of the prominent free-state men to hesitate about committing their political fortunes to the decision of the convention. But when the time came the respective forces rallied, and the convention was a thoroughly representative one. Possibly some of the incidents of the meeting are best explained by the facts to which I have referred; possibly so the calling of the convention at Osawatomie in preference to some more prominent and convenient place where the local influences might have given predominance to one or the other faction; though I recall the fact that O. C. Brown—"Osawatomie" Brown, he was called in those days—a prominent citizen of this place, had more or less to do with securing the convention here. I presume there are many here

yet who knew O. C. Brown, who was the founder, or one of the founders, of this town, and who gave it its name, though I believe Mrs. Brown should have the credit of originating the same. Mr. Brown was a gentleman of culture and ability, and was so recognized throughout the territory.

Perhaps the fact of my selection as president of the convention, also, was an outgrowth of the diversity of views of which I have spoken, for I had been somewhat active in rallying one of the elements to attend the convention, Hon. W. A. Phillips being put forward for the position by the other side, the radical wing. Not that I entertained extreme views on the issue, but rather that I did not, but believed that these differences, that were really somewhat personal, might be harmonized, as they fortunately were. These same facts, or factors, may also serve to explain why Mr. Greeley did not address, and was not invited to address, the convention. There was a feeling that Mr. Greeley, with his very pronounced views, and his lack of understanding of the peculiar status of our affairs, might serve to aggravate, rather than to placate, the prevailing differences; and so, while entertaining all due admiration, respect and gratitude for that eminent gentleman, it was not by the majority deemed advisable to invite him to participate in the business of the convention. That Mr. Greeley made a very able and effective speech that day at Osawatomie is, of course, true, but not to the convention. My recollection is, that he spoke from an extemporized platform outside and just north of the building in which the convention occupied the second story. I refer to this and other similar matters, not in justification or criticism, but solely for the truth of history.

It may not interest you to be told that the journey to and from Osawatomie at that particular time was something of a test to a man's pluck and endurance, for it was during or just following the rainy season, the roads being well-nigh impassable, and the streams swollen to overflowing, on account of which the attendance was considerably lessened from what it otherwise would have been. I came up from the Great Neosho with a small party from Burlington and one or two from Emporia, and when we reached the Pottawatomie we were informed that it was out of the question to think of fording, and there was no ferry. A raft, however, was improvised that finally brought us over, and we reached Osawatomie in a decidedly dilapidated condition. But we were somewhat younger then, and we bore our afflictions lightly. There was a good deal of caucusing and "maneuvering for position" preliminary to the assembling of the convention, which met in Deacon Cronkhite's hotel, the Osage Valley House, in the unfinished second story arranged for the purpose. The temporary organization, however, was accomplished without friction, the committees appointed, and the usual recess taken. On reassembling, the permanent organization effected, the business was entered upon promptly and vigorously. I doubt if my recollection of all the details is to be depended upon, as I was kept pretty well stirred up during the session. Most of the participants were older and more experienced than myself, but I had had some observations of deliberative bodies while a student at Albany, N. Y., and I put them to effective use that day. They made it decidedly lively for me, I confess; but I ruled promptly and with decision, exercising the prerogatives of my position with a high hand, though very likely unwisely at times. We had speeches and resolutions and discussions all the morning, without acrimony or ill feeling, however, and at noon adjourned for dinner.

On reassembling, the resolutions were reported and the discussion became animated. During the interim I had had an interview with Mr. Ewing, afterwards chief justice and still later brigadier general, in which I expressed a wish that he

should make a speech, he having up to that time been silent, though deeply interested, and with whose views my own were in a general way in accord. His reply was, that he could not make a speech after Mark Parrott, who had spoken in the morning, and who was, perhaps, the most eloquent and versatile man we had in Kansas up to that time. I will not venture to extend the comparison further. I persisted, however, and after the afternoon discussion had proceeded to what I considered a reasonable length, seeing Mr. Ewing enter the hall and without waiting for him to address the chair I recognized him, and invited, or rather requested, him to come to the platform. He was an imposing figure, and had a commanding presence, tall and straight as an Indian. Coming forward he faced the assembly, and, as it seemed to me, stood for a full minute without uttering a syllable. When he commenced speaking it was slowly, deliberately, and with a tremulous voice. Every nerve in him seemed to be strung to its highest tension. He argued for the resolutions in a most effective speech, the most effective, it seems to me now, I have ever heard in Kansas. After he concluded there was a further slight effort on the part of the opposition to modify the resolutions, but the call for a vote was general, which resulted in the adoption of the resolutions almost if not quite unanimously. The threatened difficulties and dissensions were overcome, and the republican party of Kansas was an accomplished fact.

An incident connected with the interview between Mr. Ewing and myself already referred to I venture to mention. The well-known common ambition of Ewing and Parrott toward the United States senatorship came up. Being a friend of both parties, I was desirous of harmonizing, if possible, their conflicting aspirations. Finally, Ewing agreed that if the state constitution to be framed provided for the chief justiceship specially, and he was chosen to the position, he would not contest for the senatorship. The constitution was so framed, Ewing was elected chief justice, but Parrott failed in his high ambition, despite the fact that a majority of the first legislature was elected in his interest.

Since that convention thirty-nine long years have come and gone, and what years they have been! How full of incidents, transcending all our hopes and dreams, not only in Kansas, but to the country at large and the race. Most of the prominent participants in those early and stirring events have passed away. Pomeroy, Phillips, the Thachers, Root, Parrott, Ewing, Robinson, Lane, Adams, Winchell, Plumb, Wilder, Bailey, Conway, Crozier, and many others hardly less prominent, besides the unrecorded list of heroic men and women who, through suffering and sacrifices, made possible this wonderful commonwealth, of which, in their days of tribulation, they had but dim visions—after life's fitful fever they sleep well. We were but a handful in numbers then, casting, as I remember, less than 16,000 votes in the whole territory at the following fall election. And yet, within five years thereafter, Kansas sent 23,000 men into the volunteer army, for the preservation of the union. But we were strong in purpose, though weak in numbers and poor in purse; and I venture to say that at no time in our history has there been more intensity of faith and trust in high ideals, or life possessed of more zest and enthusiasm.

We were still isolated from the great world with which we had our hopes and aspirations in common. There were no railroads or telegraphs in Kansas, unless possibly at Fort Leavenworth. The telephone had nearly twenty years to wait before the hour of its revelation was to come. Slavery was still strong and defiant, despite its defeat in Kansas, and men, women and children were still being sold like cattle in the public marts of the South, wherein a state of society existed so different from anything that now remains that no one not personally

cognizant of it can realize, much less appreciate it. During these intervening years—that seem so short to-day, at least—children have been born into the world, grown to manhood and womanhood, performed their allotted parts on the stage of life, and, already in the strength and maturity of years, have passed on beyond. Verily it must be that some of us are growing old.

I shall not, of course, at this time attempt to detail the marvelous changes and improvements which these years have brought in every activity in life, even here in Kansas. Volumes alone would suffice for that. Now we are a great and rich commonwealth, with our capabilities and resources but meagerly tested, and, as we advance step by step, new and larger possibilities are revealed, and the future promise of our beloved state is greater far than even her past achievements.

To be a republican, in the larger and higher sense, is still a thing to be proud of, as it is to be a true and loyal Kansan, as it is to be an American—a devoted and appreciative citizen of the forever re-United States. These are our heritage, which tax our gratitude and our fidelity.

This meeting, while it is in a sense non-partizan, is under the auspices of the republican editors of the second congressional district. Gentlemen of the association, you may well be proud of your mission and work. The grand achievements of these eventful years are largely the achievements of the republican party organization; and truly, despite its failures and shortcomings, notwithstanding its mistakes and humiliations, from out its defeats no less than its triumphs, the republican party is still the party of the people, the party of freedom, the party of progress. Here in Kansas we have been peculiarly afflicted, punished perhaps not unjustly, for deeds both of omission and commission, though it seems to me our punishment has been out of all proportion to our deserts, great as they may have been. We have been betrayed by those we have trusted; deserted by those we have warmed and fed; turned out of the house we ourselves have built, by the ungrateful recipients of our bounty. But amid all our afflictions we have never known despair, and to-day, on this anniversary of our birth as a political party, we have the enthusiasm of youth, the courage of tried and tested manhood, and the determined purpose that opposition and temporary defeat can provoke.

For myself I have to say, that as on this spot thirty-nine years ago I pledged my political troth and made my political vows, so to-day and in this place I renew my vows and reaffirm my faith in the spirit and principles of republicanism. I have sons, Kansas born and bred, to whom a large part of the legacy I may hope to transmit is a republican education and a republican chance in the world, and, in the years to come, in them and their sons after them, I am glad to think that the republican party will have loyal supporters and earnest followers; but I trust, also, that the aims of their republicanism shall be something higher than personal ends, something nobler than mere party success or party expediency; a republicanism that shall have for its corner-stone patriotism, and for its crowning arch political integrity. Such is the republicanism, and such only, that may command our fealty or hope to survive the tests of time. In closing, I appropriate the final words of Mr. Greeley's memorable speech:

"I entreat you to keep the republican flag flying in Kansas so long as one man can be rallied anywhere to defend it. Defile not the glorious dust of the martyred dead, whose freshly-grassed graves lie thickly around us, by trailing that flag in dishonor or folding it in cowardly despair on this soil so lately reddened by patriotic blood. If it be destined in the mysterious providence of God to go down, let the sunlight that falls lovingly over their graves catch the last defiant wave of its folds in the breeze which sweeps from these prairies; let it be burned, not surrendered, when no man remains to uphold it; and let its ashes rest forever with theirs by the Marais des Cygnes."

THE LAWRENCE RAID.

Written by H. E. PALMER, late captain of Company A, Eleventh Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

FOR several months prior to the Lawrence raid my command, consisting of company A, Eleventh Kansas volunteer cavalry, and a detachment of the First Missouri state militia artillery (two mountain howitzers), had been constantly employed scouting through Jackson, Saline, Bates and Butler counties, Missouri, with instructions from Gen. Thomas Ewing, commanding district of the border, to destroy bushwhackers infesting that region, and by all means to prevent the gathering of any large force of the enemy at any one point. Westport, Mo., was designated as headquarters—the point to come for rations, ammunition, horses, etc.

To better prosecute this dangerous and thankless work, I divided my command into squads of from seven to twenty men, and patrolled every road and cow-path in all that region of country, covering as much of the territory as possible. We were forced to adopt bushwhacking tactics, keep in the brush, follow wood roads and trails, watch fords and other crossings of streams where the bushwhackers were apt to come, day and night, with constant vigil—hunting as one would hunt Indians. Hardly a day passed without meeting the enemy, and many unburied and unknown dead marked the meeting place. This scouting and everlasting vigilance on our part were made necessary by the rapid and desperate moves made by the enemy.

Quantrill had enrolled under his black flag full 600 men; like ourselves, they were divided up into small bands, under able captains and lieutenants. His men were braver and more dangerous than the Apache or Comanche Indians, better riders, and armed with carbines and from two to four Colt's revolvers to the man. They were industrious, bloodthirsty devils, who apparently never slept; to-day they would attack with a mad rush of twenty or forty men against a hundred, if they could see a chance of surprise, and in one night's ride they would be fifty miles away. As they possessed the entire country south of the Missouri river to the Arkansas line, a region well stocked with good horses, they could swap their jaded steeds for anything better that came in the way. They were familiar with every cow-path, knew nearly every farmer, ninety-five per cent. of whom would give his all to help a bushwhacker fighting the "northern invader"—the "Lincoln hirelings."

The bushwhacker or guerrilla had the advantage of union men in more ways than superior mounting and knowledge of the country. A great advantage was in their being untrammeled by any of the rules of civilized warfare. Taking no prisoners, they had no encumbrances; wearing no regular uniform except for disguise, and carrying no flags except in saddle pockets, to be used to decoy unsuspecting union soldiers into the ambush for slaughter.

To meet these devils on anything like equal terms, we had to learn new tactics; drill by signs and signals; we had to learn to read a villainous face whose heart was covered by federal blue. We had to know whether or not other federal comrades were hunting guerrillas in our territory. Our work had to be prosecuted within certain limits, absolutely so. Otherwise we might be firing upon friends instead of upon foes.

To make my work more effective, it was agreed between General Ewing, com-

manding the district of the border, Maj. P. B. Plumb, acting provost marshal of the district, and myself, that I might select two men from my command to desert to the enemy and serve as spies. I selected two men who were patriotic enough to accept the detail without one word of protest, volunteering for the very dangerous work promptly.

To any one familiar with the "border war," or the character of Missouri bushwhackers under Quantrill, made up of desperadoes of the frontier, from Missouri to the Gulf and from the Mississippi to the mountains, the bravery of these two federal soldiers who volunteered to take their lives in their hands, engaging in the most dangerous service of the war, will be fully appreciated. One lost his life within ninety days, shot in the back of his head by the notorious Capt. Bill Todd, without one word of warning. Sitting at the camp-fire laughing and joking with his comrades, the assassin Todd stepped out from the dark, placing his pistol close to the back of his victim's head, fired. Henry Starr, the spy, fell forward near the feet of his unsuspected comrade, the other spy.

Capt. Dick Yeager, who commanded the guerrilla band of which Starr was a member, sprang forward with drawn revolver and demanded of Todd an explanation. Todd replied by asserting that Starr had sent a letter to Palmer — that he was a spy. The soldier who had joined the guerrillas with Starr remained with the band until the end of the war, and is now a resident of Texas.

It will be understood from the foregoing statement of facts that everything was being done that was possible to protect the state of Kansas and the loyal districts of northern Missouri from the guerrillas and rebel raiders. There were fully 3000 troops in the district of the border, and as many more in the department of Kansas. Troops were stationed within from ten to fifteen miles apart from Kansas City to Fort Scott; there were soldiers north of Kansas City, at Parkville, Leavenworth, Weston, Iatan, Atchison, and St. Joseph, and at nearly every county-seat in northern Missouri, and in the border counties between Missouri and Kansas to the Arkansas line. Scouting parties were constantly passing from post to post, and my command, as stated, was especially detailed to trail and bushwhack the bushwhackers.

Quantrill was not the only enemy to be feared. Joe Shelby, the most daring rebel raider that ever straddled a horse, was often hammering our lines when we thought him hundreds of miles away. Quantrill was not advertising his raids or billing himself to be at a given point on a certain date. No one in Kansas, in Kansas City, or Westport, had an inkling even of Quantrill's intention to raid Lawrence until I received the news, at eleven P. M., August 20, 1863. Not a man in Quantrill's command, except three or four of his best officers, knew of the intended raid until eight P. M. that evening.

I was expecting a serious attack at some point near Kansas City. I had seen messengers here and there — well-mounted guerrillas — passing north and south near the eastern line of Jackson and Bates counties. For weeks I had been breaking up their rendezvous in the Sni hills. Finally I had fallen back to Westport for supplies and ammunition, and to be near the point of attack. My men were ready: horses saddled day and night, men sleeping with their carbines in their arms: every man fully dressed and ready at any hour of the night to respond to the bugle call, to spring to his horse's side, tighten the girth, slip the bits in the animal's mouth, mount and ride into line, calling their numbers as they rode into their places.

An orderly mounted was at my house, a bugler on the porch, my horse in care of a colored servant, ready for the signal. At eleven P. M., August 20, 1863, I re-

ceived a cipher dispatch from Henry Starr, the spy in Dick Yeager's band. It was handed to me by his sweetheart, a sister of the notorious bushwhacker chieftain Bill Anderson. She had ridden ten miles, from Little Santa Fe, Mo., to hand me the message which she thought was to allure me to my death. Translated, it read, "Quantrill 300 strong crossed the line at Santa Fe 9:30 P. M. going to Lawrence." I gave the signal; the bugle sounded the alarm. I wrote a copy of the dispatch and directed the orderly to ride as fast as he could to Ewing's headquarters at Kansas City, three miles away; that I would move on a walk on the direct river road to Lawrence, awaiting his return with orders, if any.

I left Westport at 11:05 P. M. About four miles out my orderly returned, with an order signed "Thomas Ewing," directing me to take the most direct route for Little Santa Fe, find Quantrill's trail and follow it, engaging him, if possible. This fatal dispatch and my answer were read and written by the light of matches, while the command was halted. I wrote in reply that a mistake was certainly being made; to go now to Little Santa Fe meant more than fifteen miles out of my way to Lawrence. I advised that I should still keep moving slowly towards Lawrence; that I could put my entire command, 130 men, and two pieces of artillery, in Lawrence by 3:30 A. M. A fresh mount was sent back to Kansas City, or to meet Ewing's command, which was then on the march. In less than fifty minutes he returned with a most positive order for me to go to Little Santa Fe, then fully twenty miles out of my way to Lawrence. The order stated that Lawrence was not in danger—*a messenger had been sent there.* To disobey this order, twice repeated, meant death. I called Lieutenants Thornton, Slane, and Wachsman, my junior officers, for council; all said, "Obey orders; do n't chance the consequences of the disobedience." I reluctantly turned to the left. Instead of going to Little Santa Fe, I pushed on directly south, and at Aubrey, Kan., several miles west of Little Santa Fe, and that much nearer Lawrence, I struck Quantrill's trail going to Lawrence. I turned to the right and followed the broad trail straight across the prairie. The grass, for a space of fully twenty feet wide, had been beaten down deep into the sod, so that for more than two years the trail was well marked. Here I found myself full twenty miles in the rear, about three o'clock A. M., horses fatigued; a trot over level ground was the best I could do.

At sunrise I was within about seven miles of Lawrence, my horses so tired that I could not move faster than a walk. The smoke of the burning city indicated that I was too late. One hundred and ninety buildings had been burned; 143 lives had been sacrificed. Starr had told the truth; Quantrill was bound for Lawrence. I had obeyed orders against my best judgment; against a premonition that I was doing wrong in obeying the order to turn south. There was an intuition, a first thought, that directed me to go to Lawrence: a second thought that argued that the general commanding had sent messengers to alarm the city —possibly other troops were *en route* for Lawrence, or there—and that if I did not push on towards Paola, Kan., where there were several hundred thousand dollars' worth of military stores, guarded by only 100 infantrymen, there might occur a terrible massacre and the loss of a large amount of government stores, badly needed at that time. Certainly Paola seemed to be a point worthy of attack by a commander serving the rebel cause. Realizing that it was too late to save Lawrence, and that the logical route for Quantrill's retreat was *via* Paola, I turned to the left, and at Lanefield (three horses having dropped to the ground, unable to move a step further) I stopped an hour, bathed the horses in cold water, rubbed them dry, and gave them a light feed of oats, then pushed on to Bull creek, *en route* to Paola.

At Bull creek I ran into Quantrill's command. Then commenced a running

fight, or rather a walking fight; my horses could not move faster than a walk. The heat was intense—at least 100 degrees in the shade. The enemy had captured many fresh horses in Lawrence, and could ride all around us; yet they had many of their weary nags and many loads of plunder, and could not move much faster on the march than ourselves. We turned their column. Instead of pushing on to Paola, as he intended, Quantrill turned towards Missouri. Major Plumb's command, from Kansas City, struck Quantrill's left flank about five P. M. Plumb's stock was exhausted. We all followed Quantrill, firing as often as we came near their rear guard, until after dark, when we had reached the Grand river timber, directly east of Paola. We could go no further, and camped there until morning, when we found only tracks of the bushwhacking fiends. They had pushed on during the night, and were safe in the Missouri brush. Their bands scattered and divided into small squads; no possible show of overhauling or capturing them. My horses had traveled over seventy-five miles, with only an hour's rest. We had fought Quantrill for about ten miles on his route, and turned him from Paola, where he undoubtedly intended to go. We had no rations, except a few pieces of "hardtack" which I had ordered my men to store in their saddle pockets along with an extra supply of cartridges; no blankets except our wet saddle-blankets. The men slept on the green grass under the starry canopy of heaven, huddled together spoon fashion, to keep off the cold night air. No supper, no breakfast, or dinner.

The next day, August 22, after scouting Grand river valley and timber for over ten miles, we gave up the fruitless chase and marched towards Westport, foraging among the farmers for something to eat, and camped that night near Little Santa Fe. August 24 we reached Westport at nine A. M. Next day, August 25, General Ewing, who was stopping temporarily at my headquarters, issued general orders, No. 11, as follows:

"GENERAL ORDERS, No. 11.

"HEADQUARTERS, DISTRICT OF THE BORDER,
KANSAS CITY, MO., August 25, 1863.

"1. All persons living in Jackson, Cass and Bates counties, Missouri, and in that part of Vernon included in this district, except those living within one mile of the limits of Independence, Hickman's Mills, Pleasant Hill, and Harrisonville, and except in that part of Kaw township, Jackson county, north of Brush creek and west of the Big Blue, are hereby ordered to remove from their present places of residences within fifteen days from the date hereof. Those who, within that time, establish their loyalty to the satisfaction of the commanding officer of the military station nearest their present places of residence, will receive from him certificates stating the fact of their loyalty and the names of the witnesses by whom it can be shown. All who receive such certificates will be permitted to remove to any military station in this district, or to any part of the state of Kansas except the counties on the eastern borders of the state. All others shall remove out of this district. Officers commanding companies and detachments serving in the counties named, will see that this paragraph is promptly obeyed.

"2. All grain and hay in the field or under shelter, in the district from which the inhabitants are required to move, within reach of military stations, after the 9th day of September next, will be taken to such stations and turned over to the proper officers there, and report of the amount so turned over made to district headquarters, specifying the names of all loyal owners and the amount of such produce taken from them. All grain and hay found in such district after the 9th day of September next, not convenient to such stations, will be destroyed.

"3. The provisions of general orders, No. 10, from these headquarters, will be at once vigorously executed by officers commanding in the parts of the district and at the stations not subject to the operation of paragraph 1 of this order, and especially in the towns of Independence, Westport, and Kansas City.

"4. Paragraph 3, general orders, No. 10, is revoked as to all who have borne arms against the government in this district since the 20th day of August, 1863.

"By order of Brigadier General Ewing. H. HANNAHS, *A. A. A. G.*"

The reference to general orders, No. 10, in paragraph 3 of this order, refers to sections 1 and 2 of No. 10, which read as follows:

"GENERAL ORDERS, No. 10.

"HEADQUARTERS, DISTRICT OF THE BORDER,
KANSAS CITY, MO., August 18, 1863.

"1. Officers commanding companies and detachments will give escort and subsistence, as far as practicable, through that part of Missouri included in this district, to all loyal free persons desiring to remove to the state of Kansas, or to permanent military stations in Missouri, including all persons who have been ascertained, in the manner provided in general orders, No. 9, of this district, to have been the slaves of persons engaged in aiding the rebellion since July 17, 1862. Where necessary, the teams of persons who have aided the rebellion since September 25, 1862, will be taken to help such removal, and after being used for that purpose will be turned over to the officer commanding the nearest military station, who will at once report them to an assistant provost marshal, or the district provost marshal, and hold them subject to his order.

"2. Such officers will arrest, and send to the district provost marshal for punishment, all men (and all women not heads of families) who wilfully aid and encourage guerrillas, with the written statement of the names and residence of such persons, and of the proof against them. They will discriminate, as carefully as possible, between those who are compelled by threats or fears to aid the rebels, and those who aid them from disloyal motives. The wives and children of known guerrillas, and also women who are heads of families and are wilfully engaged in aiding guerrillas, will be notified by such officers to remove out of this district and out of the state of Missouri forthwith. They will be permitted to take, unmolested, their stock, provisions, and household goods. If they fail to remove promptly, they will be sent by such officer, under escort, to Kansas City for shipment south, with their clothes and such necessary household furniture and provisions as may be worth removing.

. . . . . .

"By order of Brigadier General Ewing. P. B. PLUMB,
Major and Chief of Staff.

He read the order to a few of his officers. I was present. All agreed that it was the best thing that could be done. It was the only plan that would make it impossible for Quantrill to maintain and support a large command in that district. His friends and supporters must be brought to military camps where they could not feed guerrillas.

After the issuance of this order, and after the other officers had left, being alone with General Ewing and Major Plumb, I asked how it was possible that my message to them about Quantrill's intended raid on Lawrence should be misunderstood. Major Plumb, afterwards lieutenant colonel of my regiment, and after the war for many years a United States senator, explained that General Ewing had gone on the 20th to Leavenworth city, Kan., outside of his own district into the district of Kansas to visit his sick wife, no serious danger from bushwhackers being apprehended. It was not considered a serious matter for the commanding officer to absent himself from his command for twenty-four hours. If, however, an attack was made by the enemy, the absence of the commander without leave was a serious question, and considering the horrible massacre that had occurred, General Ewing was nearly prostrated with grief.

The district of Kansas and the district of the border were in the department of the Missouri, headquarters in St. Louis, then under the command of Gen. John M. Schofield. To get a formal leave of absence to cross the line on unofficial business, meant a week's work of red-tape formality; so it had been con-

sidered that a "French leave" for a few hours was all right. He had left the command under the control of his chief of staff, Major Plumb. For himself, Major Plumb said he had other information that Quantrill was bound for Paola. He felt that there could be no doubt on this point, and he had sent a messenger to Lawrence. Afterwards it transpired that this messenger got lost, rode several miles out of his way, and finally reached a point near Lawrence in time to see the charging hosts of Quantrill's band filling the streets of the doomed city. The man fled back to Kansas City, and never boasted of the service rendered on that night's lonely ride on the timbered Kaw bottom to Lawrence.

Two or three days after the issuance of general orders, No. 11, startling news came from Kansas, to the effect that Gen. James H. Lane, then a United States senator from Kansas, had escaped from Lawrence and Quantrill's murderous gang by fleeing in his nightshirt, through the backyard of a house where Quantrill did not think of finding him, into a cornfield (Quantrill's excuse for raiding Lawrence, which had been his home, was to kill Jim Lane): that Lane, with over 500 country and towns people was marching on Westport, Kansas City, and Independence, Mo., vowing dire vengeance against the citizens of these three towns, and swearing to burn every house, in retaliation for the destruction of Lawrence. A majority of General Ewing's force were Kansas men. Feeling ran high: the naked, half-burned and otherwise mutilated corpses of 143 innocent non-combatants just buried by the grief stricken citizens of Lawrence cried aloud for revenge. The border spirit of rapine and murder, and the frontier instinct of self-protection by demanding life for life, with big interest for the first transgression, prevailed to a large extent. The people of the three threatened Missouri towns were innocent —nearly all of them—of any sympathy for Quantrill's horrid act. Yet reason and right cannot stand against mob law. The people became terror-stricken.

General Ewing sent for me, and asked if I could depend upon my men to fire on Kansas men, if necessary to stop Lane. I thought I could. He ordered me to meet Lane on the Kansas line. With 130 men, cavalry, and artillery (two mountain howitzers), I formed my command in battle line on the open prairie, about four miles southwest of Westport. When Lane appeared I rode forward half a mile in advance of my men, and met him at the crossing. I saluted, and asked him to receive a paper which I handed him. He said if it was from General Ewing he would not take it. The general knew me well. (I had served on his staff in 1861, when he commanded Lane's brigade.) I said, "General, I must read it, then." "No," said he, "you need not do it. Damn Ewing. Tell him to keep out of my way. All hell can't stop me." I said, "Ewing has issued an order forcing all people in Jackson, Bates, Butler and Saline counties to abandon their homes. This means an end to bushwhacking, as soon as we can destroy their supplies; and, further, the people of Westport, Kansas City and Independence denounce Quantrill for the Lawrence raid; a few may be sympathizers, but they are old men and women—non-combatants." "Palmer, you must not plead with me," replied the general. "I have orders to stop you, and must obey them," I replied. "May I talk with your men," said Lane. "Yes, general," I said, "if you will halt your command here and ride up to my command with me."

Lane acceded to this, and I introduced him to my little army. The general made one of his typical speeches, a fiery, red-hot talk for ten minutes; told us of the horrors of the massacre. After he had finished, I said, "Now, general, I will reply to your speech." I said, "Men, if there is a man in line before me who will not shoot, and shoot to kill, at yonder mob, at my command to fire, let him ride out ten paces to the front." Not one man stirred from the ranks. I then commanded "In battery" to the gunners, and ordered the cavalry to load their

carbines. Turning to the general, I said: "General Lane, I wish you would go into camp where you are and let us all sleep over this affair before opening the ball; for just as long as I have any command left I am going to forcibly oppose your crossing the line, and I shall try not to waste any ammunition." General Lane went into camp and the next day started to Lawrence, and from there to Leavenworth city, where, a few days later, he spoke from the Mansion House steps to over 10,000 people, denouncing General Ewing in the most scathing, bitter manner possible. General Ewing sent me to Leavenworth in citizen's dress to report Lane's speech. Before opening the harangue, Lane said that Ewing had sent one of his captains to Leavenworth to report to him what he (Lane) had to say of Ewing, and he called on "Capt. H. E. Palmer, of company A, of Ewing's old regiment, the Eleventh Kansas," to step up and take a seat on the platform. The crowd yelled their approval of this complimentary attention to me and I had to go to the front, and could not say that I did not hear all that Lane said.

The Lawrence raid was the culmination of border outrages that had grown from bad to worse unchecked for seven years. Considering the fact that there were no troops in the fated city except a few sick, unarmed soldiers; that of the male population nearly all the able-bodied men were far away fighting for the flag of the union, it could not be expected that *brave men*, no matter how bloodthirsty, could for one moment consider the question of murdering the few unarmed boys and old men—destroying a city with fire and sword: no wonder that Major Plumb should believe that I was mistaken, that Quantrill was *en route* for Paola to massacre the few soldiers there, and destroy half a million dollars' worth of government stores, ordnance stores, quartermaster and commissary goods.

Preston B. Plumb was intensely loyal, brave to a fault; no better soldier ever took the oath that bound him to his country's service. He was loved by his men, and highly respected by every officer who had the pleasure and honor of his acquaintance. Ninety-nine out of 100 officers would have done just what Plumb did: but there is nothing so damning as a mistake that causes defeat and loss of life. The entire country, from Maine to California, and, I might say, from the Lakes to the Gulf, was appalled by the diabolical deed of Quantrill's band. Such warfare might be expected from Indians: not from white men who spoke the same language, and who, only a few years previous, had been neighbors and friends.

The people who had lost their relatives and their homes did not feel disposed to forgive any one, officer or soldier, who could not show conclusively that the success of the murderous devils was in nowise attributable to lack of courage or caution of the troops who were attempting to destroy the guerrillas and protect the defenseless citizens of Lawrence and other Kansas towns. This was the one question discussed *pro* and *con* for many months after the raid. Gen. Thomas Ewing, jr., had to bear the burden of all the abuse of those who, if they had a chance equal to their self-esteem, might have prevented this raid, and might have ended the war in three short months. Lane, for instance, saw in this Lawrence affair an opportunity to crush a man who, before the raid, stood a fair chance of succeeding him in the United States senate; so he frothed at the mouth, and charged all the responsibility to Ewing—charged that he was a rebel, a traitor, a coward, and everything else that was bad. The excited and maddened people who had escaped from Lawrence, their friends in the country and from neighboring towns, gathered their guns and hastened to join "General" Senator Lane in the good work of meting out revenge by helping in the great and glorious work of destroying the three Missouri towns so full of border-war memories—Westport, Kansas City, and Independence. The last-named town had been the

first to flaunt the rebel flag in Missouri and to raise the first confederate company. Why should Ewing prevent the destruction of these pestholes of the rebellion, if he was not in sympathy with their treacherous ideas? Such was the argument of the men who wished to retaliate.

General Ewing was the son of Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, a brother-in-law of General Sherman. He left the bench to assume command of the Eleventh Kansas infantry, afterwards changed to cavalry. He was loved by all his men; was a brave, true and, in every sense of the word, most worthy officer, and more than earned his brigadier general's commission at Prairie Grove, December 7, 1862. No honest, intelligent Kansan blamed him for the Lawrence raid; for his general orders, Nos. 10 and 11; all the yellow journals, called during the war of the rebellion "copperhead sheets," held him up as an infamous destroyer of peaceable homes. George C. Bingham, the renowned Missouri artist, drew on his rebellious imagination, in a painting of general orders, No. 11, showing union soldiers burning farmhouses, destroying crops and personal property, driving women and children before them like cattle. This damnable lie of paint and canvas was exhibited all over the country, and when General Ewing, after the war, stood as the nominee of his party for governor of Ohio, the Bingham painting was credited with his defeat. The following letter, copied from the "Rebellion Records," speaks for itself:

"HEADQUARTERS, DISTRICT OF THE BORDER,
KANSAS CITY, MO., August 25, 1863.

"*Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield, St. Louis, Mo.:* SIR—I got in late yesterday afternoon. I send in enclosed paper general orders, No. 11, which I found it necessary to issue at once, or I would have first consulted you. The excitement in Kansas is great, and there is (or was before this order) great danger of a raid of citizens for the purpose of destroying the towns along the border. My political enemies are fanning the flames and wish me for a burnt offering to satisfy the just passion of the people. If you think it best, please consider me as applying for a court of inquiry. It should be appointed by the general-in-chief or the secretary of war. General Deitzler, of Lawrence, is the only officer of rank, I think, in Kansas, who would be regarded as perfectly impartial. He is at Lawrence now on sick furlough, but is well enough for such duty and knows the district.

"I do not make unconditional application for the court, because I have seen no censure of any one act of mine, or omission even, except my absence from headquarters. It is all mere mob clamor, and all at Leavenworth. Besides I do not (with my want of familiarity with the custom of the service in such matters, and with the horrors of the massacre distressing me) feel confidence in my judgment as to the matter. I therefore ask your friendly advice and action, with the statement that if a full clearance of me by the court is worth anything to you or me or the service I would like to have the court.

"I left my headquarters to go to Leavenworth the day before the massacre on public business. I had never taken an hour of ease or rest with anything undone which I thought necessary for the protection of the border. No man, woman or child even suggested the idea of stationing troops permanently at Lawrence. The whole border has been patrolled night and day for ninety miles and all the troops under my command posted and employed as well as I know how to do it.

"I have not the slightest doubt that any fair court would not only acquit me of all suspicion of negligence, but also give me credit for great precaution and some skill in my adjustment of troops. I assure you, general, I would quit the service at once if I were accused, after candid investigation, of the slightest negligence or of a want of average skill in the command of the forces you have given me.

"I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"THOMAS EWING, JR., *Brigadier General.*"

General John M. Schofield, in his reply to Colonel Townsend, assistant adjutant general, at Washington, D. C., under date of September 14, 1863, says of Ewing: "It is possible that General Ewing might have done more than he did do to guard against such a calamity as that at Lawrence, but I believe he is en-

titled to great credit for the energy, wisdom and zeal displayed while in command of that district."

Again referring to Quantrill's destruction of Lawrence, if there is no monument there commemorating this event, one should be built, if only to bear testimony of "man's inhumanity to man"; testimony of the sacrifice and trials endured by the pioneer settlers of the first stripling abolition city—the place where first appeared the light of "liberty enlightening the world." The first battle, culminating in the most gigantic struggle of armed forces of any age of the world's history, was fought at or near Lawrence, Kan., nearly seven years previous to Quantrell's raid, May 21, 1856. John Brown and his little band of soldiers were the first recruits to inaugurate the great struggle which cost nearly a million lives and billions of money. And to think that one of John Brown's band, Quantrill, was the demon chief who led this unprovoked onslaught of murder and rapine against a defenseless, unarmed community of human beings, is to reflect that Christ chose twelve apostles, and one kissed him as a signal that 't was him that he had sold for thirty pieces of silver.

While this long-drawn-out story does not tell of the fearful scenes that occurred in Lawrence between daylight and ten o'clock August 21, 1863, it does tell of the failure to prevent the raid, and gives to the world an unwritten history that may be interesting.

PIKE OF PIKE'S PEAK.

An address by NOBLE L. PRENTIS, before the Kansas State Historical Society, February 19, 1877.

THOSE who happened to be on the plains in the old days, when the "star of empire" was on wheels—wagon wheels—when California was known as the land of gold, the North American El Dorado, must have noticed on the broad, white, sun-baked highway, the passage of a team, the beasts being called, by a construction of the plural peculiar to their owner, "oxens." The wheelers were known as "Buck" and "Bright"; the leaders as "Tige" and "Golden"—the former as an allusion to his supposed-to-be ferocious and untameable disposition; the latter possibly out of compliment to the destination of the outfit, or their prospects, but probably on account of the dull yellow color of his hide, which was supposed to resemble the metal which had led his human friends to undertake the long, toilsome journey.

Beside the oxen walked a man who, in his length, his looseness, his "batteredness," and the hue of his outer garments, reminded one of an illy-jointed stove-pipe in a country schoolhouse. He indulged in no fancy colors. His tone was dim, not to say subdued. The shock of hair which straggled from beneath his slouch hat extended to the upper boundary of a coat called, from the principal dyestuff used in coloring it, "butternut." The coat extended to pantaloons of the same color, which were finally lost in tremendous boots—enormous piles of rusty leather—red from "long travel, want, and woe." The man's countenance, painted by the hand of the "ager," was of a dull yellow hue, not unlike the complexion of the ox "Golden." From one corner of a gash in this attractive visage called by courtesy a mouth trickled a fluid called "ambeer," which word I take to be a corruption of amber. The man carried no weapons except a whip with a hickory handle long enough for a liberty pole, with a lash in proportion. The whole thing was lamentably slow. The man shambled along as if his boots were made of lead; his loose joints threatened to dissolve their union and erect several

separate confederacies. The oxen jogged along like machines, with the exception of an occasional dash of enterprise on the part of "Tige." Yet the man kept up a constant rambling, loud-voiced, complaining conversation with the oxen, the words varying only in the stress or accent, as: "*You* Buck!" "You *Bright!*" rising into an angry snarl when addressed to the Ishmael of the team, "You TIGE." Occasionally, when the wagon slid down a declivity or had to be dragged up an ascent, the round-shouldered driver seemed to grow taller; he drew himself out like a spy-glass, and swinging the long lash around gave it a crack that sounded like the report of a rifle, at the same time projecting from his leathern lungs the ejaculation, "Whoa! Haw!" that rang far out over the plain and nearly took the oxen off their feet.

So far we have said nothing about the wagon or its contents. It is only by the novel-writer's license that we can see most of the latter, hid from view as they are by the wagon-sheet. The principal figure in sight is, of course, the "old woman," an angular being who sits in front smoking a cob pipe, distributing fragments of conversation all around: now to the tow-headed children, who seem to fill all the space in the wagon not occupied by the old woman: now, in a querulous voice, to her liege lord, who is driving the team, and now to the landscape generally, which the woman appears to regard with dislike if not malevolence. A tall, slim girl, apparently about sixteen, whose attire consists of a sunbonnet and a long, narrow-skirted, dark-blue calico dress, which does not hide her bare feet, trudges beside the wagon the only living creature in the caravan who betrays even the faintest trace of possible prettiness or actual vivacity.

These people pursue their journey day after day, mile after mile. Every night the blaze of their camp-fire rises beside the stream: every morning they leave a little heap of ashes. There they go, up hill and down dale: they disappear in the passes of the Rocky mountains, and there seems borne from them, on the wings of the western wind, a sound—the echo of an echo—it is: "Whoa! Haw!"

To these people thus described, and to all who bore to them a family resemblance, and who in 1849 and in subsequent years crossed the plains to California, came to be applied, by whom originally I know not, the general name of "Pikes." Various explanations have been given of the origin of the name. The most reasonable one is that there are in Missouri and Illinois two large counties named Pike, and separated from each other by the Mississippi river. In 1849 an immense emigration set in from these counties to California. In consequence the traveler bound for the states and meeting teams and asking the usual question, "Where are you from?" was answered frequently with "Pike county," meaning in some cases one Pike county, and in some cases the other. This led to the general impression that everybody on the road was from Pike county, or that the inhabitants from Pike had all taken the road. Hence the general name of Pikes, as applied to emigrants, especially to those traveling from Missouri, and generally those migrating from southern Illinois and southern Indiana. Thus the popular song—the only poetry I ever heard of applied to this class of "movers":

"My name it is Joe Bowers;
I've got a brother Ike;
I'm bound for Calaforny,
An' I'm all the way from Pike."

The impression conveyed by all of this, that the two Pike counties mentioned are semi-heathen regions, is certainly not correct at present. Pike county, Missouri, is one of the most flourishing of the Mississippi river counties, remarkable for the number and eminence of its politicians and lawyers; while of the general elevation and excellence of that section of Illinois of which Pike county forms a

part it is only necessary to say that the author of this address was born in the adjoining county.

But how did it come about that not only these two counties, but in the United States ten counties and twenty-odd townships and towns, bear the name of Pike? I venture to say there are some even in this intelligent audience who cannot readily answer the question. There are doubtless hundreds of Pike county school children who do not know. To answer this question among others, to recall if but for a brief moment the name of a half-forgotten hero—interesting to Kansas people as the first intelligent American explorer of this state—is the object of this address.

Zebulon Montgomery Pike was born a long time ago, as is evidenced by his name. I suppose it is forty years at least since any father or mother in this country has called a son by the Old Testament name of Zebulon. He was, in fact, born in Lamberton, N. J., April 27, 1779. He was born amid the scenes of Washington's brilliant victory over the Hessians (for Lamberton is now a part of Trenton), and but three years after that event. When Washington received his famous ovation at Trenton in 1788, it is possible that the baby Pike was held in arms to see the hero pass under a triumphal arch, while the youthful beauty of New Jersey strewed his way with flowers. If ever a man was born a soldier, Pike was: his father was an officer in the revoluntionary army and was retained or recommissioned in the regular army after the close of the war. Of the boyhood of our hero little has been preserved. He was, however, we know, a bright, courageous, studious boy, and when but little more than a boy was commissioned an ensign in his father's company of infantry. He was born, we may say, on a battle-field. His first serious work in life was to assume the duties of an officer in the army of his country: in that service he lived, and in that service he died.

While Pike's narratives are spiritedly written, and in good English, they betray no evidence of very great literary attainments. He was, however, for the young army officer of his time, well educated. He early acquired a knowledge of Latin, French, and Spanish, and mathematical attainments certainly sufficient for the purposes of a military explorer.

One day in April, 1803, Mr. Barbe Marbois, at that time at the head of the French treasury department, took a walk in a garden in Paris. Mr. Livingston, who was dining with Mr. Monroe, asked him (Marbois) to come to the house. After coffee, the French secretary of the treasury asked Mr. Livingston to step into another room a moment. The two gentlemen had a conversation. It was one of several such. Sometimes they were at St. Cloud: sometimes Talleyrand was a party: sometimes the first consul, Bonaparte: and the result of these various chats was that on the 30th day of April, 1803, was definitely settled the greatest land trade on record. So big was it, that the American government did not know, nor did it realize for years afterwards, how much land it had bought or really where it was located. That accurate scholar, Senator Ingalls, says we bought Louisiana at the rate of 100 acres for a cent. As we paid, in principal and interest, before we got through, $23,500,000, those who are quick at figures may be able to form some idea of the extent of the purchase. We bought it in good time. The English were ready to take New Orleans, and during the closing days of the Spanish occupancy we ourselves were about ready to take it by force. Not three weeks before the first consul signed the treaty of cession, Talleyrand told Mr. Livingston that Louisiana was not theirs to cede. Mr. Livingston smilingly responded that he (Mr. L.) knew a great deal better. Talleyrand still persisting, Mr. Livingston, still smiling, I suppose, remarked that he was pleased to learn that Louisiana still belonged to Spain, as in that

event we should take possession of it anyhow. This is supposed to have accelerated matters considerably. At any rate we got Louisiana for money, and without a fight; hence the Nebraska bill, hence Kansas, and the State Historical Society, and other things too numerous to mention.

But what had we got? That was the question. The Spaniard, unfortunately for mankind, was not cleaned off the face of this continent. He fell back into Mexico. And where and what was Mexico? The Mexican war was waged, more than forty years afterward, to find out. You can imagine how uncertain things were in 1806. We scarcely knew where the Pacific ocean was, and Lewis and Clark were sent to find out. They discovered Nebraska, Dakota, and Oregon. We owned the Mississippi river, and we knew where the lower end of it was; but we had no official knowledge of its source. And this brings our friend Pike on the scene of action.

At the time Pike was selected to explore the sources of the Mississippi he was twenty-six years old. He had no commissioned officer associated with him, and the official labor and responsibility of the expedition fell on him alone. He had under his command one sergeant, two corporals, and seventeen privates. He left St. Louis August 9, 1805, in a keel boat seventy feet long. It was a slavish trip, although the country was not entirely a wilderness. The French for years had known all about the river. The amusement of the voyagers was fishing; their diet, I judge, principally catfish and whisky. There were American traders among the Sacs and other Indians. Pike says they were great rascals. I presume it is not profitable to stop and argue the point. Pike was kind to the Indians, and always gave them all the whisky he could spare. He was very popular with them, I think.

The party was going north, and it kept constantly getting colder. The powder fell into the river, and had to be fished out. In undertaking to dry it in pots an explosion occurred. Lieutenant Pike remarks, "that it had nearly blown up a tent and two or three men with it." Poor Pike! he was yet to experience a greater and more fatal explosion. The party went on, north all the time. The river froze up, and then they dragged their outfit on the ice. They reached the Sioux country and spent much time with that deeply interesting people. One of the chiefs was called The-Wind-That-Walks. I judge from the name that he was a great politician. Pike spent the winter among the frozen lakes, the snowy prairies and hemlock swamps of the far north, and collected a vast amount of information about the country and the numerous Indians who inhabited it. In reading his narrative you find tribes spoken of as numerous and powerful that have now faded, not only from the face of the earth, but from the memory of man. After this toilsome trip it would seem that our young officer ought to have been allowed to rest a while in comfortable quarters at St. Louis, to which place he returned April 30, 1806. But it is doubtful if Pike wished to rest; in fact, it is almost certain that he did not.

The military officer in charge of the western country at that time was Gen. James Wilkinson, a restless, bombastic, fussy old gentleman, with a rare faculty for getting into difficulties. As an officer in the revolutionary army he was concerned in the Conway cabal, a plot to supplant Washington, and place in his stead General Gates, an officer who afterwards got beautifully thrashed by the British at Camden. He turned up in the army after being for a while a merchant at Lexington, Ky., in 1791; received Louisiana from the French in 1803, and contrived to get mixed up in the Burr business to such an extent that nobody knows to this day, I believe, which side he was on. He was investigated, court-martialed, and acquitted; went into the war of 1812; served on the Canada frontier;

was a conspicuous failure; was court-martialed again, and again acquitted; and, finally, there being no opportunity in those days to enter the lecture field, he wrote his memoirs and retired to the City of Mexico, where he died. Gen. James Wilkinson in his day was probably the subject of more uncomplimentary remarks than any man of his caliber in the country, and I deem it no more than justice to say for him, that with all his faults he was a steadfast friend of Zebulon M. Pike.

It was in obedience to General Wilkinson's orders that Pike started on his second expedition — the tour to Kansas. Pike left Belle Fontaine — a little town near the mouth of the Missouri — July 15, 1806. He had with him a party of Osages who had been redeemed from captivity among the Pottawatomies. His instructions were to take these back to their friends on the head waters of the Osage river, on the border of what is now Kansas; then to push on to the Pawnee republic, on the upper Republican river, on the way interviewing the Kaws; then to go south to the Arkansas and Red rivers and try to find the Comanches. On arriving at the Arkansas, Lieutenant Wilkinson (a son of the general) and a party were to be detached and sent down that stream to Fort Adams, on the Mississippi, while Pike was to make his way to the Red river and descend it to Natchitoches, La.

I have spoken of the uncertainty that prevailed in regard to the extent of our purchase from France in the vast, vague region known as Louisiana. In consequence of this uncertainty, Pike was warned not to encroach upon the limits of of New Mexico (or New Spain). As we shall see, this is precisely what he did.

Pike ascended the Osage river in accordance with his instructions. The Osage is now a half-forgotten thoroughfare. Within forty years, however, it has been an important highway (if that term may be applied to a river) of commerce. In the old time it was a traveled road. The Catholic missionary on his way to the Osages followed the stream; trappers and traders innumerable crossed and recrossed it, and worked their way up and down it. It was the road from southern Kansas and what is now the Indian territory, and even Texas, to the great trading post of St. Louis — the religious, commercial and political capital of upper Louisiana.

The Osage, the continuation of our own Marais des Cygnes, is a lovely stream; a succession of placid reaches of deep waters, separated by rippling, shoaly shallows. On the one bank or the other for miles rise cliffs, sometimes to the height of 200 feet; sometimes as smooth and uniform as the wall of a house, dropping sheer from the dark cedars that crown their crest to the water, but oftener worn in fantastic shape, jutting over at the top like the leaf of a table; stained brown and red and yellow by the iron within and the weather without: their bases hid in fallen masses of rock and the narrow-belted green trees that grow to the edge of the bright water. The windings of the stream are continuous; a few strokes of the oar bringing the voyager in view of an entirely new prospect. The shadow of the cliffs sometimes hides the darkling stream on the one side, sometimes on the other, and, rowing by moonlight, your boat is now in the midst of a lake of burnished silver, the drops from the dripping oars sparkling like diamonds, and in a moment, turning a point, you seem entering one of those mysterious streams that flow through caverns. The river winds through a thinly settled country, and for miles the solitude of cliff and forest is unbroken. It often seems as if, at the next turn, you would come upon a grassy point with an Indian encampment, with its curling smoke and "its young barbarians all at play." You half expect to see, darting across the stream in your front, the canoe filled with its blanketed

and painted crew; and this impression of the presence of a banished race is strengthened by seeing on the rocks the vermillion-hued symbols and signs—bows, arrows, and buffaloes—painted by some savage artist long ago. May the day come when some abler pen than mine shall write thy story, fair Osage, from green Marais des Cygnes, the "Marsh of the Swans," to where the Missouri rolls its devouring flood over the site of the once gay French frontier village of Cote Sans Dessein.

Pike is accused by his biographer, Whiting, of indifference to the charms of natural scenery; he slightly berates him for speaking of some picturesque eminence on the upper Mississippi as "prairie knobs"; yet Pike remarked the beautiful cliffs of the Osage; and even the French trappers—rudest of men—designated one point as "La Belle Roche," the beautiful rock.

In the last days of August the journey by water was ended by the arrival of the party at the Osage villages, situated on a beautiful prairie. Here they had much to do with a chief named White Hair, whose name has descended to our time. Where the villages were located it is hard to ascertain by Pike's map, but they were probably not far from the eastern line of Linn county. The Osages were found to be greatly under the influence of the then and now powerful commercial house of Chouteau. As an evidence of the early influence of the French over the western Indians, Pike was told by Chtoka (possibly Chetopa) that he, a Little Osage, was in the action known as "Braddock's defeat" in 1755, and that the Kaws arrived after the battle; that they were absent from their villages seven months, and were obliged to eat their horses on their return. This is a specimen of early Kansas enterprise.

Leaving the Osage villages with horses procured there, Pike's party, consisting of himself, Lieutenant Wilkinson, Dr. John H. Robinson, Sergeants Ballenger and Meek, Corporal Jackson, sixteen private soldiers, and Barony Vesquez, interpreter, and a number of Osage Indians, started on a journey destined to be much longer than they expected. The course of the party was generally to the south and southwest, till Pike arrived on the summit of a high ridge, which he describes as a dividing line between the waters of the Osage river and the Arkansas (the final syllable of which word Pike invariably spells *saw*). He says (what many people have said since): "The prairie, rising and falling in beautiful swells as far as the sight can extend, presented a very beautiful appearance." Marching westward, the party reached the Neosho, then called Grand river. This crossed, they followed up the stream, keeping on the divide, as Pike says, between the Verdigris and the Neosho. An immense amount of game was seen. Pike says that, standing on a hill one day, he saw in one view buffaloes, elk, deer, and panthers. The country is described as dry and rocky, and water scarce.

On the 17th of September Pike reached, going northwest, what he describes as the main southwest branch of the Kansas river. It was the Smoky Hill. Two days after they crossed a large branch of the Kansas, strongly impregnated with salt. It began to rain, and Pike says that, while in camp, "we employed ourselves in reading and in picking on our arms with India ink some characters which will frequently bring to our mind our forlorn and dreary situation as well as the happiest days of our lives." One source of the trouble which oppressed Pike was the conduct of the Osages who formed part of the expedition, and whom he describes as a "faithless set of poltroons, incapable of a great and generous action." On the 23d a stream was reached which Pike believed to be the Solomon.

About this time Pike discovered something that must have astonished him as much as did the footprints in the sand the worthy Robinson Crusoe. It was

the trail of 300 Spanish troops. It was even so. The Spanish authorities in New Spain, hearing from St. Louis of the departure of Pike's expedition, had sent Lieutenant Malgares, a distinguished officer, with 100 dragoons and 500 mounted militia, from Santa Fe, and led animals to the number of 2075, to intercept him on the Red river. Malgares marched down Red river; then north to the Arkansas; and there, leaving his used-up animals, marched north to the Saline, where he met the Pawnees and the Iatans, or, as we call them, the Comanches. These last Malgares received with great ceremony. He sallied forth with 500 men, all on white horses except himself and two principal officers, who were mounted on black ones, and was received on the plain by 1500 of the savage chivalry in their gayest robes. Malgares did not intercept Pike, but they met afterwards, as we shall see.

The expedition reached the Pawnee village, high up on the Republican, on the 25th of September. Then there was an immense amount of riding around in circles and smoking of pipes between Pike and his Osages and the Kaws and Pawnees. Pike found that the Spaniards had left several flags in the village, and the banner of Spain was floating from a pole in front of the head chief's lodge. Pike had twenty white men against the Pawnee nation; but he ordered the Spanish flag hauled down and the American colors run up, and it was done. Pike took possession of the Spanish flag, but the chief seeming grieved about it, Pike gave it back to him with strict injunctions not to raise it again; and so the stars and stripes first kissed the breezes of the Republican valley. While at the Pawnee village Pike heard that Lewis and Clark had safely descended the Missouri river on their return. The star of empire was up and shining. I may say, in passing, that this village, according to tradition, was on the present site of Scandia.

The Pawnees became insolent and thievish, but Pike overawed them by his bearing. He never yielded anything to an Indian. From the Pawnee town the route bore southwest to the Arkansas. Pike described the place where he reached the river as a swampy, low prairie on the north side, and on the south a sandy, sterile desert. The river he describes as 500 yards wide from bank to bank, the banks not more than four feet high and thinly covered with cottonwoods. On the 28th of October the party divided. Lieutenant Wilkinson and party, in one canoe, made of four buffalo skins and two elk skins, and a wooden canoe made of green cottonwood, set sail down the Arkansas. Lieutenant Wilkinson took with him four soldiers and two Osages. He had not gone far till he was obliged to abandon the canoes and march on foot, suffering greatly from cold. Lower down he made some wooden boats, and, with great trouble from floating ice and sandbars, pursued his journey. He reached Arkansas Post on the 9th of January. The navigation of the Arkansas in winter is not a success.

Our traveler is now on the shores of the Arkansas. It is the last of October and snow is falling almost every day. The party has been weakened by the departure of the second in command and a considerable portion of the force. If Pike goes south he will obey his instructions and will reach Red river. But he does not go south, but turns his face to the west and follows the Arkansas. He is going to leave Kansas for Colorado. Before he goes, let us sum up his opinion of Kansas. He had visited the "border tier"; he had seen the valley of the "Great Neosho"; he had crossed the Smoky Hill and visited the valleys of the Solomon and Republican; and at this present moment was in the western portion of the great Arkansas valley. And this is what he wrote:

"In this western traverse of Louisiana the following general observation may be made. From the Missouri to the head of the Osage river, a distance in a straight line of probably 300 miles, the country will admit of a numerous, ex-

tensive and compact population; from thence on the rivers La Plate, Arkansaw, and Kansas, and their various branches, it appears to me only possible to introduce a limited population. The inhabitants would find it most to their advantage to pay their attention to the raising of cattle, horses, sheep, and goats, all of which they can raise in abundance, the earth producing spontaneously sufficient for their support both in winter and summer, by which means their herds might become immensely numerous; but the wood now in the country would not be sufficient for a moderate population more than fifteen years, and then it would be out of the question to think of using any of its manufactories; consequently their houses would be built of mud bricks (like those of New Spain); but possibly time may make a discovery of coal-mines, which would render the country habitable."

The proud Kansan of 1877 living in a "dobe" hut and tending goats! How was that for prophecy? Pike, though not a very devout person, saw something providential in this. He says:

"From these immense prairies may arise one great advantage to the United States, viz., the restriction of our population to certain limits, and thereby a continuation of the union. Our citizens, being so prone to rambling and extending themselves on the frontiers, will, through necessity, be constrained to limit their extent on the west to the borders of the Missouri and the Mississippi, while they leave the prairies incapable of cultivation to the wandering aborigines of the country."

If Pike were alive now, he might ask himself the question, "Does restriction restrict?"

It must be remembered, however, that Pike was a soldier, not a farmer; that he came into the country directly from the heavy woods of the Osage, which made the prairie seem more desolate; that in marching he kept the high and dry divides; and, furthermore, that nothing could be more monotonous than his method of traveling—creeping along all day between the green earth and the blue sky, or the brown earth and the gray sky, as the case might be, with but two men in the party with whom he could converse on terms of familiarity, harassed by anxiety, frequently at a loss as to his course, and, finally, lost altogether. It is not strange that Pike did not indulge in the "gentle-zephyr" line of remarks entirely proper to a Kansas real-estate agent of our time.

As Pike is now leaving Kansas, we might also take leave of him, but his brave young life, so quickly sped, was so crowded with incident that I crave your patience while I mention, as briefly as possible, what further befell him.

It kept growing colder as he approached the mountains, following, as he did, the course of the Arkansas. He saw for the first time wild horses; he saw Indians frequently, and occasionally the trail of the Spanish expedition; and, on the 15th of November, he saw something else. "At two o'clock in the afternoon," says he, "I thought I could distinguish a mountain to our right, which appeared like a small blue cloud; viewed it with a spy-glass, and was still more confirmed in my conjecture, yet only communicated it to Doctor Robinson, who was in front with me; but in half an hour it appeared in full view before us. When our small party arrived on the hill they with one accord gave three cheers for the Mexican mountains." What was before and around Pike at that moment is thus described by a Kansas writer, once known to us as "Dean Monahan":

"If you stand upon a certain bluff on the Purgatoire, you will be a spectator of a scene not easily forgotten in future wanderings. Eastward stretches dimly away the winding, sedgy valley of the dreariest river in the west—treeless, sandy, desolate. All around you are the endless undulations of the wilderness. Westward is something you anticipate rather than see—vague, misty forms lying upon the horizon. But while the world is yet dark around and below you, and there

is scarce the faintest tinge of gray in the east, if you chance to look northward you see something crimson high up against the sky. At first it is a roseate glow, shapeless and undefined. Then it becomes a cloud, passing, battlemented and inaccessible, draped in mist, and with a hovering curtain of changing purple. But, as it grows whiter and clearer, the vague outlines of a mighty shape appear below it, stretching downward towards the earth. What you see in the lofty pinnacle which has gleamed at first in the flying darkness, sun-kissed and glorified in the rosy mornings of all the centuries. *It is Pike's Peak, sixty miles away.*"

Pike measured the altitude of the mountain afterwards named in his honor. He made out its height above the level of the prairie to be 10,581 feet, and 18,-581 feet above the sea. The journal says: "In our wanderings in the mountains, from the 14th of November to the 27th of January, it was never out of our sight except when we were in a valley." Pike, whose nearest approach to the peak was fifteen miles, believed it to be inaccessible, but climbing it has been an every-day matter since a Kansas woman, Mrs. Julia Archibald Holmes, the first lady who ever attained the summit, set the brave example.

We will not dwell upon the days of cold and hunger which followed, when the emaciated men, clad only in summer clothes, dragged their frosted limbs through the gathering snow, while the poor, starved, bruised horses fell senseless in their tracks. Pike had wandered far from Red river, and, pushing to the south-west, reached not that stream, but the Rio Grande del Norte. On the west fork of this stream he erected a stockade according to the principles of military art, for Pike was a soldier in everything, and here he was eventually captured by a force of Spanish troops, being informed that he was in Spanish territory. The party were marched in the direction of Santa Fe. The New Mexican people were kind to the poor, frozen, famished soldiers. At every house the women invited the party to stop and eat, and the old men caused their daughters to dress the frozen feet of the northern strangers.

Mexico was then a splendid despotism. The blue-blooded Spaniard does not work himself, but he has great executive ability in making other people work. The Indians were reduced to slavery; the lower order of white people were but little better off; and all worked beneath the vigilant eye of the priest and soldier. Yet the country prospered. Those who know Mexico as it is now can scarcely believe the stories Pike tells of its richness. His story must have sounded like an Arabian tale in 1806, for at that time Mexico was farther off than Australia is now. Pike saw, at Santa Fe, James Pursley, said to be the first American who had penetrated to that point by way of the great plains.

Pike was virtually a prisoner; his papers and instruments were taken from him, but he was kindly treated. He was escorted from place to place by a company of dragoons, the detachment being commanded for some time by Lieutenant Malgares, who some time before had been looking for him in Kansas. Of this officer Pike speaks in terms of admiration and affection. Pike never compromised his dignity. As an American soldier he believed himself the peer of his most catholic majesty, the king of Spain. He was met as an equal by the Spanish officers; and so the little party of Americans marched from town to town along the sunny highways of Mexico. Pike received all sorts of presents. The governor of one province sent him a shirt and neckcloth with his compliments, wishing him to accept them, as they were made in Spain by his the (governor's) sister, and had never been worn by any person. Pike and his men, after their terrible sufferings in the mountains, must have hugely enjoyed their trip in Mexico; and our gallant captain, though said to be indifferent to beauty of mountains, vale, and stream, appears to have had a good eye for female loveliness. He invariably notices the ladies he met; his general comment being that, though a

trifle too heavy as to weight, they certainly had the finest eyes in the world. Pike seems to have been a great favorite also with the worthy padres of the country, who labored many a time and oft for his conversion to the Catholic religion.

It was on the 1st day of July, 1807, when, all his wanderings and sufferings and delays past, Pike reached Natchitoches, La., the point for which he had set out a year before. Here he closes his journal with the words:

"Language cannot express the gaiety of my heart when I once more beheld the standard of my country waved aloft! All hail! cried I, the ever-sacred name of country, in which is embraced that of kindred, friends, and every other tie which is dear to the soul of man."

In a letter to General Wilkinson, Pike once said:

"Did not an all-ruling passion sway me irresistibly to the profession of arms and the paths of military glory, I would long since have resigned my sword for the rural cot, where peace, health and content would at least be our inmates."

His desire for advancement was gratified, and he was soon promoted to be major of infantry.

In 1812, five years after Pike's return from the West, the war with Great Britain broke out. It was a stupid war, brought about by the insufferable bullying of the British government, which at that time seemed determined to mix in everybody's affairs and provoke the united hostility of all creation. We were illy prepared for war. Our leading military men were a lot of old humbugs left over from the revolution. Such was Hull, who surrendered at Detroit; such was Wilkinson, who mismanaged everything. As a result, the enemy burned our capital, while Admiral Cockburn ravaged the hen-roosts of the Chesapeake. On the water we had generally good success, and modified considerably the opinion that "Britannia rules the waves." On land our men sometimes stood, as at New Orleans; and sometimes they scampered off, as at Bladensburg. We succeeded in making some generals out of young men like Winfield Scott before the war was over, and so saved ourselves from total disgrace.

Pike hailed the war with enthusiasm. In 1810 he had been placed in command of a regiment of regular infantry, which he drilled after a fashion of his own, in three ranks—the third rank being armed with short guns and pikes, an idea their commander probably got from the lancers he saw in Mexico.

In a short time, though only thirty-four years of age, he was a brigadier general on the northern frontier.

If you go the Kansas state library, you will find in the dingy, narrow pages of old Hezekiah Niles's *Register*, for the year 1813, the following dedication:

In Testimony
of
Respect to the Memory
of
ZEBULON MONTGOMERY PIKE,
Brigadier General,
Who fell gloriously before York in Upper Canada,
and
JAMES LAWRENCE,
Captain in the Navy,
Killed on board the Chesapeake, fighting the Shannon,
This Volume of the Weekly Register is Dedicated.
The former happily expired on the conquered flag of the foe: The
Latter died exclaiming "Do n't give up the Ship!"

The story is soon told.

Our troops and fleet, the latter under command of Commodore Chauncy, lay at Sackett's Harbor. On the 25th day of April, 1813, the fleet took on board

1700 men and sailed for York (now Toronto), a fortified post commanded by Gen. Roger H. Sheaffe, who (by the way) was a native of Boston. Pike was in immediate charge of the troops, and on the morning of the 27th watched their debarkation from the deck of one of the vessels. Our men, on landing, were met by a sharp fire from a body of British riflemen and Indians. Pike, witnessing the fray, said, "I can't stand this any longer," jumped into a boat, ordering his staff to come on, and pulled for the shore mid a shower of shot. As soon as he reached the shore he formed his line and drove the enemy before him, demolishing a portion of the Eighth grenadiers, who formed to check him. In a little while Pike reformed his line, and moved on the outer line of works. A heavy battery in front was carried at once. In the meantime a British battery further back was giving some annoyance, and Pike ordered his men to lie down until a couple of light guns could be brought up to silence the enemy's fire. This was done in a few moments, and everything was quiet, awaiting the surrender of the place. Pike had just aided in removing a wounded man, and was seated, conversing with a prisoner, when there was a tremendous explosion; the light of day was shut out by a pall of smoke, and the air seemed to rain missiles. The British magazine had been fired. Pike was crushed to the earth by a huge stone; his aid, Captain Nicholson, was killed by his side, and the forms of 232 dead and wounded men strewed the ground when the smoke had lifted.

Pike, horribly crushed, but conscious, was taken on board one of the vessels of the American fleet. In time the British garrison flag, which had been hauled down, was brought to him. He motioned to have the conquered banner placed beneath his head. It was done, and in a moment the brave young fellow, who first in a Kansas wilderness flung the bright flag of his country to the breeze, and bade a horde of savages to know it and respect it, had passed away. He was buried with every demonstration of grief and respect at Sackett's Harbor.

And now, having finished his brief story, let us turn to the wilderness he traversed, and of the future of which he had so little hoped, and mark the successive steps of empire.

Pike had lain in his quiet grave six years when the wild woods of the Missouri were startled by a new sound, and the turbid waters of the sullen stream parted before the prow of the first steamboat. Five years more, and, as waters rush in when a mill gate is lifted, the trains moved out on the great road, 800 miles long and 200 feet wide, leading from the Missouri to Santa Fe. Then the wilderness began to blossom, not with roses, but with men, soldiers, hunters, explorers, teamsters. In 1827 the drums of the Third infantry greeted the sun on the beautiful bluff at Leavenworth. Pike's flag had come to stay, and from Fort Leavenworth, like Roderick Dhu's fiery cross, it was carried over the plains in every direction by Leavenworth, by Dodge, by Riley, and many more whose names now dot the western country. In 1842 came Fremont, the pathfinder, and to the southward the flag rose, a silent reminder to the Osages at Fort Scott. After the flag came the cross, borne by the Jesuit fathers, even now quiet old men, spending the evening of their days at Osage Mission. Then came '49, the rush for California; camp-fire answered to camp-fire for a thousand miles, and with the moving throng came Mr. Pike and Mrs. Pike and the children, and "Buck" and "Bright," and "Tige" and "Golden"—and you know the rest.

I cannot close without saying a word more about my hero. His was a most heroic soul. The day before he sailed across Lake Ontario to meet his fate he wrote to his father:

"I embark to-morrow in the fleet at Sackett's Harbor, at the head of 1500 choice troops, on a secret expedition. Should I be the happy mortal destined to

turn the scale of war, would you not rejoice, oh! my father? May Heaven be propitious and smile on the cause of my country; but if I am destined to fall, may my fall be like Wolfe's—to sleep in the arms of victory."

A writer who has visited that quiet spot on the lake shore, where so many years ago they laid him down to sleep, describes the wooden monument erected to his memory and the memory of those who died with him as a worn, defaced, shattered, broken and forgotten thing. And yet he has another monument, an eternal monument erected by the hand of God; and may we not hope that in our day, when old stories are being retold, when men are recalling the brave days of old; when history is being written as it never was before, that the name of Pike may emerge from the mists of forgetfulness, even as comes at sunrise, from out the darkness, the brightness, and the whiteness, the beauty and the glow of the peak that bears his name.

THE STORY OF KANSAS.

Paper by DANIEL W. WILDER, author of the "Annals of Kansas," read before the Saturday Club, of Hiawatha.

"WE SHALL hear no more of bleeding Kansas."—James Buchanan, October, 1856.

In 1846 the lower house of congress, by a vote of 85 to 80, passed the proviso of David Wilmot declaring that slavery should never exist in the territory acquired from the republic of Mexico. The affirmative votes were cast by democrats and whigs, principally from the North. The senate did not agree with the house. Thomas H. Benton, a Missouri democrat, often voted for the Wilmot proviso. Abraham Lincoln, in the lower house, voted for it more than forty times.

In 1847 Lewis Cass, a democrat from Michigan, gave birth to the squatter sovereign subterfuge—the dogma of the control of slavery or freedom in a territory by the vote of the squatters in that territory. Cass was a candidate for president and wished to escape making a record, as a senator, on the question, and to leave his party, the democratic, safely roosting on the fence.

In 1852 Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was published. Mrs. Stowe was not a candidate for any office. She described slavery as it was; and her book had more readers and earnest friends than any book ever published in the United States. It declared that slavery was not only a political evil but a sin against God and man.

The next year Richardson's bill to organize the territory of Nebraska, where we now live, as free territory, passed the house by 98 to 43. Douglas reported it to the Senate without amendment. It was tabled by 23 to 17.

Franklin Pierce became president March 4, 1853; seven years before the slave states seceded.

In January, 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, candidate for president, introduced a substitute for his former Nebraska bill. It provided for two territories, Nebraska and Kansas; repealed the Missouri compromise of 1820, under which this domain was free, and left the question of slavery or freedom to be decided by the vote of the squatters. Douglas called this his "great principle of squatter sovereignty, or non-intervention."

Slavery then existed in Kansas. During March, April and May treaties were quietly made in Washington with seven tribes of Indians in eastern Kansas, opening land for settlement, and Missourians came flocking in. The first settlement in the present county of Nemaha was made in January, 1854.

The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, "for the purpose of assisting emigrants to settle in the West," was incorporated by the legislature of that state in April. Connecticut and New York formed similar societies.

The house passed the Douglas bill May 22—ayes, 113; nays, 100. The senate passed it May 25, by 35 to 13. President Pierce signed it May 30. It was the organic act of Kansas and of Nebraska.

Kansas territory extended from the western boundary of Missouri to "the summit of the Rocky mountains," then the eastern boundary of Utah, a distance as great as a line drawn from Boston to Sandusky, Ohio. Most of this territory came from France, through the Louisiana purchase, but a part of it in the southwest came from Mexico. A citizen of Denver, Richard Sopris, representing Arapahoe county, Kansas, was elected to our legislature November 8, 1859, and sat in the territorial legislature in 1860. We then called that part of Kansas "Pike's Peak." The present boundaries of Kansas were fixed by the constitution under which we were admitted into the union—the constitution under which we have lived since Kansas day, 1861.

Up to 1854, from the foundation of the government, congress, by a vote, had settled the status of a territory. Ohio and the Northwest territory were made free by the act of congress. In 1820, by the Missouri compromise, congress declared free all new territory north of 36–30. The Kansas act abrogated this law, in the interest of and at the dictation of slavery. It was the opening of a revolution, with Kansas, contiguous to a slave state, as the field for the battle. The South had a great advantage in its nearness to the field, in the popularity of slavery, in its constant use of the bowie-knife and the revolver, and an immense advantage in having absolute control of every branch of the national government, civil and military, and of the government of Missouri. The officers of a territory are appointed by the president. Every governor sent here, every secretary, every judge, every Indian agent, every land surveyor, every clerk in every office, believed in making Kansas a slave state. All of the money sent here by the national government was disbursed by pro-slavery officials to pro-slavery menials.

But the North had more people than the South, and there was more energy, more industry, more push, in the Northern man than in the Southern man.

The South was divided into great plantations, controlled by rich planters and worked by slaves. The poor white man had few opportunities. He had long been moving into Ohio, Indiana and Illinois to get a free home for himself—moving by thousands. He came to Kansas, usually as a free-state man. He was silent at first, slow to talk, but he voted against slave labor to compete with his; he fought for freedom in Kansas, and, later, for national freedom. The richer class of Southerners were pro-slavery; the poor men who wanted homes were often anti-slavery. The actual home-seekers—the poor squatters on the quarter-sections—were the men who made Kansas free. They came chiefly from Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. Neither in the early days nor in the later days have the New Englanders been more than a handful. Kansas is a Western state, and always has been. The Western and Southern settlers did not talk about the sinfulness of slavery; they despised the negro; and many of them were transformed into anti-slavery agitators who "did care for" the negro by the "Kansas branch of the National Debating Society."

By the United States census taken in June, 1860, Kansas had a population of 107,206. Of these persons 94,515 were born in the United States; 12,691 were born in foreign countries. The census reports give the states in which the 94,515 natives were born. During the last forty years Ohio has led in great

generals—Grant, Sheridan, Sherman—in presidents, and in many other ways, but she took her first great championship in coming to Kansas territory. By that census Ohio stands No. 1, with 11,617 natives in Kansas in 1860. Missouri followed with 11,356. Then come the babies born in Kansas itself, 10,997. Gen. James H. Lane helped to put next Indiana with 9945. Lincoln next sends from Illinois, 9367. His native state is No. 6: Kentucky, 6556. Then comes Franklin's Pennsylvania, 6463. Horace Greeley's *Tribune* makes New York 6331. No. 9 is our neighbor, Iowa, 4008. Kansas is sometimes called, from the states of Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, the state of the three I's. Most folks are satisfied with two.

I have named 76,640 out of the 94,515, leaving 17,875 for the other states, and some one is beginning to say, "I thought this was a New England state," and "Where is the Emigrant Aid Company?" From the days of the agitation against slavery and its extension, in which New England took a prominent part—it was the home of Garrison, Phillips, Sumner, Parker, Emerson, Lowell, and Whittier—down to this day, New England has often been called the mother of Kansas. Exceedingly few persons ever examine a census report.

The last state above cited is Iowa, with 4008 natives in Kansas when the territory was six years old. The six New England states then had 4208 natives in Kansas.

State No. 10 is Virginia, with 3487 natives here. Virginia then included West Virginia. Most of these immigrants were probably in favor of making Kansas a free state.

There was then no railroad across Missouri. But nearly all of the states that contributed largely to Kansas in the early and later years were connected with us by river navigation. These states were Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa. These states and their rivers made Kansas. These states, with their poor men who wanted homes in a free state, with free schools, made Kansas free.

I will add a few names to that census list. No. 11 is Tennessee, 2569; No. 12, Wisconsin, 1351; No. 13, Massachusetts, 1282; No. 14, North Carolina, 1234; No. 15, Michigan, 1137; No. 16, Vermont, 902; No. 17, Maine, 728; No. 18, Connecticut, 650; No. 19, Maryland, 620; No. 20, New Jersey, 499.

The story is told. You see that the new state, further south than any other free state, was settled by the North. Missouri, her nearest neighbor, was settled by the South. Kansas broke all precedents; its people could not have been free without standing up to shoot and to be shot at. Slavery was a wild beast, and had to be killed. John Brown understood this fact more completely than any other Kansan.

The census has continued to tell the same story. In 1880 Illinois had 106,992 natives here; Ohio, 93,396; Indiana, 77,096; Missouri, 60,228; Pennsylvania, 59,236; Iowa, 55,972; and New York, 42,779. Virginia and West Virginia had about 19,000, and the New England states had about the same number. The best state is the state made up of the best people, native and foreign.

The first Emigrant Aid settlers, thirty in number, reached the mouth of the Kansas river July 28, 1854, two months after the passage of the bill. They made the first settlement at Lawrence, on the 1st of August. These dates are as important in American history as the December days when the Pilgrims landed and founded Plymouth. Lawrence continued to be the flag-ship, the free state post and headquarters, until Kansas was admitted to the union, and because she was the leader she was twice destroyed by pro-slavery men, men brutalized by slavery and more savage than the Tagals.

The Northern emigrant aid societies accomplished more by agitation, perhaps, than by actual emigration work. They created the general impression, especially in the South, that Northern men were coming to Kansas in immense numbers; that all Yankeedom was on wheels and rolling into Kansas. This result was worth all the money that the societies cost, and a great deal of money was raised by Emigrant Aiders in New England, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin,—not less than $250,000. The men who inaugurated the movement were true patriots and philanthropists. Not many persons came here under direct Emigrant Aid auspices; only a few thousand. Next to the union of action and the moral results caused by these societies was the arrangement, first made by them, for cheap through railway and river tickets from the East to the West. Any person could buy an Emigrant Aid ticket; a great many persons of various political faiths did buy them; and this immense transportation reform lasted until Kansas territory had been voted free by her actual residents.

Territorial politicians of great prominence, but without visible means of support, must have lived on the aid societies. Clothes and other supplies were sent here in immense quantilies for destitute settlers. The begging habit—begging for food and for clothes—which lasted in the territory and state more than twenty years, originated in the gift giving of the earliest years. But Kansas was saved for freedom; the irrepressible conflict ripened into the civil war, and the slaveholding republic became a free republic, the greatest nation in the world.

Kansas was the child of all the Northern states. Never before in the history of the union had any state been born from the united action of many states; never before did men, women and children in many states save money and use it in kind or in goods to start, found and build up another state. Churches took a large part in making these collections and in sending here these gifts and goods. It was a missionary movement, and very similar to the earlier movement that changed Hawaii, now an American territory, from barbarism to civilization. American slavery was as barbarous as the cannibalism of the Pacific islands. When you go from one end of Kansas now to the other end and never lose sight of a schoolhouse; and when you remember that there were no free schools in the southern half of the union when Kansas started, and that there are very few now; then look up the names of the men who organized the emigrant aid societies; look up the sources of Kansas history in old newspapers, with reports of Kansas aid meetings in little towns and in the biggest cities of the North. The extension of slavery over free territory was stopped; the destruction of slavery in the slave states was effected by union soldiers, many of whom are now your fellow citizens. Kansas is chapter I of the amendments to the pro-slavery constitution of the United States, changing it to an anti-slavery document. The civil war is chapter II.

The story of Kansas is told in a thousand books, and will be told in thousands more. Only a few details need be added here. Small and few as were the battles in this territory, they were told in all of the papers, North and South, and the telling of them caused the awakening of the nation.

The fight of the free-state settlers here was against the national government, which was here on the ground, in every civil and military capacity, to plant slavery here. This is a very serious charge. It is the government's own act that established the truth of the assertion. It arrested and imprisoned many anti-slavery men here; it called them traitors; it called their crime treason; it did not arrest, imprison and declare guilty of treason a single pro-slavery man. The government was pro-slavery. Jefferson Davis, the secretary of war, was the patriot who found treason here and who proposed to make it odious—the most hated of crimes.

The first important election here was held in March, 1855. It was carried by the votes of Missourians who were non-residents. They elected a pro-slavery legislature, and then went home. The few free-state men elected were not given seats. The legislature made a code of laws so barbarous that you would not believe them possible were not the book here in our town, with its pages open to all who can read.

Those laws are called "bogus," because the legislature was elected by non-residents, from Missouri. Of that slave code, Ben. F. Stringfellow, a Missourian, at the time wrote, that it was "more efficient to protect slave property than any state in the union" had.

That counting out of free state-men, ignoring of them, and that barbarous code led to the foundation of what was called the Topeka movement, through which the free-state men acted and voted by themselves. They made a free-state constitution at Topeka and held sessions of a free-state legislature at Topeka. Their movement was so far recognized that the lower house of congress, made republican by the pro-slavery outrages in Kansas, voted to admit Kansas as a free state into the union, under the Topeka constitution.

When things had gone as far as this, the free-state legislature in session in Topeka, in a building now standing on Kansas avenue, was, by orders from the national government, driven out of their hall by the regular cavalry of the United States. Treason again! The officer who dispersed this lawful body of American citizens was Col. E. V. Sumner, himself a republican, who did a most ungracious act in a most gracious way, saying that he acted in obedience to orders. Colonel Sumner became General Sumner during the civil war and fought against men who were really guilty of treason.

The pro-slavery men, supporters of the democratic national administration, made their headquarters at their territorial capital at Lecompton, on the Kaw river, midway between Lawrence and Topeka, and there they held the Lecompton constitutional convention and framed the Lecompton constitution in 1857. Unfairness, illegality and corruption of the ballot marked every step of this Lecompton movement, from its inception until its defeat and ruin. And yet the administration of President Buchanan sustained the movement, did not call upon United States soldiers to disperse the convention, but used all of its great power to force that constitution upon the people of Kansas. In this way were our squatters made "sovereign" and "perfectly free." When this Lecompton constitution was submitted for adoption or rejection, the ballot read: "Constitution with slavery," or "Constitution with no slavery." You nominally voted a ballot "with no slavery," but you could not vote against the constitution, which was incarnadined with the blood of human beings held as slaves.

At last the free-state men abandoned the platonic Topeka movement, stopped flocking by themselves, went to the polls, and voted down and out the whole Lecompton fraud, lock, stock, and barrel. Even this overwhelming defeat did not confound the traitor government at Washington. The constitution had to be again submitted to a popular vote. The result was more decisive than before, and with it the gigantic effort, prolonged for years, to establish slavery in Kansas came to an end. No more pro-slavery men came here to settle. Hundreds went away. The North had whipped the South in going west. There was to be no farther extension of human slavery on the national domain. The South, whipped for the first time, determined to create a government of its own, with slavery as its corner-stone.

Governors were sent to Kansas in the first five years, between 1854 and 1860, at the rate of about two a year. They all came here pro-slavery. Here they

often became anti-slavery, convicted by events. That fact alone is of great significance.

Two free-state men made great reputations here, Capt. John Brown and Gen. James H. Lane. John Brown's glory is national and international. He is one of the world's beloved heroes. Millions of men, women and children have heard of the word "Kansas" only for the reason that John Brown lived here and here fought for humanity.

A brief statement must be made of a new ally gained by the national administration of 1857, in the supreme court. In his inaugural address, delivered March 4, 1857, President Buchanan said that "the point of time when the people of a territory shall decide" the question of slavery for themselves "is, happily, a matter of but little practical importance. Besides, it is a judicial question, which legitimately belongs to the supreme court of the United States, before whom it is now pending, and will, it is understood, be speedily and finally settled."

The decision was rendered March 6, two days after the favorable notice of advance agent Buchanan. The court decided not only that Dred Scott was a slave, but that none of the descendants of African slaves were citizens; that the Missouri compromise was void; that the declaration of independence applied only to white men, and that congress had no power to prohibit slavery in the territories. Not all of these questions were before the court, but they were all before the people, and the court and the president sought to settle them without allowing congress or Kansas to vote upon them.

On the 2d of February, 1858, Buchanan said, in a message to Congress, that, by that decision, "slavery exists in Kansas by virtue of the constitution of the United States. Kansas is, therefore, at this moment as much a slave state as Georgia or South Carolina." Where was squatter sovereignty at this time? There was one more phase of this fraud to be presented. The legislature of Kansas and the legislature of Nebraska, in their sovereign capacity, each passed an act abolishing slavery. The governors appointed in Washington vetoed those bills. The people were deprived of all power on the greatest question before them. No wonder that John Brown raided Missouri and Virginia!

It is well to remember that our great poets were all in favor of making Kansas free. Emerson, Lowell, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, all talked, wrote, sang for freedom. Lincoln, one of the greatest men in American history, came here to see and speak to us, and devoted his great genius to the extension of freedom over the national domain.

Have you ever been shut up in a hall with 300 or 400 American citizens, to no one of whom you could speak your honest sentiments? Shut up there for a week at a time, when there was one subject of absorbing and exciting interest to the whole American people which nearly all others in the hall were angrily discussing, but which you could not frankly and plainly talk about? Shut up with men most of whom carried revolvers? You had never before seen one man with a revolver strapped about his waist. That was my fortune, an abolitionist, at the age of twenty-four, on a Missouri river steamboat bound for Kansas. There were other anti-slavery persons on the boat, but they were strangers to me, and compelled, like me, to silence. A few months before this date the Missouri had been closed entirely to Northern emigrants to Kansas. During the embargo thousands of Kansas-bound people marched overland through Iowa, and south through Brown county.

Owen Lovejoy, brother of Rev. Elijah Lovejoy, who was murdered at Alton, Ill., for the crime of publishing an anti-slavery newspaper—Owen Lovejoy, in the slavery days, once opened a speech to republicans in Illinois after this manner:

"Fellow citizens, the most hospitable people in the world are the ladies and gentlemen of the South. They will welcome any of you to their homes, if you will hold your tongue. They are more generous, chivalrous and brave than we are, and will overwhelm you with kindness, if you will hold your tongue. Their graces and accomplishments are superior to yours. They are real ladies and gentlemen, and they will shower hospitality upon you, if you will hold your tongue."

It was Lovejoy's way of saying that free speech and a free press were absolutely forbidden in the South. And the first Kansas legislature, elected by Missourians, made crimes of free speech and of the taking, reading or having in your possession anti-slavery newspapers.

How did Kansas finally get into the union? The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill very soon made the national house republican, and soon after it voted to admit Kansas as a free state. But it takes a long time to change the political complexion of the senate. Each state has two senators, and the free and slave states were nearly equal in number. When Lincoln was elected president the senate was still pro-slavery. But the rulers of the South resolved to appeal from the ballot to the bullet. Southern states began to secede from the union, and Southern senators to resign their seats. On the 21st of January, 1861, the senate passed the admission bill by 36 to 16. It went to the house, and passed that body by 117 to 42. President Buchanan signed the bill January 29. The only telegram announcing the admission that came to Kansas came to a paper in Leavenworth edited by your humble servant. And there was a hot time in the old town that day and night.

JAMES MONTGOMERY.

Written by E. S. W. Drought, of Kansas City, Kan,

I FIRST met Col. James Montgomery September, 1861, and was astonished when he told me his name, and that our company had been assigned to his regiment. Our company up to that time was known as "Williams's Independent Company of Mounted Rifles." The difference in our uniform from cavalry was, that the uniforms were finer, and dark-blue cloth trimmed with green instead of yellow.

From what I had heard of Colonel Montgomery, I had formed the idea that he was a rough frontiersman, and that he would destroy everything in the enemy's country and show no quarter to prisoners; but to my great astonishment I found him to be one of the mildest and gentlest of men, never using language that could not be used with propriety in the presence of ladies and children, and at all times on the march instructing the officers and men that they must not take private property or disturb the homes of women and children. He was very much opposed to the use of intoxicating liquors. The first time I met him was when he came to our camp near Fort Scott, and as he passed through Fort Scott, coming to our camp, he saw many of the militia officers intoxicated, and several of our company. After making himself acquainted with Captain Williams, and informing him that his company was assigned to his regiment, the bugle sounded the assembly. He then addressed the company as to their duties as soldiers; said they had enlisted to support the laws and constitution of their country; they should be the last ones to break the law by either taking or destroying private property; that we must set our enemy a good example, by showing them that we were there to protect their property and enforce the laws of our country. He then issued an order to Captain Williams, as a military necessity, to detail ten men to destroy all the intoxicating liquors at the various public places in Fort

Scott. I was one of the detail that was instructed to see that his order was carried into effect.

At the battle of Drywood he was the ranking officer, and there only being two companies of the command armed with rifles, when the order was given us, "dismount and prepare to fight on foot," Montgomery was with our company. We were employed as skirmishers. He walked from the right to the left of the company, speaking pleasantly to every man, as calm and undisturbed as if he were teaching a Sunday-school class. We were lying on the ground, firing rapidly with our Sharp's rifles. One member of our company, a foreigner, was not taking deliberate aim. As he shot, Montgomery asked him for his rifle and belt, and sent him back to relieve a man who was holding horses, and for the other man to come to the front. He used the rifle quite effectively himself. Had it not been for his coolness we would have been captured. We had silenced a battery, and as Colonel Johnston brought his regiment up by the sound of the bugle for a charge, Montgomery's bugler blew the retreat, and it was by the most rapid movement that the whole command were able to recross Drywood and fall back to Fort Scott. He was the only officer I saw on the field who was not using profanity to the full strength of his voice.

Our next experience under Colonel Montgomery was when he commanded the raid of Osceola, while Price was marching on Lexington. The morning we entered the city, the first thing Montgomery did was to have all the liquor destroyed, to prevent the troops becoming intoxicated. His orders were very strict against any of the men entering private houses or disturbing the same. Of course he issued orders that the rear guard should burn or destroy all the stores, to keep the goods from falling into the hands of the enemy. There were quantities of powder and caps in most of the stores; there was a large quantity of pig lead piled up near the bank of the river which he ordered put in the river. I recollect well his kindness, and the personal attention he paid to the sick and wounded. I never heard him speak to an officer in anger. No matter how strict his orders were they were given in a pleasant tone. He was admired by all his men.

I recollect, while in camp at Kansas City, an intoxicated trooper passed the colonel's headquarters. He was quite profane and noisy; the colonel sent his orderly to bring him to his tent. He asked the man if he could not behave himself as a soldier should; he then ordered the man to his camp, with instructions to report to him the next morning at nine o'clock. When the man reported he gave him a pass until five o'clock in the evening, and told him that should he return drunk that evening his head would be shaved and he would be drummed out of the army. He returned howling drunk. The next morning his head was shaved and he was drummed out.

During the remainder of the fall and winter of 1861 I saw a great deal of Colonel Montgomery, and I must say for him that he was a model officer, and that was the opinion of all the men who served under him. A great many of the acts of other regiments were laid to Montgomery's command. Those charging Montgomery with being a marauder and border ruffian never met him and are certainly misinformed. On two different occasions I went to his home and met his wife, and it was a home of refinement instead of ruffianism.

At the fight near Morristown, in 1861, where Colonel Johnston was shot, there was a party of five bushwhackers captured after the fight. They were court-martialed. Two of them Colonel Montgomery intercceded for on account of their youth, and saved their lives. No father could have addressed those boys with greater kindness: he instructed them to go into Kansas and gave them their horses. Three were ordered to be shot forthwith. When the sentence was read to the three doomed, Colonel Montgomery rode away so as not to see them shot.

THE INDIANS AGREE TO ABANDON KANSAS.

Extract from an address by T. A. McNeal, at an old-settlers' meeting at Medicine Lodge, September 1, 1888.

IN 1867 occurred a notable event, not only in the history of the West, but also in the history of the entire country. It embraced a radical change in Indian policy. It was the outgrowth of a policy which proposed to tear the Indian from the hunting-ground which he loved, from the graves of his sires, from the climate to which he was acustomed, from everything, in fact, which an Indian is supposed to hold dear, and force him to accept a new home in a strange land. The results were Indian outbreaks, cruel massacres, settlers' homes laid waste, men murdered, and women ravished. It was resolved to hold a peace conference to treat with these unsophisticated tribes and induce them in this way to accept land in the Indian territory in place of their former reservations. This council was held at or near the place where Medicine Lodge now stands, and was in many respects the most notable gathering of this century. Milton W. Reynolds, better known by his *nom de plume* of "Kicking Bird," one of the most eloquent of Kansas writers, who was present on that occasion, writes me as follows:

"It was but twenty-one years ago—the life of a babe to adult manhood; and such has been the growth of your wonderful southwest Kansas, of our great and powerful state, that if ever these lines would have a special application it is to this section and this state—

"'Lo! at evening's mellow close,
Mustered here the savage foes,
But when morning's sun arose
Cities filled the land.'

"The grand peace council was held late in October, if I remember rightly. However, it was in session some weeks, and may have run into November, or possibly commenced late in September. I reported the council for the New York *World* and the New York *Tribune*, and on my way I received a dispatch from Wilbur F. Story asking me to report for his paper, the Chicago *Times*, which I did in addition to my other work.

"The personnel of our party who went out to treat with the Indians was somewhat remarkable and notable. Let me first speak of the press gang, the most important part of the outfit, of course. There was the well known (subsequently) great African explorer, Henry M. Stanley; Thomas W. Knox, of the New York *Herald*, who has written so many magazine articles and books on Siberia and the northern countries; Colonel Burt, of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, and one or two others. Stanley represented the Cincinnati *Commercial*. We newspaper fellows tented together, a tent being assigned us by General Sherman. We had the best the government could afford, including perhaps those things not used on the plains of Kansas since the passage of the amendment, though my memory is a little dim on that branch of the subject. Stanley was undoubtedly the biggest liar of the newspaper crowd. He impressed me as being a lazy fellow, rather good natured and fond of telling stories, particularly his exploits in the old world and his hair-breadth escapes among the Arabs. I presume that Stanley has since become a Christian and as truthful as a Kansas editor, but none of us credited his yarns as he rattled them off by the yard about his wonderful deeds among the Bedouins. Knox was the best liked of any of the boys.

He was courtly, gentlemanly, and truthful. As a writer and journalist of veracity, he seemed to have been modeled on the Kansas plan.

"On the commission were General Sherman, General Sanborn, General Harney, Senator Henderson, and Commissioner of Indian Affairs Taylor, of Tennessee—father of the Taylor boys who ran for governor on opposing tickets at the last election. Taylor, by the way, is the only noted politician I have ever known to remember an editor after he was out of sight. I got acquainted with Taylor on one of these expeditions, and a long time afterwards, when the Sac and Fox and Pottawatomie Indians were to be located in the Indian territory, Commissioner Taylor appointed me one of the commissioners without solicitation from senator, representative, or governor, or myself.

"The council was called, as you know, after many bloody tragedies that had been enacted on these Western plains. The bloodthirsty Cheyennes—in revolt of that suicidal and nonsensical policy that for a time ruled the maudlin sentimentalists of the East and an impractical congress, and which sought to tear the wild denizens of the Northern hills and prairies from the graves of their ancestors, and to plant them in miasmatic regions—had torn themselves away from the homesick grounds of the Indian territory, and sweeping like a southern simoon or the hot winds of July and August across our western Kansas prairies deluged them with blood. The sad stories of settlers scalped, of the German and other families murdered, of western Kansas ravaged and plundered, at last aroused the sleepy Indian bureau at Washington, and Col. Thomas Murphy, a superintendent of Kansas Indians, a brave Irish republican, and as noble a soul as ever spun an Irish story or unflinchingly took a glass of grog, was sent out early in the spring of 1867 to gather the Indians in council. It was a perilous adventure; none but a brave man would have undertaken it. Colonel Murphy corraled the Indians at Medicine Lodge, and you doubtless all know where the council grounds are.

"Of the incidents of the trip I will say nothing. We left the cars at Ellsworth; the great Santa Fe was not then built. This gigantic and imperial corporation was then only a maggot, so to speak, incubating in the prolific brain of Col. C. K. Holliday, of Topeka. Touching the countless millions of buffalo we saw and counted (?) I have told you before, and will not repeat. The great valley was grand, colossal and imperial in its majestic splendor and unrivaled beauty. The bronze glories of an autumn sun had tinged its scanty foliage with colors of gold and flecked its sides with flashes of beauty such as were only seen in the absolutely perfect days of autumn in Kansas before the white man appeared.

"It was a great council on the part of the Indians. They were assembled *en masse*. It is said that there were 15,000 present. They had their squaws and their pappooses. They were at first sullen, morose, and not disposed to treat; they were hungry and mad. They were filled, and after feasting they became better natured. It was at this council that I heard Satanta, in the presence of General Sherman, boast of the men he had killed and the horses he had stolen 'up at Larned.' He then rode a big black horse with 'U. S.' branded on its flank. Satanta was a fiery speaker, vehement, impetuous, tumultuous as a torrent, generally believed to be a common liar and a most consummate scoundrel. Kicking Bird was the second chief, and afterward became principal chief. He was a good Indian. I slept in the same tent with him. He saved my life and the life of my friend, Colonel Murphy, but as this incident is only important to ourselves I pass it by.

"On one occasion we came very nearly being gobbled up by the Indians, and

probably would have been but for the presence of two old Indian fighters—Gov. Sam. Crawford and General Harney. It was a dull, dreary day. Listlessly and lazily the drops of rains drizzled all day long. Towards evening the Indians became restless; they moved about sullenly, sluggishly, and slow; they would not come into the council. Governor Crawford called General Harney's attention to the unpleasant signs, which to his practiced eye were plainly visible. The general drew up his troops in a hollow square, placing the commission in the center, and turned a Gatling gun straight upon the camp of the Indians; and the massacre at the lava beds in California was not repeated upon the virgin bosom of southern Kansas.

"After many days of powwowing, the Indians treated. They were given homes in the Indian territory, and agreed to leave and forever abandon Kansas. We—that is, the commission—slashed away promiscuously and gave away empires to the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches; anything they wanted in the way of lands and hunting-grounds in the Indian territory; anything to get them out of the state of Kansas.

"Then the great Santa Fe road was built. The mighty wave of prosperity swept across the plains of southwest Kansas. Cities were builded and farms opened. Buffalo disappeared, and in their place the Shorthorn, the Hereford and the gentle Jersey took the place of the shaggy monster. But why repeat this thrilling story of industrial prosperity and magnificent growth and development, all of which you have seen and of most of which you have been a part?

"My heart is still with the pioneers: my home is among them. God bless the brave men who have, with unfaltering fortitude,

'. . . crossed the prairies as of old
Our fathers crossed the sea,
To make the West as they the East
The homestead of the free.'

"These men have subdued mountains, have changed climates, have caused arid sands to blossom with productiveness and blossom with roses.

"May their cabins, as they will, upon the lonely prairies, soon become palaces."

THE BATTLE OF ARICKAREE.

Written by WINFIELD FREEMAN, of Kansas City, Kan., for the Kansas State Historical Society.

THE Indian wars on the plains terminated with the battle of Arickaree. The fairest fields of creation have witnessed the contention of nation against nation. Every state, every county, every farm, every plantation, every homestead, has been bought by the price of human blood. What years of anxious watchfulness and warfare were required to rescue this western domain from savage dominion!

Every contention at last must have an ending; peace must finally prevail, even though the whole world were engaged in open hostility. Order comes out of chaos, as it was in the creation of the world. In nature, a great calm succeeds the mighty storm. The ordeal of war introduces new titles, new laws, and new principles. The suffering of patriots renders liberty and law more precious to the people. National power is established and maintained, and nations are born and die by the force of war. A people becomes exterminated only by mortal conflict. The hand of man has been lifted against his brother ever since the

death of Abel. Since the fall of Babylon man has learned the art of war, and the greater part of human history details his victories and defeats.

No vestige of human occupancy remains on the plains. The sites of villages, the places where battles were fought by savage against savage and those fields where the white man fought and died to redeem this land are for the most forgotten or unmarked. No monument designates the place; nothing but history remains to recall to the traveler that this vast western domain was for centuries the home and hunting-ground of Indian tribes.

Most of those who stood upon the border land as brave sentinels of the nation, receiving the charges of savage foe, have exchanged their accouterments of war for the habiliments of the grave. But few remain to detail the incidents of heroism performed and point out the fields where deadly strife determined the dominion of the central empire of the nation. Few remain whose life linked the dead past with the living present. But from these few we gather facts and weave them into the story of a battle.

Arickaree was the most tragic of the many battles fought with the Indians of the plains. It takes its name from a branch of the Republican river.

The site of the battle was a small island in the middle of the Arickaree, now included in the state of Colorado, near the east line, and near the west line of what is now Cheyenne county, Kansas.

In the summer of 1868, a body of Indians called renegades, composed of parts of several tribes, made a raid on settlers who occupied the Saline and Solomon valleys, killed a number of people, drove away numerous horses, and made captive two young white women, one who lived on White Rock creek, in Jewell county, Kansas, the other living on the Solomon river, in Ottawa county. Most of the settlers on the Solomon and Saline rivers fled for safety to the towns. The Indians were well armed and mounted and moved rapidly towards the north. Many of the settlers along the Solomon and Saline rivers were formerly soldiers, but three years from the army of the union. They quickly formed a mounted company, heavily armed, and gave pursuit as far as the head waters of the Solomon, but could not overtake the savages. The Indians had successfully raided the country and gotten out of the reach of the infuriated settlers with the two white women captives.

About this time scouts reported to General Sheridan, who was in command of that department, that a small band of Indians, not to exceed 250, were camped on the western frontier of Kansas. He decided to form a company, to be composed of experienced ex-soldiers, buffalo hunters, and frontiersmen, to pursue the enemy. Col. Geo. A. Forsythe, of General Sheridan's staff, received orders to form the company. Word soon passed up the Saline and Solomon valleys that such a troop was to be formed at Fort Harker (which fort was located in Ellsworth county). In a few days a large number of ex-soldiers, buffalo hunters, frontiersmen and scouts assembled at Fort Harker, all anxious to enlist in the service. Lieut. Fred Beecher, of the regular army (a nephew of Henry Ward Beecher), was detailed to select the troop, to be composed of fifty picked men. He found at Fort Harker plenty of good material, some extra select, and promptly picked his fifty men. He was personally acquainted with many of them, as he was at the time acting chief of scouts, and selected men of known metal and daring.

Space forbids me to mention the names of but few. Among the number were Capt. H. H. Tucker, a lawyer of Ottawa county, and Judge Howard Morton, of the same county, both of whom had served as officers in the union army, and each had three years' experience with life on the frontier of Kansas, and were exactly the kind of men wanted for the campaign. Another of the party was S. E. Still-

well (afterwards known as "Comanche Jack"), who at the time was a light-haired youth of eighteen summers, with big blue eyes and face as smooth as a woman's. He was born on the Missouri river, near the present site of Kansas City. At twelve years of age he could speak Spanish and handle a gun like a frontiersman. At fifteen he went upon the plains as a scout, and while scouting on the Arkansas river heard of the Indian raid into the Saline and Solomon valleys, and that a company of scouts was being formed at Fort Harker for the purpose of pursuing the Indians and recovering the white women who were taken prisoners. Being well mounted, he hastened to Fort Harker, where he arrived just in time to be selected as a member of the troop, and was the youngest man in the command. Most of the men furnished their own horses, and all were well mounted and equipped for the service. They made a forced march to Fort Hays, then up the Smoky Hill river to Fort Wallace, a distance of 200 miles. They remained at Fort Wallace one day and two nights, where they were supplied with ammunition, rations and pack mules, and a few horses.

On the 8th or 10th day of September the troop left Fort Wallace, consisting of forty-nine men in line, Colonel Forsythe in command, Lieutenant Beecher second in command, and Doctor Moore, of Fort Wallace, a citizen surgeon. This small body of men expected to encounter a band of 250 or 300 Indian warriors, which was the number reported by the scouts to be in the country on the north within a range of eighty miles.

During the time the command was at Fort Wallace, a band of Indians attacked a wagon train near Sheridan, then the western terminus of the Kansas Pacific railway, about fifteen miles east of Fort Wallace. The wagon train lost four men who were killed, and considerable stock was run away. News of this raid hastened the departure from Fort Wallace, and the line of march was made towards Sheridan, at which place they struck the trail of the Indians and followed it north until they reached the Republican river below the forks; they then marched north along the banks of Spring creek, where the scouts discovered a trail, which, being followed, led to a place where a temporary Indian village had been located. No game was to be found, and the indications were that the Indians had departed but a few days. Close investigation revealed the fact that the Indian village had been composed of about 600 lodges, which confirmed in their minds that a much larger body of Indians were in the locality than was reported at Fort Wallace.

This discovery, however, did not discourage the command, for every man was ready and anxious for war to the finish. The trail led westward, toward the Arickaree. A few scouts were thrown out in advance, and were followed by the command. As the evening shades gathered the advance-guard was signaled back, and camp was formed on the north bank of Arickaree creek, in a narrow valley opposite a sandy island. The pack mules were unloaded and turned out to pasture; the horses were unsaddled, picketed, and placed in charge of sentries; camp-fires were soon kindled from brush found around the creek; rations were distributed, and eaten with a relish enjoyed only by men on the frontier, and many a joke went round, for good cheer is common to the brave. The old scouts in the command realized the situation. All around seemed peace and quietness; not an Indian or pony or a dog or wild game was to be seen. The stillness and absence of life impressed the experienced scout that the presence of the invading troop was known to the red man, yet the red men's presence was unknown to the troop.

It was discovered that the trail a mile up the creek turned in a southward direction. It was afterward discovered that the Indian village had been moved

to a location about eighteen miles south, on the south fork of the Republican river. Sharp Grover, an experienced scout from Fort Wallace, a member of the troop, stated to Colonel Forsythe that the indications convinced him that a large body of Indians were in the vicinity, and that the presence of the troop was known to them. Guards were stationed in every direction, and strict watch was kept up during the night to prevent surprise or the stampede of the stock. Early in the evening Grover and Stillwell went over to a sandy island in the creek, in order to ascertain whether it would be a place of safe retreat should an attack be made during the night, and, on investigation, they concluded that the island was the place to make a stand in the event they were surrounded by the enemy. The island was about 125 yards long and fifty yards wide, situated in the middle of Arickaree creek, about 100 yards from either bank. It was composed entirely of sand, the elevation being about two and one-half feet above the dry bed of the Arickaree. The Arickaree at that season of the year contained no running water.

Indian scouts early in the evening discovered the location of the camp, and, protected by the surrounding hills, made a complete reconnaissance of the camp and determined the number composing the troop and animals; that sentinels were on duty, the stock guarded, and that a raid could not be made to drive away the stock without creating an alarm that would bring on an immediate engagement. These facts were communicated to the Indian chiefs, who, during the night, arranged the plan of attack to be carried out at early dawn. (These facts are gotten from Ben Clark, an Indian scout.) Thus, while the soldiers, wrapped in their blankets, were sweetly sleeping on the sands of the valley after the fatiguing march of the day, the wily red men were putting on their war paint, arming themselves for the conflict, and silently gathering under their respective chiefs, and anxiously awaiting the dawn of morning to trample the invading foe into the dust.

Just as the day was breaking (September 17), an alarm was given by the sentinels' firing, and hallooing "Indians!" "Indians!" In an instant all were aroused. The clattering of a thousand hoofs, the shouts of the guards, the yells of the Indians resounding over the hills and valleys, conspired to make the event tragic beyond description. The mules belonging to the troop were galloping up the valley at breakneck speed, followed closely by the Indians, yelling at the top of their voices and swinging their blankets in wild confusion, retreating rapidly up the valley and over the hills, and soon the Indians were beyond rifle shot. The Indians had, under cover of night, without attracting the attention of the guards, succeeded in creeping down a ravine near where the herd was held under guard, and, at a given signal from the hilltop, created a stampede of the stock, and thus succeeded in running off most of the mules and a number of the horses.

Scouts were sent out to reconnoiter the hills, and immediately every man was mounted except those who had lost their horses. In a few moments the scouts were returning at high speed: the resounding of thousands of hoofs coming on with the unearthly yell and the war-whoop of the savages seemed to shake heaven and earth. The valley was alive with mounted warriors, stripped naked and painted for battle. Onward they came at terrific speed, like a mighty cloudburst; the chiefs in advance, decorated with barbaric war-bonnets, rendering them conspicuous in the savage throng. The braves were in their long scalp-locks, braided with eagle feathers, armed with spears, bows and arrows, and guns. With exultant shouts, and singing their battle songs, Cheyenne, Arapahoe, and Sioux—reckless messengers of death—onward they came, with increasing fury and speed, flourishing their weapons of war, intent on destroying

this small command of brave men, who must receive this barbaric horde in the shock of battle. Every man realized to advance was certain death, that retreat was impossible.

Sharp Grover, mounted on his horse and being near Colonel Forsythe, at once pointed out to the colonel the advantage of the island as a place of refuge. No time must be lost. Command was given, "Reach the island, and hitch the horses" (there being a number of cottonwood trees on the island). Pell-mell, helter-skelter, every man for himself, with a grand rush, over the embankment, across the dry creek bottom, up the bank, and the island was gained in less time than it takes to tell it. This sudden and unforeseen movement of the troop greatly surprised and disconcerted the Indians. Colonel Forsythe ordered Jack Stillwell to take some men and go to the east end of the island and hold that point, if possible. He took Trudell, known as "French Pete," and four other men, whose names are not now recalled, and quickly reached the point, and fell upon the sand, and rapidly dug holes in the ground for shelter. Not a shot was to be fired until the enemy should come in close range.

Onward came the savages in wild disorder, over the bank, into the creek beds and onto the island, riding at high speed, yelling with that unearthly yell, known only to those who have heard it, firing and shooting arrows in wild recklessness. Every trooper realized that his time had come, and a heroic determination was pictured on the countenance of every man to sell his life as dearly as possible. "Fire! Fire"! rang out along the line. In an instant the roar of the muskets rose above the din of the savage yell. Painted warriors reeled and fell from their plunging steeds, bleeding and dying upon the sand. Volley after volley was poured into the charging foe in rapid succession: horses freed from their riders, frenzied with fear or smarting from their wounds, rushed forward over the pits right and left through the ranks of the enemy, trampling upon the dead and dying, adding to the tragedy of the scene. Soon horses and warriors were mingled in disorganized confusion: several great chiefs lay dying by their ponies; many reached the island to rise no more. As if by magic the enemy deflected right and left and hastily retreated, gathering up many of their dead and wounded. Their efforts to carry off up the fallen cost many a brave his life, as the delay and exposure furnished a favorable mark for the unerring sharpshooter in the pits, who kept up a constant fire so long as an Indian was within range. The sheltering hill afforded the enemy protection and opportunity to rally and renew the battle.

A new mode of attack was now resorted to by the savages. More Indians appeared upon the hills, yelling and shooting with guns and arrows. In the meantime it was discovered that a large number of Indians were crawling in the grass toward the island. The grass in many places was tall enough to shelter from view, and being on the ground they were thus greatly protected from the aim of the scouts. The soldiers during this interval dug with their knives and scooped up the sand with their hands and feet while lying on the ground, and banked it up, thereby greatly improving their pits and shelter. During the digging and scooping up of sand, a desultory firing was kept up at the Indians who were crawling and hiding in the grass. Notwithstanding this some of the red men succeeded in reaching the island under the guidance and command of a brave chief, who constantly encouraged his braves to advance. The scouts could hear the voice of the chief giving his command, obscured by the dense growth of grass along the banks of the creek; but whenever a warrior's body appeared in sight it was pierced by a ball from the island, and if a scout raised his head above the embankment he was a mark for the Indians.

During the first hour of the battle all of the horses and mules were killed, including a number of Indian horses that had escaped after the death of their riders and reached the island, taking shelter among the horses of the troop. Firing on both sides was kept up fiercely until ten o'clock in the forenoon. Several chiefs had been killed and others wounded. There seemed to be a lack of organization among the Indians, which was quickly noticed by the scouts, and gave them hope that the enemy would withdraw from the battle. Presently the celebrated Indian chief Roman Nose, the hero of many battles, was seen on the hillside, not wearing his war-bonnet. Up to this time he had taken no part in the battle. He was in plain view of Jack Stillwell and his men on the east end of the island. Stillwell knew him, and his ability to plan was established in tradition and history. Stillwell and his comrades anxiously watched the chief's movement from the shelter of their sand barricade. The Indians appeared to be surveying the valley, and soon were around the chief in earnest consultation. Firing from the hill had almost ceased; no Indians were to be seen in the grass, and the stillness became oppressive.

In this short armistice the brave scouts prepared as best they could for the dread ordeal of a further charge of the savage foe. Anxious eyes rested on Roman Nose. Every musket was loaded and ready. Those of the dead and wounded were taken possession of, loaded, and held ready at hand to be used in rapid firing. Impending death in the sand-pits was a foregone conclusion, for how could a few almost famished men withstand the repeated charge of hundreds of savages prepared for battle? Movements of the Indians about Roman Nose indicated that order was about to be restored; that an intelligent hand was directing the charge that was about to be made. The great chief strung on his war bonnet, the largest and finest worn by any of the band; his sharpshooters were disposed; and gathered around him were his favorite warriors, the flower of the Cheyenne nation. By his gesticulations it could be seen he was addressing them in an earnest manner, which lasted only for a few moments. Then he mounted his war-horse and was armed with a lance, which was his favorite weapon.

Roman Nose claimed he had a charmed life, and no bullet was ever made to kill him. His faith in a special providence that guarded his person caused him to be unmindful of personal danger. He was a powerful man physically, active as a youth, brave as a lion, possessed of a strong intellect and commanding presence. He was born to command, and was jealous of his birthright. Up to this time Roman Nose had not appeared in the battle, although he was present on the hill and saw the charge and retreat. He remained a silent spectator, and witnessed many braves fall in the conflict, yet he had refused to string on the war bonnet and enter the battle because he had not been selected to take the command. But now, after the death of several chiefs, the command fell onto him.

The five scouts who by command of Colonel Forsythe occupied the east end of the island had escaped injury. With the aid of butcher-knives they had dug two pits, one being occupied by two men, the other by three, within speaking distance of each other; but all communication was cut off from the troop, who occupied the west end of the island, at which point the Indians had thus far directed their attack.

Roman Nose assumed command about 10:30 o'clock, gathered about him his warriors, who were mounted and in full war paint, their scalp-locks braided with eagle's feathers, and armed with spears, guns, and bows. Firing was renewed with fury from the hillsides as well as by the Indians who laid in ambush. With Roman Nose in the lead, with wild and exultant yells, onward they came dashing

toward the island. The dust for a moment concealed the advancing foe, but soon they could be seen through the rising dust making directly for the east end of the island. Stillwell ordered his comrades to make sure of Roman Nose at all hazards. It seemed but a moment until the Indians were on the island, riding with unchecked speed, firing as they came, and yelling like devils in wild pandemonium. Simultaneously the scouts delivered their fire in the face of the advancing foe, and quickly dropped under shelter of the pits.

The Indians were taken by surprise, not knowing that the east end of the island was occupied by scouts, but they kept wildly on, making for the main body at the west end of the island. The scouts opened a deadly fire, well directed on the enemy, as they reached the middle of the island. Roman Nose's spear fell from his hand; he was about to fall from his horse, and seized hold of his horse's mane. His braves gathered around him and held him on his horse, and by that means carried the great chief off of the field, under a deadly fire from the island. He was mortally wounded.* The Indians quickly gathered up many of their killed and wounded and hastily retreated to the hills. In this place the Indians were at a great disadvantage; they, being mounted, afforded a fine mark for the soldiers; whereas the soldiers fought from the shelter of the pits.

After the fall of Roman Nose the enemy made several futile attempts to reach the island, but were unsuccessful. Their movements in these charges were not directed by proper concert of action.

At two o'clock P. M. firing almost ceased and a deathly stillness seemed to settle upon the hills and valleys, except the moaning of the wounded and dying. Presently what appeared to be a new band of Indians came into view from the surrounding hilltops, and it was apparent that the enemy had been reinforced at this critical moment. The hearts of the soldiers almost failed them, for they knew some chief, with his warriors, had arrived, and a new order of battle would soon be formed. By aid of a field-glass it was discoverd that the new contingent was commanded by an old, celebrated warrior named Dull Knife, of the Sioux tribe. He was recognized by some of the older scouts, who had been with him on hunting expeditions. He was a favorite chief, renowned in war and consulted in peace. His word was law, and he was considered a sage and prophet; was greatly honored and loved, especially by the squaws and children of the tribe. But the suns of many summers and the frosts of many winters had somewhat abated the vigor of his frame and the fire of his heart, yet he was never known to fear an enemy or retreat from danger. This venerable chief appeared in full dress, wearing his gorgeous war-bonnet, which reached from the crown of his head to the ground and distinguished him as a warrior of renown among his people. The wearing of the bonnet indicated that he had come for war and was in command.

All interest and attention was centered upon this great chief, who, mounted upon his war-horse, cast his eagle eye over the field of conflict and formed his plan of attack. His gesticulations indicated he was addressing his braves and preparing them for the charge about to be made, at the conclusion of which he formed his mounted warriors in line of battle, and advanced, riding at high speed, to the contest, the chief in the lead, swinging his gun over his head, calling loudly to his followers. Colonel Forsythe, lying in a pit, gave orders that no man should fire until the Indians came within close range. In a few moments

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*It was ascertained afterwards that Roman Nose was shot in the lower part of the body, and, after suffering great pain, died before midnight. The Indians buried him on a scaffold, the body being inclosed in a buffalo's hide. The scaffold was erected on the south fork of the Republican river, about twenty miles from Arickaree.

this warrior band swept down the hillside across the narrow valley into the creek bottom, shouting their terrible war-cry. It seemed now the end had surely come, and each man, seized with determination only acquired in the ordeal of death, nerved himself for a last encounter. Several scouts concentrated their fire on the chief; he was shot dead on his horse and fell to the ground within a hundred feet of the island; his war-horse turned and galloped from the field, followed by the Indians, who, in their retreat, succeeded in carrying away a number of their slain, the scouts pouring a stream of lead into the retreating horde until they passed beyond rifle range into the hills.

Hundreds of squaws met the returning foe with wild, dismal wailings for their dead chief, whose body was left on the field where he fell. Such lamentation was never heard before by white men—it was a new feature on the field of battle, and the awful cry of grief, reenforced each moment by new auxiliaries from non-combatants, produced a peroration to the tragic scene, sublime beyond the power of pen or tongue to portray.

Now, for the first time, the brave scouts had time to help their wounded and count their dead. The sand-bar was red with blood; dead men and horses were strewn upon the ground in every direction. Half of the little band was killed or wounded: every life left precious beyond price. But at this moment a new element of distress manifested itself in the frenzied squaws, who gathered on the hills behind the warriors and, armed with long poles, clubs, and sticks, with wailings and threats, urged the warriors to return and recover the body of their dead chief. The besieged men, faint and exhausted by their heroic efforts, so long continued, without nourishment, or even water to cool their burning throats, gathered the guns of the dead and wounded and quickly prepared for the coming assault. Every soul realized that there is a limit to human endurance.

Heretofore the enemy had advanced on horseback, their favorite mode of warfare; but now they were returning to regain the body of their dead chief, marching down the valley in a solid column on foot, decorated with war paint, not a warrior wearing a thread of clothing to obscure his hideous form; each brave sang his woful death-song; a stalwart indifference to danger was pictured on each savage face. The spectacle was appalling; a drama in human life never to be repeated; the hills occupied by the wives, mothers, and daughters, urging their sons, husbands and brothers to the conflict. The moment was tremendous to contemplate; the scene dreadful to behold. Steadily, not hastily, the marchers came. It was the last death-song and march for many a brave. Over the bloody field, strewn with dead men and horses, they advanced with steady tread; the vanguard firing in order, unheeding the deadly fire from the island that thinned their ranks at every step. With increasing speed they came forward, until they reached the body of their dead chieftain, and bore it away amid the hail of bullets, until hardly half of this heroic band reached the distant hills to receive the loud acclamations of the exultant squaws. Upon the river-bed and at the verge of the island lay the bodies of hundreds of red men who fell in the conflict.

The battle ended with the recovery of the body of Dull Knife. Evil spirits seemed to hover around: the Indians were discouraged and broken. The friendly curtains of night were let down upon the earth, and no sounds were heard but the groans of the wounded. The bodies of the dead were laid in sandy, shallow graves, without funeral rite or prayer; for the field of battle is not the field for ceremony, and spiritual thoughts of man do not prevail amid the slaughter of fellow men.

The wounded received no medical aid. Doctor Moore, the citizen surgeon,

received a wound on the head in the early part of the fight; he was crazed by the wound and would frequently jump up, and had to be pulled down into the pit. He was unconscious from the time he was wounded, and died during the day.

Early in the fight, Colonel Forsythe was wounded by a ball passing through his thigh, and the lower bone of his leg was broken. A hole was hastily dug to lay him in, to shield his body, and while thus lying in the pit he commanded the battle and encouraged his men.

Lieutenant Beecher received two wounds in the body, and implored his comrades to shoot him. He expired about nine o'clock P. M.

Captain Morton was shot in his face early in the morning, at the first grand charge. A wounded mule, frantic with pain, was about to fall on him in the pit. He raised up to strike the animal with his carbine, when a ball struck his left eye and lodged on the right side of his face.

John Harrington was struck on the forehead by an arrow, which lodged where it struck. In a moment a rifle ball, passing his face horizontally, knocked out the arrow, and the ball passed into the body of a horse. Harrington recovered from his shock in a few moments, coolly picked up the arrow point where it had fallen on the ground, and put it into his pocket.

Captain Culver, a trooper from the Solomon valley, was shot in the head and died instantly. (Culver station, in Ottawa county, Kansas, on the Solomon branch of the Union Pacific railway, is named in memory of this Captain Culver.)

Under the cover of night, Stillwell and his four men who occupied the east end of the island, rejoined the remainder of the command on the west end. On their way in the darkness of the night they heard a voice crying, "Have I no friends to help me?" They recognized the voice as being that of Scout Farley. The night being very dark, they were directed to him by his cries. They found him on the north bank of the Arickaree, where he had occupied a favorable position for sharpshooting during the day, and in the last charge was mortally wounded. He was taken to the sand-pits, and died on the island a few days afterwards. Farley's home was on the Saline river, and he was one of the first to join the command.

The troop was without food or water the entire day, and as the creek afforded no water at this season of the year, water must be procured or all would perish. It was important that every hour of darkness should be improved. A scout volunteered to go over to the place where the camp was located the previous night to get a spade that had been left. He succeeded in finding the spade, with which trenches were dug connecting the pits. They dug a hole six feet deep, which soon afforded muddy water enough to fill all their canteens.

Colonel Forsythe appointed Sharp Grover,* a brave and experienced scout, in whom all had confidence, to take charge of the command. Before midnight a council was held, in which it was decided that relief must be had. Jack Stillwell and Pete Trudell volunteered to pass through the Indian lines and try to reach Fort Wallace. Sharp Grover insisted that Stillwell was too young and inexperienced to succeed in the undertaking, and that he was the man to attempt the journey. However, it was soon settled that Sharp should remain with the command. During the council Colonel Forsythe was lying in a pit unable to sit up, but gave his counsel as coolly as though he were reclining in a tent. He did not order Stillwell and Trudell to undertake the journey, but as they volunteered he permitted them to go.

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*Sharp Grover was killed in a personal encounter the next year at Pond creek, near Fort Wallace.

It was decided that the two scouts should start at midnight on their perilous journey to Fort Wallace. The distance to the fort was about eighty-five miles on a straight line. As the Indians would be on the alert to prevent communication with the fort, a circuitous route was required to be taken, increasing the distance to about 125 miles. To be captured by the Indians was certain death. One reared in the quiet and security of civilization would shrink from so hazardous an undertaking, but scouts familiar with exposure and a life of daring do not hesitate upon a journey every moment of which would be fraught with peril.

The two scouts were provided with horse meat for provender, and made moccasins out of boot tops to wear on the journey, the better to imitate the footprints of Indians, should their tracks be discovered. Each was armed with a repeating rifle and a knife. They wore blankets, in imitation of Indians, and quietly crawled out in a southwesterly direction, keeping close to each other, avoiding hollows and ravines, well knowing that the wily red man would be less likely to look for them on open ground. On reaching the hillside several of the enemy passed near; their words could be distinguished, but the friendly darkness proved a protection to them. Cautiously onward they moved, several times passing around small bodies of Indians, and finally gained the open prairie. Their ears, being trained almost to the acuteness of savages, were on duty continuously to detect the faintest sound.

As day began to dawn they reached a point three miles from the Arickaree, where they took shelter in a hollow bank overhung by tall grass, in dense foliage of friendly sunflowers, which seemed to have grown especially for their protection. The bed of the draw was rocky, and left no tracks to betray their presence. During the night, when the scouts came to soft and sandy soil, they walked backward, in order, if the tracks were discovered, to mislead the Indians and hide their trail. The entire day was spent in this obscure retreat. The discharge of firearms could be plainly heard from the island, where the brave men continued to hold the enemy at bay. No one can describe the feelings of these men who, under the bank, were anxiously awaiting the close of day to enable them to resume their journey to gain relief for their besieged comrades.

When nightfall came friendly clouds obscured the sky. They started east of south and soon discovered Indians coming from their village toward the battle-ground. The Indians, being mounted, were readily seen by the scouts. The sound of their voices and the clatter of the horses' hoofs were first heard, which gave them time and opportunity to hide away from the traveled path. At the first dawn of day they reached the south fork of the Republican river, and to their dismay found themselves within a half-mile of the Indian village, where they hid in the swamp. From this damp, dismal resting-place, overgrown with coarse grass and sunflowers, they could see squaws gathering dry willow sticks for fuel; others were out on the hill to the north awaiting the arrival of their dead from the battle-field. Indians on horseback riding toward the village passed close to the secreted scouts, but, unaware of their presence in the swamp, were not on the alert, and passed by, to the unutterable relief of the two men.

When darkness came again they waded the river, and traveled hastily in the direction of Fort Wallace all night without incident, and concluded they had passed the Indians, and therefore decided to journey during the day, as a much greater distance could be traveled by daylight. About seven o'clock in the morning, to their dismay they discovered, about two miles to the west, on a high, rolling prairie, the advance-guard of the Cheyenne village moving south to join the southern Cheyennes. The men had now reached the head of Goose creek, and

fortune favored them. They discovered near by the carcass of a buffalo which had been killed the winter before; the bleaching ribs were covered by hide enough to form a shelter, and it was an easy matter to crawl into the shell, which afforded a lodging place more acceptable than elegant. From this unique cover they saw the village pass southward. Trudell became weak and sick, caused by drinking water in the morning out of a buffalo wallow. When the shades of night came they resumed their journey with their utmost speed. Morning came with a light rain and snow, which prevented them from seeing far; but they continued to travel, and about noon reached a wagon road, which they recognized as being fifteen miles west from Fort Wallace. They soon met two colored soldiers carrying dispatches to Colonel Carpenter, commander of H troop, Tenth U. S. cavalry, encamped at Lake station, seventy miles from Arickaree. The soldiers, being informed by the scouts of the situation at Arickaree, hastened on to Colonel Carpenter.

The scouts reached Fort Wallace at sundown on the 20th day of September, and reported to Colonel Bankhead, the officer in command, who wired General Sheridan at Fort Hays, and he replied to proceed with all available troops to Colonel Forsythe's relief, and spare neither men nor expense. The command left Fort Wallace at midnight, with wagons, ammunition, and supplies.

We will now return to the island and take up the story at the departure of the scouts at midnight. On the morning of the 18th, before daylight, a body of Indians came down the Arickaree on horseback. The scouts opened fire on them and they immediately scattered and retreated with great speed, being taken by surprise. They were not aware of the presence of the soldiers on the island, no fires having been kindled, and the soldiers, keeping closely within the shelter of the pits, were not discovered by the Indians. These Indians were on a journey and knew nothing of the battle.

The Indians who were engaged in the battle became extremely cautious, and kept up the siege along the hillsides, scouted the camp, and fired at the soldiers at long range. All of the horses belonging to the troop were killed in the battle. No men were killed after the first day, but the wounded suffered greatly from want of food and care. The carcasses of the horses furnished a supply of food for the famished men. The hind quarters, although badly tainted, on the third day were cut up and utilized for food by being boiled, and sprinkled with plenty of powder. On the third night, no relief having arrived, it was concluded that the two scouts who were sent out to reach Fort Wallace had been killed, and that two more men should be sent out to try to reach the fort. Two men volunteered to undertake the journey, Jack Donovan and Capt. A. J. Pliley, who, under the cover of night, evaded the Indians. They were under instructions to return if they could not find relief. These scouts were so fortunate as to intercept Colonel Carpenter, who had received word that Colonel Forsythe and his command were besieged by Indians on an island in the Arickaree, the two colored soldiers met by Stillwell and Trudell having carried word to Colonel Carpenter, and he, having no information as to the exact location of the island, was out on a scout in search of it when met by Donovan and Pliley. Donovan was at once mounted on a mule and led the command to Arickaree. Captain Pliley went on to Fort Wallace.

On the morning of the ninth day after the battle the men on guard at Arickaree raised the cry, "Indians, Indians." The men, worn and weary with watching, fighting, and fasting, with ammunition almost exhausted, felt that the end had surely come. Over the distant hill could be seen a dark line of mounted men riding at high speed. Each soldier grasped his rifle preparing for the final death struggle, and summoned his strength to meet the last charge. The rising

sun threw its silvery sheen across the landscape, and the glitter of saber and carbine, carried forward like the swiftness of the wind, revealed to the besieged the coming of relief. Cheer upon cheer were given by the powder-stained patriots. The wounded, in the exultation of the moment, looked up to get a view of their deliverers. The brave men who had crawled away in the darkness of midnight had succeeded in their errand. Men who faltered not in battle wept like children, and in their frenzy embraced each other like long-parted friends. Life and hope and home and family and friends were to be theirs once more. Who can describe the joy of these men who found deliverance after nine days of suffering and disaster?

What a scene met the gaze of those who had come to the rescue! The ground strewn with the dead bodies of Indians; the air freighted with the odor of decaying flesh: the wounded troopers suffering without aid or shelter; the cry of joy of the wounded caused every eye to weep in sympathy.

We will not stop to describe the return to Fort Wallace, after which several of the wounded died. But suffice it to say, Arickaree remains in tradition among the red men as the most tragic event in the annals of frontier warfare. Indians always conceal the number they lose in battle. In recent years it has been ascertained, through Indians who were engaged in the battle of Arickaree, that they lost between 700 and 800 braves.

The Lacedemonians erected monuments in commemoration of Leonidas and his Greek patriots. On the island of Arickaree it is meet that our country should erect a shaft, and engrave thereon the name of each man who fought or fell in that battle to redeem this fair land from savage dominion.

THE FIRST KANSAS RAILWAY.

Written by CHARLES S. GLEED for the Kansas State Historical Society.

THE history of railway building in Kansas has in it almost as much romance as has been woven into the other lines of the state's history. The first settlers of the territory dreamed gorgeous dreams of how the star of empire would some day go west through Kansas behind the locomotive, and the world knows how their visions have been verified. These same settlers knew from painful experience the difficulty of reclaiming the wilderness without the aid of the railway. They had crept across the prairies in their canvas-covered wagons, or had toiled up the sluggish waterways to the eastern boundaries of Kansas, and even to points on the Kansas river. They had suffered hunger because the cars could not bring them food, and for the same reason had suffered all the ills that ever come to an isolated and expatriated people. Nothing was more natural, therefore, than that the early settlers should refrain from building castles in Spain, and apply themselves to building railways in Kansas. This they did with the same vigor and persistence that characterized all their proceedings.

Thus, in February, 1859, was incorporated the Atchison & Pike's Peak Railway Company—Pike's Peak being considered a point practically as far west as San Francisco. In the same month was incorporated the Atchison & Topeka company, which seemed to apologize for the decided modesty of its name by explaining that its lines would "run toward Santa Fe." Also, in the same month, St. Joseph celebrated the arrival there of the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad, the first railway to reach the Kansas border. The celebration was also a funeral. It was the funeral of the river traffic which, up to that date, had been conducted with all the reckless splendor of a rich and giddy monopoly. The great tide of emigra-

tion westward had taken the river route from St. Louis, and the huge passenger boats of the Missouri had become institutions of great magnificence, yielding vast profits. But the advent of the Hannibal & St. Joseph road meant cut rates and—ruin; and afterwards, when the Missouri Pacific road entered the field, it was useless longer to contend against the decree of fate, and the river palaces withdrew to the more profitable runs south of St. Louis and elsewhere.

In September, 1859, the Atchison & Topeka company was organized, under the charter which had been obtained early in the year. This organization was made in Atchison. In September, 1860, a road was completed from St. Joseph to Atchison, and thus the first railway from the East entered the state, or touched it, at the town which became the initial point of the railway which has since grown to the greatest railway system in the world, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. In February, 1860, ground was broken for the Kansas Central at Wyandotte.

Prior to this time, Kansas had been the recipient of much flattering attention from the great men of the country. Horace Greeley had crossed the state, and noted the regular and rapid disappearance of "all the comforts of home" after leaving Chicago. He did not exactly kick because there were no dining-cars between Topeka and Denver, but that was substantially what he wanted. Mr. Lincoln, too, had been in Kansas and made his famous Kansas speeches. Lawrence had just earned the title of "Historyville," which Noble Prentis has given it by the organization of the State Historical Society, the same which now has its home in the state capitol building, and the population of the territory had mounted up to 97,570 people. Thus the time was ripe for the advent of the first Kansas railway.

March 20, 1860, the first iron laid in the state was put down on the Elwood & Marysville road, now part of the St. Joseph & Grand Island division of the Union Pacific system. Hon. D. W. Wilder, in his "Annals," quotes as follows from the Elwood *Free Press*—Elwood being then, as now, a village in Doniphan county just across the Missouri river from St. Joseph:

"On Monday last, April 23, the directors of the Elwood & Marysville railroad placed on their track the locomotive 'Albany,' an engine which has been used from Boston to the Missouri, as railroads have successively stretched their length toward the setting sun. On Tuesday several cars were brought across the river, and a large concourse of people gathered to celebrate the actual opening of the first section of the great Pacific road. Col. M. Jeff. Thompson, president of the Elwood & Marysville railroad; Willard P. Hall, president of the St. Joseph & Topeka road; Gov. Robert M. Stewart of Missouri, and others, addressed the crowd on the great topic of the day."

It was, indeed, a merry mob of "high rollers" that followed the venerable old scrap-heap "Albany" west from Elwood to the terminus of the new-laid track on the opening day. Of the many hundreds of railroad celebrations which have since been held in Kansas, this first one seems to have been the most remarkable. I am informed by one of our most distinguished citizens (who says, in the language of the classic narrator, "all of which I saw and part of which I was"), that the occasion was characterized by the most ardent, wide-spread and all-prevailing inebriety ever attained in the state. It would seem from the narrative of my distinguished friend as if the new railroad had been built and equipped for no other purpose than to convey all the champion drunkards of Kansas and the vast quantity of their liquid inspiration to the picnic grounds, where the two became one. Not only were the champion drunkards of Kansas present that day, but their brothers from Missouri were also there, headed, as the *Free Press* states, by Gov. "Bob" Stewart.

A truce was declared in matters political, and the enmities of the border were for a time drowned in the general enthusiasm over prospective commercial reciprocity and countless tubs of beer. Remarks about the unlawful taking of negro chattels, on one side, and the abduction of the prisoner Doy, on the other, and similar transactions on both sides, were for the time suspended and peace reigned. True, some do bear witness (among them my distinguished friend) that, when the riot was highest, a few hardy frontier partizans raised their voices and fists against each other, but such departures from the agreed etiquette of the day were few and unimportant. So amicable were the relations of the erstwhile belligerents, in fact, that it is related that at one stage of the proceedings Governor Stewart, of Missouri, was found in the woods flat on his back, and so good natured that he did not care to brush the flies from his nose or disturb the hilarious free-state man who had settled himself comfortably on the prostrate but still dignified gubernatorial "image of God."

The cars that followed the "Albany" that day were all flat cars, well calculated to carry the festive party, composed about equally of men and barrels. The cars were decorated with green boughs to cover their native ugliness, and seats were constructed of planks set crosswise of the cars. The engine was gaudy with all the colors of the rainbow, and some that the rainbow never yet developed. The engineer was conscious of the importance of his task, and did his best to prove his engine as fast as the load she was pulling. The track was rough, of course, and crooked, but it held together, and the trip was duly accomplished.

One of the episodes of this great day should always be remembered by the editors of Kansas as setting forth in a prophetic manner, as it were, the vigorous independence and self-preserving propensities of the profession. The editor of the Elwood *Free Press* was a stripling named Hunt, a hard-working, gentlemanly and well-ordered young man. The president of the road was M. Jeff. Thompson. While the barrels were being adjusted on the flat cars, Hunt sat perched to the top of a brake, where he could make a note of all that occurred. While he occupied this position, along came the pompous railroad president, and with neatness and dispatch kicked him off the train, on the theory that he was a loafer and in the way. Hunt was furious, but in his fury he did not forget to be wise. He determined that he would thoroughly chastise his royal highness, the president. Accordingly he abstained from all intoxicating liquors and bided his time—thus incidentally distinguishing himself as the only sober man in the crowd. At night, when the party returned to Elwood, Hunt lingered on the sandbar until everybody but Thompson had boarded the steamer for St. Joseph. Thompson, having seen that his guests were on board, was preparing to follow them, when Hunt stepped up and slapped him in the face. The slap was followed by more slaps and then by blows, and then by kicks, and finally by the utter prostration of the president, whose eyes, ears and mouth were filled with sand, and whose clothes were reduced to a hopeless state of demoralization. Hunt did not cease his administration of justice until he saw help for the president coming from the boat. Then he fled up the sand-bar, content to wait for further vengeance until the next issue of his paper.

Fortunately the row between the editor and the railway president did not interrupt the further building of the road. It was extended from time to time, and after it secured its land grant became really prosperous. Many of our best-known citizens shared in its prosperity, among them ex-Governor Glick and ex-Congressman Morrill. It continues to be now what it was on the day of the famous celebration—the tie that binds northwestern Missouri and northeastern Kansas in affectionate commercial union.

CLAIMS FOR LOSSES OF KANSAS SETTLERS DURING THE TROUBLES OF 1855 AND 1856.

Written by WILLIAM HUTCHINSON, of Washington, D. C., January, 1898, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

WHILE the Kansas of to-day is a rich, populous and thriving commonwealth, I sometimes wonder how many of the leading citizens holding her manifold positions of public trust, as well as of the rank and file, who in fact constitute the bone and sinew of statehood, fully realize and comprehend the trials and hardships, the sacrifices and conflicts, amid which the state was born. I believe the early history of Kansas--and no state in the union had such history as ours—with its elements of romance as well as its pages of blood; with its strife of factions as well as its free offerings upon the nation's funeral pile, should be learned and treasured as a precious relic by every citizen of the state. Although one of the youngest in the statehood, yet there are unwritten volumes of thrilling events, of heroic devotion to country and cause, pertaining to the lives of the early settlers in Kansas while a territory, that must ever form a dark background of the Kansas of to-day. It may be that any attempt to bring before the public a faithful review of what the pioneers of the territorial period endured may be considered by some as time lost. For instance, they may regard it merely as the exhibition of a specimen of antique from the "old curiosity shop" of the commonwealth for me to attempt to show how the people of Kansas as a whole ought to feel an interest in the passage of a bill that has been before many congresses since 1861, asking the general government for indemnity for losses by the citizens of the territory of Kansas during the civil disturbances which prevailed there from November 1, 1855, to December 1, 1856.

How many in Kansas to-day know that there were such losses, or the extent of them, and the attendant suffering? And yet it is a matter of history that the Kansas conflict was a conflict of freedom with slavery, in which nearly 200 lives were sacrificed, and it was estimated that at least two million dollars' worth of property was destroyed, mostly by government officials or at the hands of parties acting under their advice. This was before one-half of the present inhabitants of Kansas were born, and yet no bill has passed congress to satisfy the same.

As we sometimes learn something useful from back numbers, or even old almanacs, I am willing to take the stand and recite a few memorable facts in this connection for which I have the data, if you will give them currency.

It was during the administration of our territorial governor Wilson Shannon that the most of these atrocious deeds of murder, plunder and arson were committed, and the responsibility of the same was so directly chargeable upon the national government that the succeeding governors, Walker, Geary, and Medary, all severally favored and recommended our appeal to congress for an appropriation to meet the great losses sustained. To give character and authority to such asking, the territorial legislature, in January, 1859, upon the request of Governor Medary, took action in the matter, and the next month an act was passed appointing three commissioners—one by the council, one by the house, and one by the governor—whose duty it should be to audit and certify all claims for the loss of property taken or destroyed during the disorder which prevailed in the territory from November 1, 1855, to December 1, 1856, and each claimant was to receive a certificate of such decision or award. The certificates thus awarded by

the commissioners were to be presented to the auditor of the territory, who should, on presentation, draw his warrant on the treasurer of the territory for the respective sums named.

Thus authorized, this commission consisted of Edward Hoogland, Henry J. Adams, and Samuel A. Kingman; and William McKay was appointed attorney, so that all proceedings would be regular and legal. They commenced their session in Lawrence March 1, 1859, and continued in session constantly, taking testimony and rendering awards, for nearly five months, moving into different counties at the convenience of claimants. Each and every claim was either established or rejected, upon proof of the facts, under ordinary rules of evidence. Nearly 500 claims were considered, and less than fifty were rejected, though many were greatly reduced from the amount claimed. One claim of $50,000 was awarded at but $408. The total amount claimed was upwards of $1,500,000. The amount awarded was $450,001.70. This included 78 buildings burned, 368 horses and 533 cattle taken or killed, and $37,349.61 was the award for crops destroyed.

The following classification was made, as between free-state and pro-slavery men: Amount of property owned by free-state men, $335,779; owned by pro-slavery men, $77,198. This is, of course, only an approximate estimate, and is obviously incomplete, as the total amount was much larger than the sums here named.

At this period (1859) not one-third of the area of the territory was settled, with organized counties, and the settlers living in the eastern or border counties suffered most. Lawrence, in Douglas county, was especially the focal point at which the pro-slavery shafts were aimed. This was confirmed by the later raid of Quantrill's band. The foregoing 500 claimants were distributed by counties, as they then existed, as follows:

Douglas county	184	Leavenworth county	97
Lykins county	59	Shawnee county	47
Linn county	36	Anderson county	16
Atchison county	11	Bourbon county	9
Jefferson county	8	Franklin county	8
Wyandotte county	7	Jackson county	5
Johnson county	4	Brown county	3
Nemaha county	3	Doniphan county	3
Pottawatomie county	2	Wabaunsee county	1
Calhoun county	1	Buchanan county	1

Some of these names have since been changed.

The largest claim allowed was for $49,772, to Shaler W. Eldridge; and the smallest was for $9.10, to Henry B. Lacy, both of Douglas county. Among the largest claimants were J. A. Wakefield, Chas. Robinson, S. W. Eldridge, G. Jenkins, G. W. and W. Hutchinson & Co., Miller & Elliott, George W. Brown, and Hornsby & Ferrill, of Douglas county; M. W. Delahay, Geo. H. Keller, Milton B. Clark, N. McCracken, H. A. Lowe, and Scott J. Anthony, of Leavenworth county; John M. Reed, Robert Edwards, James Fletcher, Fry P. McGee, J. W. Farnsworth, and Benjamin D. Castleman, of Shawnee county; John Sharkey, Orville C. Brown, and Samuel Geer, of Lykins county; R. H. Crosby, Lorenzo Northrup, and M. T. and G. M. Dyer, of Jefferson county.

These claims, as a whole, may be divided into several classes, according to the attending circumstances: First, those for indemnity for property of loyal citizens taken for subsistence and commissary stores used by the recognized territorial militia. Second, those for property taken by United States officers or the legal posse under them. Third, those for property taken directly by United

States troops. Fourth, those for property taken by the same parties named in the second class, who, after being dismissed or disbanded as a posse, committed depredations and robberies at which their late officers connived.

The same legislature that created this board of commissioners made provision for the Wyandotte constitutional convention, which met the next July and framed the constitution under which we were admitted into the union. The law creating said commission provided that they should report to the said constitutional convention, and, further, that said convention should make suitable provision for securing the payment of their awards by the federal government by incorporating with the constitution a provision to that effect.

Their report was made accordingly to the convention assembled at Wyandotte in July, 1859. As a member of that convention, I labored to have the constitution contain a provision making the payment of our losses by the government a condition precedent to our admission. A majority feared this would endanger our admission, and it was decided instead to affix, as a schedule to the constitution, the following:

"*Resolved*, That congress be requested to pass an act appropriating $500,000, or in lieu thereof 500,000 acres of land, for the payment of the claims awarded the citizens of Kansas by the claim commissioners appointed by the governor and legislature of Kansas, under an act of the territorial legislature passed February 7, 1859."

The commissioners were paid by the territory five dollars a day for their services, their clerks four dollars a day, and ten cents for every mile traveled. In due course these 500 Kansas claimants all received warrants on the treasurer of Kansas, signed by the auditor, for the amounts severally awarded them. The total is nearly half a million dollars, and they are still unpaid by the state or the United States.

In March, 1860, Governor Medary appointed Henry J. Adams a special agent to collect and carry to congress the papers and evidence belonging to these claims, embracing all the original testimony, books and documents of the late commissioners. This action was in pursuance of a concurrent resolution of the legislative assembly of the territory, which ended with the following:

"*Provided*, that those who are interested in said claims shall pay the expenses of said special agent."

Mr. Adams immediately entered upon his work, and the preliminary step was to collect funds to meet his expenses. He visited the most accessible parties, and as soon as he collected enough to take him to Washington he started, and I was persuaded to continue the collections for him, and it proved no small labor to canvass eight or ten counties upon such an errand. I thus spent several weeks, from time to time, as Mr. Adams needed the money. He was thus kept in Washington a part of two years, and the only assistance I had in canvassing was from Colonel Eldridge, who provided me with a horse to ride a portion of the time. When the claimants were not able to pay at the time, I remember I sometimes took their notes, ranging from one dollar up. I have several of said notes yet that I cherish as a part of the history. I have one for twenty-five, signed by J. N. O. P. Wood, of Lecompton, and I was morally certain when he gave it that he had the money in his pocket and might have paid.

Mr. Adams was a faithful and competent agent, and he lost no time in submitting the claims to congress, and on the 2d of March, 1861, the committee on claims, through its chairman, Mr. Tappan, of New Hampshire, made a lengthy report of about a hundred pages, favoring the claims, and with an accompanying bill. The report included all the mass of testimony taken in Kansas in support

of the claims, and when printed made a volume of 1767 pages, that is generally found in two volumes. A copy of this is in the library of the Kansas Historical Society, as well as other documents belonging to this case. The first session of the thirty-sixth congress adjourned two days afterward, so that no further action could be taken.

The war of the rebellion soon followed, and for a time thus ended the Kansas claims before congress. I came to Washington during the war to take up the prosecution of the claims where Mr. Adams had left it, and for lo! these thirty years I have tried my utmost to keep the measure among the living issues, and to prevent its growing musty with age. I am not sure that I have succeeded. In any event, I have been so fortunate as to be able to sustain myself here without assessing the claimants. The bill that has been urged in favor of these claimants through several congresses provides for the appointment of a commissioner to make a final settlement in each case, mainly upon the evidence heretofore taken before the Kansas commissioners, with such additional testimony as may be produced; but we had no idea that much could be added after so long a period. This commissioner was, by the bill, to be the judge of the United States circuit court for the district in which Kansas was located. Hon. John F. Dillon, then of Davenport, Iowa, but now of New York City, was then holding the said office, and after correspondence with him he consented to take the said office, and he fixed the dates for me to fill the blanks in the bill as to when he would hear the claimants.

The first favorable action I was able to obtain was in the fortieth congress, when the Hon. Amasa Cable—then of Wisconsin, but now of Nebraska, made a report for the committee on claims, indorsing every principle we claimed for the measure, and recommending the passage of a bill appropriating $500,000, etc. The bill went upon the calendar, but could never be reached for final passage. It would be tedious to follow the many times I have, in the last twenty-five years, appeared with books and papers in hand before the committee on claims in the house and filled my appointed hour. I have usually been quite alone in such labor, but a few times was aided by eminent attorneys to present the legal aspect of the case. For this purpose, I employed the Hon. Fred P. Stanton first, then Gen. William Birney, then William A. Phillips, after he was in congress, and they all made able arguments from a legal standpoint. But in the latter congresses the committee has generally declined to hear legal arguments, but said they only wanted the facts, and that they assumed to know the law themselves.

I have not kept the bill before every congress, as we are able to judge when favorable action would be impossible. I have always consulted with our members about that, and we have never had an adverse report. In every congress after the bill was introduced, I have been allowed to name the member of the committee on claims to whom I wished the bill referred as a sub-committee, as one man usually takes the case first. If I can secure this favor, he reports to the full committee, when I again appear before them. Besides Judge Cobb, I have at different times, in other congresses, thus appeared before J. C. Burrows, of Michigan, ex-Governor Blair, of Michigan, Maj. William Warner, of Missouri, and Mr. Ray, of Pennsylvania. They have all been convinced of the justice and equity of the claim, and some of them have been ready to report the bill. But there is still another, whose name I have not given, who had the bill in charge during one congress. He was a colonel during the war, then a Methodist minister, then a congressman, serving on the committee on claims. After I had presented the case fully to him in all its bearings, he took me aside one day and said: "You cannot expect a measure of this magnitude to have favorable action

unless we, the committee, have some special consideration." Just then and there my labor ended for that congress, and it was at least three years before my disgust subsided so that I cared to make another trial.

These bills have usually been introduced by the member from the second Kansas district, as the larger interest was there, but other members have aided, especially Governor Morrill, who, when a member, showed his interest by introducing a bill, somewhat modified, by providing that the court of claims shall have jurisdiction to determine the merits of the several claims.

Our labor has been wholly confined to the house, as the bill carries an appropriation, but different senators have signified their approval of the measure, if it ever reached that body, and have assured me that they could secure favorable action. No member of the present house that I have approached had thought it could be of any possible use to offer the measure in this congress, but I hope to do so in the next.

I think it would be well for the present generation in Kansas, as well as the claimants, to know something of what I have stated, especially as I am receiving letters from them every year, frequently by way of complaint that nothing has been accomplished. What is the duty of the Kansans of to-day in the premises? There is certainly an obligation resting upon them, as shown by the aforesaid warrants on the territorial treasurer. Some of the delegation now here believe it the proper course for the state legislature to first provide for payment of the losses, as in the Quantrill raid cases. I only present this point in the case for consideration, and would not assume to advise. I think, however, that the least they should do would be to adopt some form of resolution urging action on the part of congress. That has been done more than once by former legislatures.

I have an official copy of one, dated February 12, 1872, as follows:

"Concurrent resolution memorializing the congress of the United States.

"WHEREAS, The losses suffered by the people of the territory of Kansas from the action of the territorial officials, and because of their failure to afford the protection due from the government, during the years 1855 and 1856, have never been paid; and

"WHEREAS, A bill is now pending in the congress of the United States for such payment: therefore,

"*Resolved*, the senate concurring, That congress be respectfully requested to afford the relief sought for in said bill at an early day, and our senators and representatives in congress are requested to use all honorable endeavors in this behalf.

"*Resolved*, That the secretary of state be directed to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the president of the senate and speaker of the house of representatives, and one to each of the members of congress from this state.

"Adopted by the house of representatives February 12, 1872.

ALEX. R. BANKS,
Chief Clerk House of Representatives.

"Concurred in by senate February 13, 1872. GEO. C. CROWTHER,
Secretary of Senate.

"I, W. H. Smallwood, secretary of state of the state of Kansas, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original concurrent resolution now on file in my office.

"IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed the great seal of the state. Done at Topeka, Kan., this 29th day of February, A. D. 1872.

[SEAL.]

W. H. SMALLWOOD,
Secretary of State."

You ask, What as to the future? What can we expect from congress? No doubt the Kansas claimants, what are now left of them, or their heirs or legal representatives, will ask the same.

I am sorry I cannot give a more encouraging answer. It must be seen at a glance that in the nature of things the chances for favorable action diminish

with every congress. At the beginning of our effort the story of the Kansas troubles and consequent losses was upon every tongue, and congressmen needed no instructions as to the general history. We had champions there then, ready and primed to advocate our cause whenever the bill could reach its final passage. I well remember Judge Poland, of Vermont, General Butler, of Massachusetts, General Farnsworth, of Illinois, Mr. Julian, of Indiana, and many others, as well as our own representatives, were ready with their speeches awaiting call; but how changed! There is scarcely a man in congress to-day who has any personal knowledge of these events. Not one of our present delegation, as far as I know, was an actor in those scenes. Hence, every time our bill is offered, I must begin with the primer lessons, and the task grows progressively harder. It is poor consolation for the claimants to be told that other measures of merit have slept in the lap of congress for even a hundred years and at last found favor. I can only say that, whatever the Kansas legislature may do, all reasonable effort will be made here to obtain justice before we have all passed over the river.

NOTE.—June 1, 1900.—Action concerning these claims has been allowed to slumber because a bill has been pending for two years, based on the same facts precisely, for indemnity to the Emigrant Aid Company, of Massachusetts, for loss of the Free-State hotel, at Lawrence, which claim has been donated to the Kansas State University. It amounts to $20,000. It has passed the senate twice, and is on the calendar of the house, with a fair prospect of favorable action by next session.

MARAIS DES CYGNES TRAGEDY.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by ED. R. SMITH, of Mound City.

THERE is much in the history of Kansas not yet recorded in the books. There are many tragic events that occurred in the early territorial days not yet down in cold type; in fact, now known to but few left of the brave, hardy pioneers, the first settlers on the debatable bloody skirmish line, with freedom upon the one side and slavery on the other—the demarkation between Kansas and Missouri.

In complying with your kind invitation, it is my purpose to give to you some of the more important events occurring in Linn county that finally led on to the Marais des Cygnes massacre of May 19, 1858, when eleven unoffending free-state settlers were captured "from the hearths of their cabins, the fields of their corn," were "swooped up and swept on to the low, reedy fenlands, the marsh of the swan," and were murdered in cold blood. In doing this I must recount some of the tragic events occurring here prior to my coming; that is, prior to April, 1857, since which my story will largely be from personal knowledge.

In 1856 General Clark, of Georgia fame, marched his army of border ruffians through Linn county. There was but little here for them to destroy at that time, but that little they effectually disposed of. Such free-state men as they were able to capture they took with them and sent under guard to Westport, Mo. Many of them never returned. Murder and disease relieved both captured and captor. The more fortunate anti-slavery settlers, upon the approach of the invading army, escaped through the brush, leaving their families to the tender mercy of men whose mission was to drive away all opposition to the making of Kansas territory a slave state. General Clark assured all that he came in contact with "that there was room in the territory for but one party, and that was the pro-slavery party, and all not in sympathy with making Kansas territory a slave state had to get out, and that within an hour." James Montgomery was one of those who escaped, though vigorously pursued.

In the spring of 1857 Northern men and women fairly swarmed to the eastern counties of the territory. In the fall of that year the border ruffians again took the field for one more effort to intimidate the peaceful settlers and make them subservient to the pro-slavery design. Among other atrocities committed at that time, "old man" Denton, a prominent free-state settler on the Osage river, in Bourbon county, was called to his cabin door in the night-time, and, without a word, his frail old body was riddled with buckshot. This band of murderers came from Fort Scott, under command of one ever afterwards known along the border as "Fort Scott" Brockett. The only object of this murder was to strike terror into the hearts of the many free-state settlers along the Osage river and throughout the northern part of Bourbon county and the southern part of Linn. If such was the purpose, it certainly failed of its accomplishment, for, on the other hand, it aroused the entire eastern part of the territory to immediate and vigorous action.

General Lane at once assembled an army of between 300 and 400 men and marched into this county, establishing his headquarters in the timber some two miles west of Mound City, and there awaited developments. This display of free-state force was sufficient to quell further murdering forays for that immediate time, but, as soon as the force under Lane disbanded and marched away, "troubles," as they then were termed, broke out afresh. Then it was that the afterwards noted "Jayhawker" chief, James Montgomery, took the field in defense of the lives and homes of himself and neighboring settlers. He readily gathered to his standard from fifteen to fifty fearless characters, as the emergency might require, and proceeded to reënact the tactics of pro-slavery leaders who had operated in Kansas. He called upon every pronounced leader of pro-slavery ideas in this county and along the Osage river in Bourbon county, and politely informed them "that there was not sufficient room in the territory for two parties, and inasmuch as a precedent had been established by the pro-slavery men, when in majority, that the majority should rule, conditions now being changed, and the shoe being on the other foot, he felt himself justified in calling upon them, and all who sympathized with them regarding the future state of the territory, to forthwith gather their traps and effects and at once emigrate to more congenial environments." Captain Montgomery had an exceedingly persuasive way, and seldom had any difficulty in persuading his victims of his entire sincerity and terrible earnestness, and consequently, at the several places of his calling, there was weeping and wailing, but a continual hustle was on to promptly obey the dreaded jayhawker summons. They all went.

At and around Trading Post, on the Marais des Cygnes river in this county, were settled a number of bitter pro-slavery, abolition-hating fire-eaters, chief of whom was one Charles A. Hamilton, who had and occupied a claim just across the line in Kansas. In the spring of 1858 there was in successful operation at the Post a regular old-fashioned "doggery"; therefore this place readily became a rendezvous for a gang of desperate characters, both in the territory and across the line, but some four miles away. This man Hamilton was the acknowledged leader of the Trading Post contingent of the pro-slavery element in Linn county. Hamilton had often declared his intention toward Montgomery and his offending band of Jayhawkers, of which Captain Montgomery was fully advised.

One fine day about this time, Montgomery, at the head of a small squad of men, quietly rode into the midst of a dozen houses or more, then constituting Trading Post, and without ceremony proceeded to clean out the pro-slavery headquarters by emptying the contents of several barrels of sod-corn whisky then on hand into the highway, at the same time leaving a general notice to pro-slavery

people to quit the territory. This last act of alleged vandalism on the part of the jayhawkers broke the camel's back, and Hamilton and some of his neighbors repaired at once to the friendly hospitality of congenial Missouri. Montgomery's work was done, and well done. Not a drop of human blood had been shed; not a dollar's worth of personal property had been taken from the evicted pro-slavery people. They were bidden to go in peace, but to go. No burnt cabins and houseless women and children, with murdered or captured husbands and fathers, were in his rear, as they were in the rear of the pro-slavery army under Clark and others. The peace and quiet of the territory demanded heroic treatment. For the first time the free-state settler felt himself secure. For the first time for months did men feel themselves safe without being heavily armed. How little they dreamed of the bloody day so soon to dawn.

Among the first settlers in this county was one Joseph Barlow, by birth, education and prejudice a thorough Kentuckian. With "other goods and chattels," he brought with him to the territory a number of slaves. At the organization of this county he became prominent, and was made its first judge of probate and register of deeds. He was by profession a lawyer, a smooth and persuasive talker, kind-hearted and hospitable. Judge Barlow at once became the leader of the more conservative pro-slavery element in Linn county. Strange as it may seem, upon acquaintance, a warm and lasting personal friendship sprang up between this man and Captain Montgomery, which on more than one occasion saved the life of Barlow, who, while always an advocate of the "divine right," endowed with the courage of his birth and conviction, was nevertheless conservative in his views, and was never an advocate of violence and murder as a means to the end of bringing the territory into the union as a slave state. Montgomery had faith in the honor of Barlow and was not slow to advise him of his purpose and reason for expelling the objectionable pro-slavery element from the county—assuring him that there could be no lasting peace between such warring elements as freedom and slavery—that to have peace it must be all free or all slave. Judge Barlow argued in vain against what he termed Montgomery's unlawful course, assuring him that the precedent set by pro-slavery leaders in wrong-doing did not justify him in similar wrong-doing, and would not in the long run help the free-state cause, and if persisted in would surely bring retaliation in form and time that could not be protected against.

When Hamilton, late in April, 1858, left the territory for fear of a visit from Montgomery, he soon afterwards sent back word to his friend Barlow "to come out of the territory at once, as we are coming up there to kill snakes, and will treat all we find there as snakes." Barlow, upon the receipt of this message, at once left his home and family and joined Hamilton in Missouri, where he found the evicted refugees awaiting his coming. Shortly after his arrival in Missouri a mass-meeting was called at the old town of Papinsville. The object of this meeting was to incite an invasion of the territory in such force as would sweep all resistance before it. At this meeting Barlow was constituted a member of the committee on resolutions, and opposed returning to the meeting such resolutions as would indorse immediate invasion. He was overruled, and such action was indorsed and returned to the assembled mob, where it was received with boisterous applause.

Barlow, confident that such a course, if attempted, would only result in disastrous failure, still vigorously opposed the adoption of such a policy. To use his language, as he gave it to me years afterwards, in relating the pro-slavery side of the events preceding the Marias des Cygnes massacre, as I now call it to mind, he assured his friends that "we are not prepared for an immediate invasion of

the territory. We have no arms but our shot-guns and our squirrel rifles, and the jayhawkers, with their Sharp's rifles, would kill the half of us before we got within gunshot of them: besides, we have no food to support any number of us when away from our homes, and there is none in the territory. We must submit our case to the courts, which are in our control, and are in full sympathy with our purpose to maintain slavery in the territory as a permanent institution at all hazards. The courts, if resisted, will be backed by the military power of the government, which is now democratic and in full accord with our purpose."

Hamilton and others addressed the meeting in fiery terms. Barlow was brushed aside, and with a unanimous vote it was resolved to invade Kansas instanter. That night and the next day there assembled an army of 500 men fully bent on the extermination of free-state sentiment in Linn county, and took up its line of march for Kansas. Upon arriving at the line between Missouri and Kansas, a halt was called for rest and final arrangement for descent upon the unsuspecting settlers in the beautiful valley surrounding the ancient and historic Trading Post. Here Barlow again availed himself of an opportunity to address this mob, and to better effect. They were tired, sober, and silent. They had ridden many miles, and were without food and blankets, and, besides, were at the threshhold of hated but dreaded Kansas. Every man of them knew that Montgomery could not be far away. Barlow assured them that the crack of Sharp's rifles might now be expected at any instant. The hour was propitious. It was midnight, and the stars above them shone down upon this hungry, fear-stricken mob with cold and cheerless light. The sharp, rapid barking of a pair of marauding coyotes from a far distant mound sent an alarm through the ranks. Some declared it was the signal of the jayhawkers.

A panic was imminent. The more resolute cursed and swore at the timid. Captain Hamilton, disgusted at the evident cowardice of his brawling associates, in a rage mounted his horse, rode out of the mob around him, calling on "the bloody reds," his faithful personal following, "to ride to the front and follow me." At this summons, thirty as bloodthirsty wretches as ever cut a throat or scuttled a ship mounted and rode out and away over the border after their hot-blooded commander. The remainder of this collection of border ruffianism, like the wolves of the border that they were, before daybreak on that eventful May morning disappeared and were heard of no more.

The story of that awful day, that ever memorable 19th of May, 1858, has been so often told in all its shocking details and is so well known as to need slight reference here.

Hamilton with his cutthroats rode into the Post about nine o'clock in the morning of that bright May day. He captured several prisoners there, all of whom he released, except John F. Campbell, a clerk in a store at the Post. With Campbell he proceeded on the road to West Point, Mo. Scarcely a mile out they came up with Rev. L. B. Reed, a settler, and well known to Hamilton. Reed at the time was engaged in conversation with William A. Stillwell, a free-state settler from near Mound City, then with his wagon and team on his way to Kansas City for a load of goods. With these two was a young and intelligent Irishman, Patrick Ross, whose home was on the Osage river, in Bourbon county. Capturing the three of them, Hamilton, with his four prisoners, moved eastward to the vicinity of his former "claim." His next capture was Amos C. Hall, who was found sick in bed in his cabin. He was ordered up and out, scarcely able to stand, yet, under the excitement of threats of instant death, he was able to join the other prisoners. These five prisoners were driven on foot to the home of William Colpetzer, whose home joined that of Hamilton. Colpetzer was added

to the number of prisoners, as he refused to run, as his wife begged him to, when he first saw armed men coming. Turning northward a mile, Michael Robinson was captured, and one Charles Snider, a former acquaintance of Robinson in Illinois, then visiting at Robinson's; thence another mile northwest, where an old man, William Hairgrove, and his son Asa, were captured while at work in their corn-field. Austin W. Hall was next taken, as he was returning with the "brown oxen" from Snider's blacksmith shop.

Not one of these men had arms with them. With few exceptions, all were well known to Hamilton and many of his gang. They had never taken part in the differences between free-state and pro-slavery men. They were mostly the former near neighbors of Hamilton, and had not the slightest suspicion that he would harm them. With orders to "step up lively," and under pain of being instantly shot, "say nothing to each other," almost on a trot these unoffending men, guilty of no offense, charged with no crime but that of being free-state men, were hurried on.

"From the hearths of their cabins,
The fields of their corn,
Unwarned and unweaponed,
The victims were torn,—
By the whirlwind of murder
Swooped up and swept on
To the low, reedy fen-lands,
The Marsh of the Swan."

Into a deep gorge of the meandering mounds these eleven victims were hastily driven, and there ordered to fall in line, facing east, which they did.

"With a vain plea for mercy
No stout knee was crooked,
In the mouths of the rifles
Right manly they looked."

Hamilton, without further comment, ordered his men to form in front of their victims on the side of the ravine and a little above them. Old man Hairgrove, seeing the preparations for their murder, without a tremor in his voice, said, "Men, if you are going to shoot us, take good aim."

Hamilton at this gave the order to "make ready, take aim, fire." "Fort Scott" Brockett, at this, wheeled his horse out of the line, and with an oath declared he "would shoot them in a fight, but, by God! I'll have nothing to do with such an act as this." It was with difficulty that Hamilton brought his gang again into line, then again gave the order to fire, firing the first shot himself.

The entire eleven men in that line went down before the deadly fire of their murderers. As soon as the smoke from the firing arose it was observed that some of their victims were not dead. Hamilton dismounted a portion of his crew with orders to finish the job, ending his order with, "By God, dead men tell no tales." Colpetzer was not dead. He piteously begged to be spared to his wife and two children. A pistol ball went crashing through the poor man's brain. Patrick Ross was again shot, in order "to be sure the d--d Irishman was dead." Others feigned death and lay motionless in the blood flowing from their wounds. Austin W. Hall was not touched in the first fire, but fell with the rest and successfully feigned death. Colpetzer, Ross, Stillwell and Robinson were dead. The others, except A. W. Hall, were each desperately wounded. The pockets of the dead and wounded were rifled of such few valuables as they contained, A. W. Hall being violently kicked in the ribs as his body was being searched. This being done, Hamilton mounted his command and rode away, and to this day has not been seen or heard of by any one familiar with this bloody crime.

This was but the beginning of a fearfully bloody ending.

The dead were gathered up and all conveyed to a little cabin just north of the Post and laid on the puncheon floor. There, beside their dead, during one long, awful night, the widows and fatherless babes sat in sleepless vigil.

"In the homes of their rearing
  Yet warm with their lives
Ye wait the dead only
  Poor children and wives!
Put out the red forge-fire,
  The smith shall not come;
Unyoke the brown oxen,
  The ploughman lies dumb.

"Wind slow from the Swan's Marsh,
  O, dreary death-train,
With pressed lips as bloodless
  As lips of the slain!
Kiss down the young eyelids,
  Smooth down the gray hairs;
Let tears quench the curses
  That burn through your prayers."

Such were the words of sympathy that came to the stricken ones, fresh from the great heart of the Quaker poet. As true as the arrow of its mark was his soul as it rose in prophecy in his beautiful poem, "Le Marais du Cygne."

"Not in vain on the dial
  The shades move along,
To point the great contrast
  Of right and of wrong.
Free homes and free altars,
  And fields of ripe food;
The reeds of the Swan's Marsh
  Whose bloom is of blood.

"On the lintels of Kansas
  That blood shall not dry;
Henceforth the Bad Angel
  Shall harmless go by.
Henceforth to the sunset,
  Unchecked on her way,
Shall Liberty follow
  The march of the day."

At Trading Post there stands a beautiful marble monument, erected to the memory of our martyred dead, to the erection of which the state of Kansas contributed $1000. Beneath its shadow rest the ashes of Colpetzer, Campbell, Ross, and Robinson. Stillwell was taken to Mound City and buried there.

PENS THAT MADE KANSAS FREE.

Address by Col. RICHARD J. HINTON before the annual meeting of the Kansas State Editorial Association at Fort Scott, January 23, 1900.

IT is a pleasant task that has been assigned me—that of telling somewhat of the men, and the women, too, whose trenchant pens, directed by brains that, in general, clearly understanding the nature of the struggle and the drift of its portentous events, were used to first arouse the laggard people into a sense of their danger, and then, by a daring record of startling occurrences, to keep the new conscience awakened and the alarmed intellects of those in the free states alive to the full meaning of the events that were happening. It is one not without difficulties, as there are so many and varying forms of the writers of influence to consider. History repeats itself, and we may smile again at the use of opprobrious terms, when men are differing on policy and purposes, by those who are in power and are therefore the criticized.

When the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, in the early summer of 1854—now forty-six years since—told of the abrogation of the Missouri compromise, and thereby assured the land of the desperate straits to which institutional chattelism had brought its advocates and defenders, it was seen, as if by a series of lightning flashes, that the final conflict for the maintenance or overthrow of a strived-for equilibrium within the union, between slavery and a free system of government, was facing the sections. It had to be fought out, too, until the end sought for should be won, and the power to rob the cradle and plunder the grave by an enforced and "legal" mortgage on the labor of human beings could be destroyed forever. William H. Seward, the Nestor among the Northern senators, held then, and until war's conflagration spread over the land six years later, that the struggle, though severe, would be peaceful, and gave it therefore the welcome of a calm conscience and a great intellect when he, at the close of the debate and the apparent victory of the South, reminded them that we should meet again on the plains of Kansas! And in all surety we did!

We were held guilty of "constructive treason," whatsoever that may mean. I have heard of the term in other lands and times. Even more recently its raucous and rasping infamy has offended the ears of fairness. We were told of "insurgency," and in the lines of a drastic and fraudulent code opinion was made a crime and conviction became a source of peril; but what a wonderful thing happened! A free people, busy with shop and market, working at forge and bench, following the plow and winnowing the grain, building the dwelling, working at types, editing newspapers, laboring all in many vigorous directions, awoke suddenly to their peril. It was fortunate indeed that there were editors and writers who were free men also in the land. The banks and syndicates were not powerful then. There was no paper trust. The little schoolhouses proved themselves the laboratories of free institutions. The ability to read, seduously cultivated in the free states, at least, was as the "pillar of smoke by day," and of "fire by night," to arouse and guide the people. From the schoolhouse door and the clattering whir of free presses comes the mightiest armament of liberty.

In that stormy opening of a passionate and powerful epoch, it was fortunate indeed that the New York *Tribune* was in the upward glory of its wisdom and power. It was of the nation's best fortune that Horace Greeley was then its editor—the editor supreme of that monumental epoch! I place the *Tribune* and

the pen of its editor as the earliest and most powerful in molding force of all the "Pens that made Kansas free." In doing so they began the steadfast work of making this union secure, and molding therefrom that permanently free people, which most assuredly we are to become. Some believe this has already been fully achieved. Others, like this narrator, may yet stand as he did and still does, believing that chattel bondage was but as a strong buttress and barbican to the citadel of economic bondage. Horace Greeley held that view also. But how valiantly he labored for the near-by achievement; the most untiring servant of the loftiest opportunism! There were William Cullen Bryant, Parke Godwin, and John Bigelow—all of the *Evening Post*—with the astute and cool-blooded Henry J. Raymond also. Thurlow Weed, the sagacious maker of New York politicians, carried a pen as well as a judgment, which was of great value. He led the dear old gentlemen who had, then as now, to find snuffy precedents before they could sneeze loud enough for protest.

Others came, and from various political quarters. The young men, especially, met the streaming banners with loud acclaims. We do not forget the brave pens and presses of New England. We still hold in gratitude the memories of Medill, Bross, Ray, "Long John" Wentworth, John C. Vaughan, afterwards so conspicuous an editor in Kansas, Sherman, Booth, and many others, who made the vast central and northwest regions ring with appeal and argument. And there was brave utterance in California. At the seat of power Gamaliel Bailey, in the *National Era*, wrote also.

We, of Kansas, have not forgotten the names of poets and scholars who defended and cheered. What should we have done without the lyric passion of John G. Whittier; the grave wisdom of Emerson; the oratory of Theodore Parker and Henry Ward Beecher; the wit and humor and stately poesy, too, of James Russell Lowell; the inspiring verses of Lucy Larcom and John G. Pierrepont?

Among others, we must not forget the organizing brains and pens of Edward Everett Hale, Doctor Boynton, of Cincinnati, and Dr. Thomas H. Webb—the modest, retiring, but always faithful and serving secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, lingering in sunny old age to delight us with his wholesome scholarship and honey-tipped pen, remains to remind us of the chivalric Yankee preacher and author who worked so valiantly for our freedom and safety, putting himself into personal danger to help us. And there still live to be remembered and honored, too, by Kansans, the president, secretary and assistant secretary of the National Kansas Free State Committee, formed in May, 1856, by the Buffalo convention of that date. One was an editor, and is still potential thereat. The other, an inventor with the genius of generosity, and a brilliant writer also. I refer to Horace White, now of the New York *Post*, who was secretary, and to Thaddeus Hyatt, who was chairman of that national committee. They both used pens of fire, and deserve high recognition. There were many others.

But I may not linger over the names that troop like luminous figures down the corridors of memory. My present and pleasant task is to tell something of a smaller and, perhaps, more audacious body, chiefly young men, who made, in a degree, their humble names brilliant for the larger historic perspective wherein we now meet. I refer to the "special" correspondents, who, in 1854–'55 and 1856, came to Kansas with both pen and rifle, to perform their chosen devoirs in defending with the one a ruffian-haunted people, and through the other, helping to instruct the great nation that was awakening behind and all around them. The Northern journalists who came as such to Kansas in those first two and a half

years were not many in numbers, nor were they heralded by reputation's clamor. But they made their records, and these were light; not clouds or gloom. They were first in a class that has since raised the name of "special correspondents" into one of high intellectual rank—a sign and assurance of unfailing courage and untiring ability. This high journalistic grade is a Kansas creation, and it is not the least worthy of the several and memorable first things which this community has done—such, for example, among others, as being the first to successfully resist the extension of chattel slavery; the first to breed those, Quixotic enough, if you will, to seek an overthrow of slavery in its own domains; first to find gold in the Rockies; first too, even though Massachusetts claims otherwise, to place arms in the hands of ex-chattels, and train the former slave to be a soldier and citizen of the union.

These early editors of free-state Kansas deserve more than a mere mention here. But the work of naming them has been better and more fully done in years past by Editor Taylor, of Wyandotte. There were Elliott and Ross, of Lawrence and Topeka—capable, brave, and earnest. There was, and still is, dear old John Speer—long may his shadow wane not!—wit, humorist, satirist, but always kindly and faithful. In Kansas, at least, the elder memories will incase the name and life of John Speer in the amber of their loving admiration—preserved by the congealing tears of sympathy for the lost ones he gave the state and its cause. His brother Joseph was one of the first correspondents, too. We may not forget even the bovine advocacy of George Washington Brown, for the *Herald of Freedom* helped in days of peril, especially when its editorial page was controlled by the scholarly wisdom and comprehensive insight of Augustus Wattles. Nor must we forget in the later years of our herculean struggle—that in which the Lecompton issue came up to be settled—the editorial pens and services of John C. and Champion Vaughan, father and son; of dear Web. Wilder, at Elwood; and of Tracy, Russell, and Lee, also, as well as of John A. Martin, who, as *Freedom's Champion*, made so clean at Atchison the shambles left by the *Squatter Sovereign*. And Wilder is not the only one of the editorial pens of 1857 that is left to us. I do not forget that John J. Ingalls broke an occasional lance in that arena of 1857–'58; and there still is Bishop Walden, of the Methodist Episcopal church, who as an editor at Quindaro helped on the arduous work. But Preston B. Plumb, Dwight Thacher, Norman Allen, S. S. Prouty, William Ross, and others who equally deserve naming, have now passed beyond.

I halt at this milestone, 1857, for before that year closed Kansas was free from bogus laws, a fraudulent legislature, and the fear of an enforced chattelism, as the price of admission to the union. Then came another and even a more portentous conflict; but Kansas had been made free, and would be kept so if the union should be as it was. And did not Kansas give back in sacrificial blood her response to the services theretofore rendered her by other free and loyal men of the union? Let the story of the civil war west of the Missouri, now almost systematically ignored by the Eastern chroniclers, reply in the flame of invasion: the burning and pillage of Lawrence; the constant assaults of rebel guerrillas and brigands, whose horrible deeds of late years have been almost exalted into heroism by the complaisance of a bawbee-made commercialism: in the fact that Kansas lost proportionately, as army records prove, more of her soldiers in actual combat than did any other of the loyal states; that even her negroes took that infection so fully that her first colored regiment stands among the very highest in the history of all regiments that have served the United States, being placed officially "third" and "seventeenth" in the list of losses in battle and

combat, as measured actually by numbers killed, and relatively by numbers serving.

Let the service of the Sunflower state, when the scars of a warring conflict are still unhealed, be remembered in the fact that she never gave room for draft and conscription; that her soldiers were all volunteers; that local bounties were never required as inducement to enlist; that she never as a state had to procure men from elsewhere, and yet gave three men for every one that "Father Abraham" called for, and that, in addititition, when Price's invasion threatened and began, the men and boys of Kansas, every one capable of carrying a musket, responded speedily to the call to arms. We were then a state without a mile of railroad, and but a small amount of telegraph wire within our border, and yet within nine days 17,000 citizens were marched to the front and all posts of need. I crossed the state from Fort Riley to the Missouri border under orders, and saw the women gathering the corn, and the men, gun on shoulder, picking the wayside sumach for a badge in hat and on coat, marching with stalwart eagerness to their posts. I sometimes fear that in these days of gain and dollars the people of Kansas are quite apt to forget their noble inheritance.

Among the very earliest of special correspondents in Kansas was a representative of the Baltimore *Sun*, a moderate Douglas democratic paper. In October, 1854, Martin Franklin Conway, printer, reporter, and lately made lawyer, South Carolinian by birth and Marylander by residence, landed at Leavenworth from a river steamboat. He was one of a number of young men, Douglas democrats, as they were termed, who came early to Kansas to participate in the work of organization, and work, too, for public place. Among others must be recalled Marcus J. Parrott and James S. Emery as especially worthy.

Martin F. Conway, whose sadly clouded years remain as a lament for all of his friends, and I may justly count myself among his closer ones, was probably the ablest of this coterie. Of South Carolinian birth, he had the keenest conception of the political philosophy with which John C. Calhoun had inoculated the South with the fever of oppression, and through the paralyzing greed of commercialism, militant and corruptible both, where profit was as fragrant incense, had made of the maritime and urban North a nest of cowardly trimmers and doughfaces. He often described this theory to me as a political pyramid turned upon its apex, instead of standing on its base. Calhoun was a hierarch, and then a revolutionaire, for he turned his carefully built structure upside down.

It is of interest to recall also that Martin F. Conway, elected chief justice under the free-state constitution framed at Topeka, and afterwards the first representative in congress from the state he so intelligently helped to make, was one of the first, as a working compositor in Baltimore, to advocate the organization of the International Typographical Union, now one of the more powerful of the world's labor bodies. Conway came to Kansas believing heartily in a free state as most desirable, but also dazzled by the squatter-sovereignty sophism. The Baltimore *Sun*, on his leaving that city, asked him to serve as its correspondent. He arrived at Leavenworth some time in October, 1854, and commenced writing at once. I have since read all the letters that were published from his pen, ten or twelve in number. They begin quietly in tone, with an evident leaning towards the democrats he met, but expressing surprise at their violent speech. Then he tells of meetings he attended and places visited in the Missouri valley. Election day approached, came, and passed, and Martin F. Conway was a convicted free-state man of the more radical Kansas stripe. He saw squatter sovereignty exemplified in the appearance of the 2400 armed men who crossed from Clay, Platte and Jackson counties, etc., to vote for General Whitfield, of Texas—fed-

eral Indian official temporarily residing in Missouri—at an election called by a few men belonging to a Southern and secret organization—mostly residents in the adjoining state—as a delegate to congress.

Conway's letters embody a plain statement of the facts as he saw them. They raised such a row, too, for him, that his personal safety was imperiled at Leavenworth, and he entered the interior, first visiting Lawrence, and then going to Fort Riley, after meeting Governor Reeder. He did not continue to serve the *Sun* as correspondent. If my memory of conversations with him remains unimpaired, he was brusquely requested to stop. This, I believe, ended Conway's working connection with the press, but it was certainly an effective opening of his Kansas service.

With the advent of the Charles H. Branscomb Boston free-state party, at Kansas City, in the last days of July, 1854, there came the first two of the men who made the beginning of the news writing of and from Kansas a political and moral power in the union. They came as settlers Their newspaper work was, it is true, but one of the incidents of their activity; but it soon became a weapon in the grander fight that the settlement of Lawrence as a free-state center brought to a concrete issue. The two writing members of the Branscomb party to whom I refer were Samuel F. Tappan and a Mr. Russell. The first name bears still one of the more honorable of Kansas records. He is yet with us, living in Washington, serving in some position with the United States senate and known in national annals as a gallant field-officer—lieutenant colonel of the First Colorado volunteer cavalry in the civil war, and as the first Indian peace commissioner after it closed.

In Kansas Colonel Tappan's name is recalled as the man who, from the first day he entered the territory, simply and seriously announced himself as an "abolitionist"—most despised and dreaded name of that day; also as one of the four or five men who won the honor of first resisting the bogus laws, and thereby causing the Wakarusa attack on Lawrence, in the winter of 1855–'56. It will be recalled that the Branscomb rescue, made by Abbott, "Sam" Wood, and "Sam" Tappan, with some others, was the pretended cause of this outbreak. But the murder of Dow lay behind it—that feast of "abolition wolf meat" (see Professor Spring's "Kansas") was the signal. Tappan served for nearly, or quite three years as an occasional correspondent of the Boston *Journal*, and as a regular correspondent of the New York *Times*. He was, therefore, the first of the professional special correspondents in Kansas, and should pass into the state's history as the dean of that corps.

Of Mr. Russell I know nothing beyond this: that for about a year letters appeared in the famous *Missouri Democrat*, over the signature of "Essen," which are credited to Russell. They were fair reports of events, and, printed in that newspaper, were of value. That they were what is so loosely termed "conservative" nowadays, may probably be accepted by the fact that "Essen" is found at a later day approvingly named as a correspondent "to be relied upon" by one who seldom mentioned such "disturbers" of his peace and premises with approval—George Washington Brown, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*. Personally I have no recollection of ever having met Mr. Russell, and may therefore fail in doing him justice. If so, it is unintended. But for the brave, simple, unaffected and devoted "Sam" Tappan, I can only say that his newspaper work was like himself, of transparent honesty and directness.

With the second party under Dr. Charles Robinson, arriving at Lawrence, came the Hutchinsons from Vermont. All three of them wrote for the New England newspapers more or less. But William Hutchinson, who is still with

us and employed in the pension bureau at Washington, was the constant correspondent of the New York *Times*, and also an occasional writer for other papers, especially the Boston *Journal*. Mr. Hutchinson's letters, if preserved, as I presume they are, will make a perfect local history of the town of Lawrence and of the territory of Kansas for most of the fateful five years of its noted activities. Such a volume would, like its writer, be sober and serious in character, fair and just-minded as a rule, and accurate to minuteness, and therefore valuable as annals. These names cover, I believe, the three active "special" correspondents from Kansas during eight or nine months of turmoil, and they are always to be reckoned with throughout the whole period of strife and struggle. There were undoubtedly others who wrote, and efficiently, from the prairies of Kansas during those months, but they were not "correspondents," but "contributors," using the terms in a newspaper "shop" sense. The Mesdames Robinson, Ropes and Heath were valuable to the cause for the letters they wrote and had published. "Dan" Anthony had letters in the Rochester, New York, newspapers. Doctor Chapman, whose handbook is one of the curiosities of Kansas literature, wrote for some Ohio or Indiana papers occasionally. Thus the pen proved to be earlier as a weapon than the Sharp's rifle or Colt's revolver. It was always as necessary, and perhaps proved the more dangerous of the three, against the proslavery spirit and action.

But newspaper letters from Kansas were only incidents before the "border-ruffian" election of March, 1855. After that they became "events" in the history of the land, that rapidly formed their words into epoch-making forces.

It is impossible to learn, without a research that no individual can now alone undertake, how much was done through the pro-Southern press to form and continue that side of the conflict. George Douglas Brewerton, the soldier, writer, preacher, artist, traveler—who still lives, I believe, in the city where I reside, but whom I cannot find—was probably the ablest professional writer on the anti-free-state side. Perhaps that may be an almost unfair mode of stating his personal position, but it certainly represents for the time the great newspaper which sent Brewerton to Kansas during the latter part of 1855. His book was published in March, 1856, the result of two or three months of the most industrious of "interviewing," and the effect of his letters in the New York *Herald*, from which it was mainly made, was decidedly advantageous to the free-state cause. Many of his narratives may still stand for accepted record.

The two correspondents whose names became most noted during the heat of the free-state conflict were William A. Phillips and James Redpath. They both came to the territory early in the summer of 1855. I have never known which was first on this "bloody ground," but I have always supposed it to have been Colonel Phillips. He was, as all old Kansans remember, of Scotch descent, carrying its characteristic intonation and burr until his death. My impression is that he was born in Scotland, though brought very early to this country. He had been a stalwart free-soil editor in southern Illinois—that is, "Egypt"; was a correspondent therefrom to both the New York *Tribune* and Chicago *Tribune;* had already published a readable novel and an attractive volume of verse. Greeley selected him as the New York *Tribune* "special," and did thereby one of his most important pieces of the service he constantly rendered Kansas. Phillips had a caustic pen, a dauntless courage, an untiring physique, good judgment; was sagacious, witty, egotistic, a little bitter, and somewhat apt to take unwarranted personal prejudices; not especially a kindly comrade, he was a faithful advocate and true to his cause. Kansas recognized that by repeated elections to congress. He served with good repute in a very hard and ungrateful field as

colonel and brigade commander of the union Indian regiments. His work as the leading free-state "special" correspondent was brilliant as well as solid. Phillips had a passion for walking in those days, and was enabled by it to get around as much as others who rode more conspicuously on other legs. His "Conquest of Kansas" is a standard authority, and the state papers he wrote in the interests of the Topeka movement, though others were long credited with their authorship, are among your public records. As an editorial writer on the *Tribune* he did good work outside public Kansas.

James Redpath flamed almost meteor-like over this blazing field. He arrived from Louisiana at Kansas City late in June, 1856, and, coming from the South, was welcomed by the other side as in all probability "sound on the goose." Redpath had just been through an experience which taught him, for the time being, to do what he had probably never done before, and certainly never did afterward —keep watch and guard on his speech. Late in the fall of 1854, he had, according to his "Roving Editor" (New York, 1858), left New York for a pedestrian tour through the South, with a view of learning the possibilities of creating a movement against slavery among the slaves themselves. My own impression—and I was close to him when that book was written, or in part compiled from letters sent to the New York *Tribune*—was that he simply desired to know the South intimately from the anti-slavery observer's point of view. I do not believe he had, on leaving New York, any insurrectionary purposes; but what he learned while in the South unquestionably educated him into the boldest and the most uncompromising as well as most brilliant of the free-state correspondents as well as unyielding enemy of slavery. Yet he was the first Northern writer to visit and interview Jefferson Davis after the civil war. He was not merely a writer, but an intellectual force; erratic doubtless, but from his point of view fearless and truthful. His courage was of the highest type, both moral and physical.

It is so easy to sit down in a comfortable study, years after the battle has been won, to dissect and analyze, and blame here and carp there, but never seeking first to get into relations with the actor's point of view. Kansas has been specially unblessed with criticasters who sneer, and assume as a preliminary that they must write "conservatively" of events they were not a part of, and the animating spirit whereof they mostly show themselves unable to understand. It is not easy to comprehend the volcanic energy of the flaming lava when it is cold and gray, and one is content to hunt for scoria alone. If "conservatism" should mean justly stating, there would be little reason to complain, but in most cases it is simply warped by a class condition, some temperamental abhorrence of the "uncouth" and want of "taste," or of the enthusiastic. Too often it may be influenced by interests such as those; may enter even into institutions of learning and affect, too, the opinions of teachers, faculty, and historians.

This writer has always assumed that he holds a brief for the free-state cause and men. Why not? He has been proud always to enroll himself, for he was one of them. But he has never forgotten a lesson learned early in law studies—from observation of a case wherein Abraham Lincoln was of counsel—that, given a good case, it was always wise, as well as honest, to state your antagonist's position better, if possible, than he could do it himself. The free-state man can well afford to do that. Critics of the Kansas free-state struggle, especially some who have remained in the state since that strife, have thought that they were fair when they showered blame on both sides, usually ending by "damning with faint praise," or in attributing criminal zeal as the least of evils to the winning one. I say nothing more—because I have only contempt or pity for them—of the few cases where persons whose names have once been honored have allowed

their soured ambitions or personal dislikes to influence all latter-day utterances, taking care, however, to wait till those they assailed had passed into the valley of shadows. Nor do I comment, except to reprobate, the indifference or purblindness to historical events which permits a person, for example, to republish a book after forty-three years and add thereto, by interpolation, changes and new matter without due announcement thereof—what practically serves to make a new volume, covering alleged acts and sustaining theories the old edition did not present.

James Redpath was a special correspondent of the *Missouri Democrat*, a very important factor at that period. He wrote also for the New York *Tribune*, whenever he knew that Phillips was not at hand. The territorial "bogus" legislature had adjourned in July from Pawnee, where Governor Reeder had convened it, to the Shawnee mission, on the Missouri line, but a few miles from Westport. The mission buildings were presumed to be in Kansas; the residence and farm of the Rev. Thomas Johnson, Indian superintendent, being in Missouri. The St. Louis paper, owned and edited by McKee, Fishback, Frank Blair, Gratz Brown, George L. Hume, Peter Foley, etc., was the representative in state and national politics of Thomas H. Benton. The *Republican* was controlled by Judge William C. Price, of Springfield, whose cousin, Sterling Price, was afterwards famous as a Confederate general. The judge is still living, I believe. He was the ablest representative of Calhounism in the Southwest. The *Democrat* was against the invasion policy, and, though still a party democrat, was growing more and more positively free-state in character.

Redpath had unquestionably been instructed to be fearless in telling things as he saw them, but they could have hardly known that on the slavery issue he was a compound of glycerine and guncotton, nor could they have known then that he was not a Southern man. Born at Berwick-on-Tweed, on the border of England and Scotland, and educated by a cultivated father, himself a scholarly author as well as a famous schoolmaster, he was brought to the United States when a child, living in Detroit till he was nineteen, when he went to New York, and soon became known as a witty paragraphist, and one of the best of swift shorthand reporters, using the English parliamentary or Gurney system. He was a friend of William North, author of the "Slave of the Lamp," and other novels of the period, a brilliant Englishman who committed suicide. Redpath went at once to the Shawnee mission. He was treated courteously and wrote several moderately toned letters, each leading up to a climax, however, which appeared in the shape of a withering, sarcastic and bitterly witty account of the making of the bogus laws, and of the personnel of the Missourians who made up that peculiar body. He was fortunate in having arrived at Lawrence before this letter reached the mission in print; otherwise it is quite possible his career would have been ended there and then.

He remained an active factor in Kansas until May, 1856, when he left for the East to help in formulating plans of armed relief, one of the resulting parties, of which he was a leader in September and October, 1856, being arrested by Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, U. S. A., at the bidding of United States Marshal Donaldson, and after arrival at Topeka or Lecompton released by Governor Geary. Redpath did not stay long that trip, but returned to Boston, where he became connected with the *Advertiser*, married, and was also active in aiding John Brown to obtain means. He returned to Kansas in May, 1857, started the *Crusader of Freedom*, at Doniphan, and, after publishing it a few weeks—on the whole the most brilliant weekly Kansas has seen—he gave up and left permanently for the East. Redpath, John Henry Kagi, and myself, by

the way, were the only shorthand reporters in Kansas in 1856; that is, as far as I can learn. Kagi was a remarkably skilful phonographer, Redpath a very rapid stenographer, while I brought up the rear.

Always erratic, but faithful to his ideals, wise or unwise, Redpath lived to be over sixty, a noted individuality, writer and speaker. As neither he nor Phillips remained my personal friends in later years, I am without bias, then, in declaring them possessors of the most efficient brains and pens that the free-state cause had enlisted on its behalf. Phillips possessed admirable talents, a sagacious judgment, and a thrifty character. Redpath came as near possessing positive genius, and yet just missing it, as any man it has been my fate to know intimately. He was a most attractive speaker, yet had not a scintilla of oratorical grace or continuity. He wrote occasionally both poems and *gens d'esprits* which indicated high powers in wit, imagination, and harmony, yet he seemed without capacity to develop, except in fragments. A clever business man to initiate, he had no balance-wheel. A writer of power, he never pursued a theme logically and to the end. Doing much to make the conflict between freedom and slavery inevitable, he failed utterly to make himself a perceptible factor in the great struggle that arose. His personality was as elusive as the memory that remains.

There were others. James M. Winchell was a correspondent of the New York *Times*, but is chiefly recalled for his efficient activity in free-state politics and in later connection with railroad affairs.

In the New York *Tribune* of 1856, and the early months of 1857, there will be found readable and valuable letters signed "Hugh Potter." The writer who so signed took Colonel Phillips's place while he was absent, helping to organize the remarkable summer emigration of 1856, whose fortunate arrival, from the middle of August to the midde of October, practically settled the freedom of the territory; first, by overpowering in actual fighting the belligerent Southern assailants, and next by the increase of Northern population that followed, insuring permanent security to free institutions. For several years I did not know who "Hugh Potter" could be. Then I learned that he was a Pennsylvanian of the name of Hugh Young, who returned to his old state in the summer or fall of 1857, and who still lives as editor of a prosperous weekly, if I am not misinformed, at Conneautville. It is not within recollection that I ever personally knew Mr. Young, though he was in some way connected with the *Herald of Freedom* at the same time that I had a somewhat funny though brief experience with the same hebdomadal affair. Be that as it may, Hugh (Potter) Young did yoeman work among the pens that made Kansas free.

There was also a Mr. Anderson, of Boston, who came in August with the Cutter party as the special correspondent of the *Advertiser* of that city. Thomas Wentworth Higginson did some splendid special correspondence for the New York *Tribune*, over the signature of "Worcester," during the months of September and October, 1856; but, like Anderson, his was only an eagle's flight. The knowledge they gained, and the pens they used thereby, were designed for Eastern service. In both instances they helped us materially.

Richard Realf, the poet of free-state Kansas, came in with the Pomeroy-Tappan party, in September, 1856, and, contrary to what Professor Carruth has stated in No. 1 of his two valuable and attractive compilations and monographs on "Kansas Literature," he did come to Kansas as a professional newspaper man. He wrote a number of letters to the New York *Tribune* on the route, and after arrival, and was a regular writer for several months for the Springfield

(Ill.) *Journal*, and for a paper in Concord, N. H. He also wrote for the Chicago *Tribune*, but it was hard to keep Pegasus in harness.

John E. Cook was also a special correspondent for a Connecticut paper; but the ablest man of that group—more known thereafter as of John Brown's men—was John Henry Kagi. He was, several generations back, of Swiss and French descent, born in Virginia and raised in Ohio. His father was a farmer and blacksmith, and John worked as a boy at the forge. When seventeen he was run out of Virginia because suspected, and accurately so, of helping fugitive slaves. In some respects Kagi was without doubt the most scholarly man of all our band of writers and fighters. He was a well-read law student; could read fairly in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and spoke and wrote French. He was an excellent mathematician, an omnivorous reader when he had a chance, and a writer of vigor. His people moved into Nebraska early in 1856, and during that summer Kagi found his way into the beleaguered territory of the South. He was special correspondent of the New York *Evening Post* for more than a year, and also of the *National Era*, at Washington, the famous organ of the liberty party.

Like Tappan, Redpath, Realf, and myself, Kagi was an avowed abolitionist. Phillips was at heart the same, but more politic, and, having also the restriction of a more representative position, he will be found to have always announced himself prudentially as "free soil" or "republican" in proclivities. Phillips could be relied upon to help those who helped a fugitive slave, while we others were on hand always to help to "steal" them for freedom. Kagi proved himself an adept thereat. He wrote also, during the summer of 1857, for the New York *Tribune*, but left Kansas in the middle of November, with John Brown, for Springdale, Iowa. He was a central figure in the anti-slavery troubles of southeastern Kansas during the fall and winter of 1858–'59, going out again with John Brown and the eleven freed people their party took from slave Missouri to free Canada. His personal history remains part of the stranger national record soon made, for he was second in command of John Brown's party at Harper's Ferry, and died fighting at the Hall rifle works, on the Shenandoah, during the afternoon of the 17th of October, 1859.

Kagi was my friend. We are apt to idealize those we love, and that is a gracious thing to do; but I believe that it is possible to be fair also, and in judging Kagi that is what I have sought. He was naturally so able a man that it is difficult to write justly of him in terms that may seem reasonable. In the new and materialistic fatalism with which the physicists and evolutionists have more or less unwittingly weighted the newly awakened brain of civilization, by their endeavors (springing almost wholly from British and German sources) to make the laws of physical life dominate the doings and results of psychical law and social existence, it has been and is still a common thing to assert that all human actions spring only and profoundly from mere (physical) selfishness. To me John Henry Kagi stands preëminently the individuality that I have known best, whose nobleness of life, in the brief span it ran, completely overthrew such a sadly pessimistic view of human nature. Under it evolution is a crab or a lie. John Brown's career might, by such fatuous sciolists, be twisted to some semblance of logic in their degrading arguments, for he had pursued his thought so long, and it was wrought into all the fibers whereof he wove his daily and hourly action, as to become the absorbent force of his selfhood.

To those, then, who hold the theory as "scientists" because they are only materialists—physical fatalists or pessimists—John Brown may be termed "selfish" in pursuing his end, to the end, even of death. But Kagi was young,

fully conscious of capacity, handsome in physique, beloved of men, capable of leadership, cool and clear-brained, with no religious enthusiasms to drive his fine analytical intellect to any special or awry action. He deliberately accepted the sacrifice of life he made, for the sake of country and convictions, as he saw them; knowing that the chances of death were all against him, yet believing the effort was fully worth making in behalf of the poorer and more wretched of his fellows, as well as for the institutions of his country, which he certainly deemed to be in danger of overthrow by the slave power.

I think I have named the men whose pens in Kansas did the yoeman service, which, from the winter of 1854 to that of the beginning of 1857, lifted the people of the free states and riveted the attention of the world on the Kansas struggle. I have so far left myself out of the list, though I may fairly say, and with modesty too, that I was able to do an effective share of the work that resulted so splendidly. I came to Kansas in the summer of 1856, a young Englishman of such strong republican feelings that I deliberately at twenty years of age came to the United States to become a citizen thereof. I came first as a special correspondent of the Boston *Traveler*, and stayed only a few days. What I saw then determined me to return here, which I did. Leaving others to say whether I did my work well or no, let me state that I served the Boston *Traveler* and the Chicago *Tribune* steadily, all of the time I was in Kansas between 1856 and October, 1859. I was also an occasional correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, and for quite a considerable period wrote for the *Missouri Democrat.*

Most of the small means I had while in Kansas were earned out of the territory, and spent therein or in other parts of the wilderness west. I wrote also for magazines, and helped in making two volumes—both on the Kansas struggle—participating in two political campaigns outside the state, as well as all that went on within it. I was editorially connected with the first year of the *Kansas News*, at Emporia, S. S. Prouty's little paper at Prairie City, and wrote a good deal for the *Herald of Freedom.* I was man of all work thereon. Its publisher and editor has since said that I was a "poor compositor," and that is probably true. Nevertheless it remains truer that he never paid as much as it was worth, and that my pen did duty for a large share during several months of its more readable contents. I was city editor for a short period of the Leavenworth *Register*, and also an assistant editor with the Vaughans on the Leavenworth *Times.* At the time of the John Brown affair and its aftermath, I found it more convenient to live in Boston, where I helped Redpath to write the "Life of John Brown"; and for myself, afterward, wrote campaign lives of both Lincoln and Seward, as well as other literary work of the period.

I think, therefore, that I may fairly enroll my own stylus among those that helped to make Kansas free. I am glad also I was able to do other work, both as writer and fighter, in a small way, and, among Kansas soldiers, and many others by far more important than myself, to make the union secure and the whole of the state free from the curse of chattelism.

I might close this yarn at the point where 1856 closed, for practically Kansas had then been made free from slavery by force. But there was other work to be done, and there were fresh and brave pens that helped to do it. The Lecompton constitution had to be beaten, as it was most ignoble, and Albert D. Richardson was one of the active and efficient men as special correspondent who helped to do that work. John J. Ingalls had fingers with barbed nibs therein; and in aid of that effort Edmund Babb, of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, helped a little. W. P. Tomlinson was also in the thick of the fight, and Web. Wilder and "Champ" Vaughan made their pens felt. Sol. Miller and Preston B. Plumb were in the

front rank, as were the Rosses and Dwight Thacher also. John Swinton, brave old wit and true soldier and servant of liberty, over all that he is, was with us for several months in that eventful year of 1857.

I cannot name them all—the knight errants of American freedom that they were! Many years have passed, and to me many strifes have come. A hundred issues have helped to fill my days with human activities, but amid them all I rejoiced, as I still do, that my younger devoirs on behalf of free institutions were first given both by writer's pen and soldier's will to the service of Kansas. Truly my comrades and associates did their service well, and I sought to emulate them therein. Did we not fittingly reply to Lucy Larcom's stirring appeal, as she sung:

"One and all, hear our call
  Echo through the land!
Aid us, with the willing heart
  And the strong right hand!
Feed the spark the Pilgrims struck
  On old Plymouth rock!
To the watch-fires of the free
  Millions glad shall flock."

And have they not? The continent replies, and history records the answer.

I cannot write of the other pens that made the books and sung the songs that helped so greatly to make Kansas free. But it would be ungrateful, indeed, to pass the brave and honorable young Englishman, Thomas H. Gladstone, who, at first in the columns of the London *Times*, and afterwards in his valuable book, so materially aided with the world's opinion, to make sure the freedom of Kansas.

Part II.—CATALOG.

CONSTITUTIONS.
KANSAS TERRITORY.
KANSAS STATE.

ABBREVIATIONS.

CUTTER FORENAMES.

Ab.	Abraham.	I..	Isabella.
Alex.	Alexander.	Jac.	Jacob.
Alf.	Alfred.	Ja.	James.
And.	Andrew.	J..	Jane.
A..	Anna.	J:	John.
Ant.	Anthony.	Jos.	Joseph.
Arch.	Archibald.	Jose.	Josephine.
Art.	Arthur.	Jul.	Julius.
A:	Augustus.	K..	Kate.
A:a.	Augusta.	Kath.	Katherine.
Bart.	Bartholomew.	Lr.	Lawrence.
B..	Beatrice.	Lew.	Lewis.
B:	Benjamin.	L:	Louis.
Bern.	Bernard.	L..	Louisa.
Cath.	Catherine, Catharine.	Marg.	Margaret.
C:	Charles.	M:	Mark.
C..	Charlotte.	M..	Mary.
Chris.	Christopher.	Mat.	Matthew.
Clar.	Clarence.	N..	Nancy.
Dan.	Daniel.	N:	Nicholas.
D:	David.	Ol.	Oliver.
D..	Delia.	O..	Olivia.
Edg.	Edgar.	O:	Otto.
Edm.	Edmund.	Pat.	Patrick.
E:	Edward.	P:	Peter.
E..	Elizabeth.	Ph.	Philip.
Ern.	Ernest.	R..	Rebecca.
Eug.	Eugene.	R:	Richard.
F..	Fanny.	Rob.	Robert.
Fer.	Ferdinand.	S:	Samuel.
Fk.	Frank.	S..	Sarah.
F:	Frederick.	Seb.	Sebastian.
G:	George.	Ste.	Stephen.
Gert.	Gertrude.	Thdr.	Theodore.
Gilb.	Gilbert.	T..	Theresa.
G..	Grace.	T:	Thomas.
Greg.	Gregory.	Tim.	Timothy.
Gst.	Gustavus.	V:	Victor.
H..	Helen.	V..	Victoria.
H:	Henry.	Wa.	Walter.
Hrm.	Herman.	Wash.	Washington.
Hu.	Hugh.	W:	William.
I:	Isaac.	Zach.	Zachary.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS.

anon.	anonymous.	n. d.	no date.
apx.	appendix.	n. p.	no place.
biog.	biography.	n. t. p.	no title-page.
b.	born.	p.	page or pages.
comp.	compiler.	pam.	pamphlet.
c.	copyright.	pt.	part.
dept.	department.	phot.	photograph.
d.	died.	pl.	plates.
ed.	editor, editions.	por.	portraits.
fac-sim.	fac-similes.	rel.	relating.
f.	folios.	rep.	report.
hist.	history-ical.	ser.	series.
ibid.	same author and volume, but different paging.	soc.	society.
		supt.	superintendent.
ib.	same author, new volume.	tab.	tables.
il.	illustrated.	t. p.	title-page.
ms. mss.	manuscript-s.	trans.	transactions.
misc.	miscellaneous.	tr.	translator.
mut.	mutilated.	v.	volumes.

MONTHS.

Ja F Mr Ap My Je Jl Ag S O N D

PAPERS RELATING TO THE CONSTITUTIONS OF KANSAS, 1855–1861.

The material for the history of the four Kansas constitutions is abundant. Below is given a list, incomplete but suggestive, of what may be found in the library of the Society bearing upon the subject. Besides the papers mentioned by title, there should be examination made of the journals of the territorial legislatures, of the files of our Kansas newspapers, and of the New York *Tribune* of the period: of the "Webb scrapbooks," made up by the secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, containing newspaper clippings covering the years 1855 to 1857; of the reports of the debates in congress, 1856 to 1861, as found in the bound volumes of the *Congressional Globe*, and in the eleven volumes of addresses and pamphlets collated by the Society; and the Historical Society Collections, vols. 3–5. The Annals of Kansas, by Hon. D. W. Wilder, is invaluable for reference, and contains copies of many documents and election tables.

The following Kansas books, published during the period covered by the constitutional movements, contain more or less information relating to the subject:

"Kansas, its Interior and Exterior Life," 1856, by Mrs. Sara T. L. Robinson.
"The Conquest of Kansas," 1856, by W: A. Phillips.
"Geary and Kansas," 1857, by John H. Gihon.
"Kansas," 1857, by T: H. Gladstone.
"Kansas and Nebraska Handbook," 1857, by N. H. Parker.
"The Law of the Territories," 1859, by S. G. Fisher.
"Wars of the Western Border, 1860, by G. D. Brewerton.

See also the following works and articles, published at a much later time:

"History of Kansas," J. N. Holloway, 1868.
"History of Kansas," C. R. Tuttle, 1876.
"History of Kansas," Andreas, 1883.
"Kansas," L. W. Spring, 1885.
"Thirty Years in Topeka," F. W. Giles, 1886.
"The Rejected Constitutions," T. D. Thacher, 1886.
"History of the Formation of the Constitutions of Kansas," Goodspeed Pub. Co., Chicago, 1890.
"Kansas Conflict," C: Robinson, 1892.
"The Struggle for Freedom in Kansas," T: Ewing, 1894.
"Convention Epoch in Kansas History," R: Cordley, 1896.
Sketch of Kansas constitutions, W: C. Webb, compiler, 1897.
"History of Kansas," N. L. Prentis, 1899.

Topeka Constitution:

—U. S. Congress. Kansas bill; an act to organize the Territory of Kansas, approved 30 My 1854. 7 p. O. n. t. p. 328

—Territorial Delegate Convention, Big Springs, 5–6 S 1855. Proceedings. 16 p. O. Lawrence. n. d. 342.1

—State Constitutional Convention, Topeka, 19–20 S 1855. Proceedings. (Ibid. p. 9–16). 342.1

—U. S. House of Representatives. Special committee to investigate the troubles in Kansas. Report, with the views of the

Topeka Constitution—*continued:*

minority. 132 + 1206 p. O. Wash. 1856. (34th Cong., 1st sess. Ho. rep. no. 200.) 978.1

Note.—This document, though bearing directly only in part upon the Topeka constitutional movement, is so important as relating to the public affairs of the period that it is thought best to give it this place. The table of contents and index are here for the first time published in full.

Contents. Reports and minutes, p. 1–132: Majority report of W: A. Howard and J: Sherman, election of 29 N 1854, abstract,

Topeka Constitution—*continued:*

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Topeka Constitution—*continued:*

—U. S. Ho. of Rep. Special Com. to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas. Scrap-book compiled by the Committee, J: Sherman, W: A. Howard, and M. Oliver, containing matters relating to Kansas troubles, 1855 and 1856. 143 p. Q. 978.1

Note.—The volume was given to the Society by Hon. J: Sherman, who said that the clippings were made not only from the New York *Times*, "but from all papers to which we had access."

—*See also*, Ty. Gov. Reeder. 34th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. rep. no. 34.

—*Free State Executive Committee. Record, 15 Ag. 1855 to 11 F 1856. (Ms. book.)

——*Record of expenditures of the provisional government to the time of delivering the same to the state government. (Ms. book.)

*These manuscript volumes were given the Society by Joel K. Goodin, the secretary of the committee, in 1879.

Topeka Constitution—*continued:*

Note.—Contains also the autographs of officers and members elected to the Topeka constitutional convention, with their residence, occupation, nativity, age, condition in life, and politics.

—Topeka Constitutional Convention. List of members of the convention, with some biographical facts. (Wilder, D. W. Annals, 1886, p. 84.) 902

——Vote on location of the capital, O 1885, 1st and 2d ballots. (Ms. v. 131.)

——Constitution of the state of Kansas. 16p. O. Lawrence 1855. 342

Note.—Pages 7-10, inclusive, wanting.

—Leavenworth County, Kansas Territory, Residents of. Three memorials praying the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union as a state. (34th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. mis. doc. no. 23, 27p.) GL 328

Note.—Contains text of Topeka constitution.

Topeka Constitution—*continued:*

—Robinson, C: Topeka and her constitution; address before the Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, 26 F 1877. (Col., v. 6, 1900, p. 291.) 906

—Thacher, T. D. The rejected constitutions. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 3, 1886, p. 437.) 906

—Prouty, S. S. Topeka constitution scrip; a brief history of the movement that overthrew the usurping territorial government of the slave power and saved Kansas to freedom. 18p. O. Topeka 1887. 336-1

—Executive Committee Kansas Territory, J. H. Lane, chairman. Proclamation, [24 N 1855; calling an election on the Topeka Constitution and general banking law, for 15 D 1855]. Broadside. 342.1

—Memorial [to Congress for admission, 1856]. Circular. 978.1-C. P., v. 1.

—Pierce, Fk. Message of the president, 24 Ja 1856, on Kansas affairs. 8 p. O. n. t. p. 904-8

—U. S. Senate. Com. on Territories. Report 12 Mr 1856, on the annual message of the President, together with his special message, 24 Ja 1856, in regard to Kansas Territory, and his message of 18 F, in compliance with the resolution of the Senate, 4 F 1856, requesting transcripts of certain papers relating to affairs of Kansas. (34th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. rep. of com. no. 34, 61 p.) 904-11

Note.—Majority report by S. A. Douglas, minority report by J. Collamer.

—U. S. House of Representatives. Com. on Tys. Report, My 1856, [on] the constitution adopted by the people of Kansas, on the 15th of D, 1855, and the memorial of the members of the legislature elected under its authority, praying Congress to admit Kansas as a state into the confederacy. (34th Cong., 1st sess. Ho. rep. no. 181, v. 1, 21 p.) GL 328

Contents.—Majority report in favor of the admission, signed by G. A. Grow, J. R. Giddings, A. P. Granger, S: A. Purviance, J. S. Morrill, and J: J. Perry; Tabular statement showing the census of the territory, F 1855, and number of votes polled at election 30 Mr 1855; Minority report, against the admission, signed by Felix K. Zollicoffer, and accompanied by a proposed enabling act.

—*Kan. State. House of Representatives. Journal, 4 Mr 1856 to 13 Je 1857. (Ms. v., 92 p.)

—Robinson, Gov. C: Message to the Topeka Legislature, 4 Mr 1856. (Robinson, Mrs. S. T. L. Kansas, 1856, p. 349.) 978.1

Note.—A history of the free-state movement.

—Topeka Legislature. Papers purporting to be the memorial of senators and representatives of the State of Kansas, and the constitution of the state of Kansas, 1856. 35 p. O. Wash. n. d. (34th Cong., 1st sess. Ho. misc. doc. no. 82.) 342.1; G L 328

—U. S. House of Representatives. Memorial of the senators and representatives, and the constitution of the state of Kansas; also the majority and minority reports

*These manuscript volumes were given the Society by Joel K. Goodin, the secretary of the committee, in 1879.

Topeka Constitution—*continued:*

of the committee on territories on the said constitution. 59 p. O. Wash. 1856. 904-8

Note.—Ordered to be printed Je 28, 1856.

—U. S. Senate Com. on Territories. Rep., 30 Je 1856, on a bill to authorize the people of Kansas to form a constitution and state government, majority rep. by Mr. Douglas, minority rep. by Mr. Collamer. 15 p. O. Wash. 1856. (34th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. rep. com. no. 198.) 904-11

—Farnsworth, Loring. Dispersion of Free-state Legislature, Topeka, 4 Jl 1856, statement, 1 D 1880. (Ms.)

—Fisher, S. G. [Cecil.] Kanzas and the constitution. 16 p. O. Boston 1856. 904-8

—Sen. Com. on Territories. Majority rep. of Mr. Douglas, and minority rep. of Mr. Collamer, 11 Ag 1856, on an act to reorganize the territory of Kansas and for other purposes. 16 p. O. n. t. p. (34th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. rep. com. no. 282.) 904-11

—U. S. Ho. of Rep. Committee on territories. Report, Ja 1857, on Senate bill 356, entitled An act to authorize the people of the territory of Kansas to form a constitution and state government, preparatory to their admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, and also House bill 411, for the admission of Kansas as a state, with the amendment of the Senate thereto. (34th Cong., 3d sess. Ho. rep. no. 173, v. 1, 9 p.) GL 328

Note.—The report is signed by Galusha A. Grow, Joshua R. Giddings, S: A. Purviance, J. S. Morrill, J: J. Perry, A. P. Granger, and recommends a bill for the admission of Kansas as a state, under the Topeka constitution.

—Connecticut Legislature. Resolutions against the admission of another slaveholding state into the Union, My 1857. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. mis. doc. no. 188, v. 3, 2 p.) GL 328

—Robinson, Gov. C: Message to the State Leg., Topeka, 11 Je 1857. O. n. t. p. 353

—Election districts and precincts, 3 Ag 1857. (Ms. v. 131.)

—Gunn & Mitchell's map of Kansas, 1861, on which is marked the election districts of 3 Ag 1857. (Ms. v. 131.)

—Returns of special election, 3 Ag 1857, resubmitting the Topeka constitution, and for state officers under it. (165 Mss., v. 131.)

—Kansas Territory Legislature. Concurrent resolutions, D 1857, reaffirming the Topeka constitution. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Ho. mis. doc. no. 40, v. 1, 2 p.) GL 328

—Free State Delegate Convention, Lawrence, 2 D 1857. Proceedings. Broadside. Lawrence Repub. extra. 978.1-C. P., v. 1

Note.—C: Robinson, president; Ja. H. Lane, chairman of the committee on resolutions, which denounce the Lecompton constitution and ask the extra session of the legislature to submit the Topeka and Lecompton constitutions to a vote of the people.

—Territorial Legislature 1858, B: Harding, C. K. Holliday, and Andrew J. Mead, committee. Reports on petition from the Topeka Leg. relative to the T. C. (Council Jour., p. 74.) 328

Lecompton Constitution:

—Woodson, D., secretary Kansas Territory. Report 13 Ja 1857, [of abstract of votes cast 6 O 1856, for and against] the call of convention. (Kan. Ty. Council Jour., p. 303.) 328

—Kansas Territorial Legislature, 1855. Act to provide for the call of a convention to form a state constitution. (Statutes, 1855, p. 172.) 345.1

—Geary, Gov. J: W. Message vetoing Lecompton constitutional convention act, 18 F 1857. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890, p. 717.) 906

—Gihon, J: H. Passage of the census bill preparatory to the election Je 1857, for delegates to the constitutional convention, with Gov. Geary's veto message. (Geary and Kansas, 1857, p. 260, 302.) 978.1

—Kansas Territorial Legislature, 1857. Act to provide for the taking a census, and election for delegates to a convention. (Laws, p. 60.) 345.1

—Free State Convention, Topeka. Platform 10 Mr 1857, protesting against the Lecompton constitutional convention. (Wilder, D.W. Annals, 1886, p. 157.) 902

—Stanton, Acting Gov. F: P., and Citizens of Lawrence. Correspondence 25, 30 Ap 1857, relative to the registry of voters for election of delegates to the Lecompton constitutional couvention. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 433, 435.) 906

——Proclamation 20 My 1857, census and apportionment for the Lecompton constitutional convention. (Ibid., p. 315.) 906

—Halderman, J: A., and 52 others, residents of Leavenworth county. [Appeal 3 Je 1857 to the people of the county to vote for delegates to the Lecompton constitutional convention, to carry out Gov. Walker's policy for submission.] Handbill. 978.1-C. P. v. 1.

—Connecticut clergymen. Memorial to President Buchanan relative to the using of U. S. troops to compel the citizens of Kansas to obey the territorial laws. (Kan. Col. Speeches, v. 8, p. 387.) 904-8

—Buchanan, President Ja. Reply to Connecticut memorialists, 15 Ag 1857. (Ibid. p. 389.) 904-8

Note.—Sept. 23, the Connecticut memorialists replied to Mr. Buchanan. This has not been found.

—N. Y. Tribune. List of members of the Lecompton constitutional convention, with name, age, place of birth, profession, politics, etc. (19 N 1857.) 050

—Kansas Weekly Herald, Leavenworth. Report of the proceedings of the Lecompton constitutional convention. (7 N—12 D 1857; 3, 17 Ap 1858.) 050

—Lecompton Constitutional Convention. [Text of constitution.] (Leav. W. Herald, 1 My 1858.) 050

—Free-state Conventions, Lawrence. Proceedings 2, 23-24 D 1857. (Wilder, D. W. Annals, 1886, p. 199, 203.) 902

—Buchanan, Ja. Annual message 8 D 1857. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 460.) 906

—Kan. Ty. Leg. Act submitting the constitution framed at Lecompton for adoption or rejection to an election on 4 Ja 1858. (Laws, 1857, p. 17.) 345.1

Lecompton Constitution—*continued:*

—Denver, Act. Gov. J. W. Correspondence, D 1857, relative to placing troops for the protection of the polls at election of state officers under the Lecompton constitution, 4 Ja 1858. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 470.) 906

——Address to the people of Kansas, 21 D 1857. (Ibid., p. 465.) 906

—Returns of election at Atchison, 4 Ja 1858, rejecting the Lecompton constitution. (Ms. v. 131.)

—Denver, Act. Gov. J. W. Reference to Lecompton constitution in his annual message to the legislature, 4 Ja 1858. (Ho. Jour., 1858, p. 77.) 328.1

—Kan. Ty. Leg. Vote for state officers under the Lecompton constitution, 4 Ja 1858. Broadside, mutilated. 328.4-4

—Same. (Wilder, D.W. Annals, 1886, p. 206.) 902

—Buchanan, Ja. Message, 6 Ja 1858, information in rel. to a return of votes taken in Kansas at the election, 6 O 1855; the act of the territorial leg. providing for that election, and other information connected therewith. 7 p. O. n. t. p. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. ex. doc. no. 12.) 904-11

—Kansas Territorial Legislature. Preamble and joint resolves relative to the Lecompton constitution, 14 Ja 1858. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Ho. mis. doc. no. 39, v. 1, 2p.) GL 328

—Babcock, C. W., president of the council, and G: W. Deitzler, speaker of the house. Report 14 Ja 1858, on vote for and against the Lecompton constitution, with result of election 4 Ja 1858 under the constitution. (Kan. Ty. Council Jour., p. 67.) 328

—Ohio Legislature. Resolves in reference to Kansas affairs, 21 Ja 1858. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Ho. mis. doc. no. 37, v. 1, 2p.; Senate, no. 140.) GL 328

—Iowa Legislature. Preamble and joint resolutions of instruction concerning the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution, 23 Ja 1858. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Ho. mis. doc. no. 44, v. 1, 2p.; Sen. mis. doc. no. 147, 2p.) GL 328

—Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Legislature. Resolution against the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution, Ja 1858. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Ho. mis. doc. no. 60, v. 1, 1p.; Sen. mis. doc. no. 149, 1p.) GL 238

—Stanton, F: P. Address, Washington, D. C., 29 Ja 1858, to the people of the United States, explanation of his acts as acting governor of Kansas territory. 904-6

—Tennessee Legislature. Resolutions [favoring] the admission of Kansas as an independent state, under the Lecompton constitution. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. mis. doc. no. 165, 2p.) GL 328

—Buchanan, Ja. Message, 2 F 1858, communicating a constitution for Kansas as a state, and presenting his views in relation to the affairs of that territory. 32p. O. [Wash. 1858.] 904-6, 10

Note.—The text of the constitution is given.

Lecompton Constitution—*continued:*

—Lane, Ja. H: Answer to the president's message; address, mass meeting, Lawrence, 13 F 1858. (Law. Rep., 18 F 1858.) 050

—U. S. House of Representatives. Select committee of fifteen, appointed under the resolution of 8 F 1858. Report on message of the president, 2 F, concerning the constitution framed at Lecompton. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Ho. rep. no. 377, v. 3, 319 p.) GL 328

Note.—The proceedings of the constitutional convention as contained in this document are incomplete. They extend to noon of 3 N 1857, and the convention finally adjourned 7 N.

Contents.—Report of majority of committee, by A. H. Stephens.—Copy of acts to provide for a constitutional convention, and for the taking of the census.—Proclamation of Secretary Stanton, 20 My 1857, for election of delegates to the convention. —Proceedings of the convention, 7 S—3 N 1857, with copy of the constitution and letter of J. Calhoun transmitting it to the president.—Act for submitting the Lecompton constitution to a vote of the people of Kansas, 4 Ja 1858, and the returns of said election. Letter of J: Calhoun, 16 F 1858, addressed to U. S. Senator J. S. Green, giving a history of the Lecompton constitution.—Minority report of select com. of fifteen, signed by J. S. Morrill, E: Wade, H: Bennett, D: S. Walbridge, and Ja. Buffinton.—Views of the minority, signed by T: L. Harris and Garnett B. Adrain.—Message of the president, 6 Ja 1858, relative to election of O 1856.—Letter of Lewis Cass transmitting documents, 7 Ja 1858.—Returns of election, 4 Ja 1858.—Apportionment for territorial legislative assembly, made 18 Jl 1857.—Report of board of commissioners appointed by Kan. territorial legislature, Ja 1858, to investigate frauds committed at or tending to effect the result of the election of 21 D 1857 and 4 Ja 1858.—Copy of journal of proceedings of the committee of fifteen, 8 F to 3 Mr 1858, and remarks upon the conduct of the committee by the minority.

—U. S. Senate Committee on Territories. Report, F 1858, [on] the message of the president communicating a constitution for Kansas as a state, adopted by the convention which met at Lecompton on Monday, 4 D 1857. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. rept. of com. no. 82, v. 1, 88 p.) GL 328

Contents.—Report, by Ja. S. Green, favorable to the adoption of the constitution. —Copies of an act to provide for the calling of a convention to form a state constitution, and for taking the census.—Proclamation of Gov. Stanton, calling election for delegates to the convention to form a constitution.—Letter of J: Calhoun to the president, introducing Col. J. J. Clarkson, who conveys a copy of the constitution to him.—Copy of the Lecompton constitution and ordinance. —Statement in regard to taking the census in Anderson county, made by G: Wilson, 5 F 1858.—Statement of J. H. Danforth and G. W. McKown, relative to the rejection of the delegates from Anderson county.—"Minority report," presented by Mr. Douglas, against the adoption of the Lecompton constitution. —"Views of the minority," J. Collamer and B. F. Wade, also against the adoption of the constitution.

Lecompton Constitution—*continued:*

—Kansas Territorial Legislature. Board of Commissioners for the investigation of election frauds. Report. 142 + [1] p. sq. S. Leav. 1858. 328-4

Note.—Under two acts of the Territorial legislature passed 13, 18 Ja 1858, a board of commissioners was appointed to investigate frauds committed at the election 21 D 1857, on the adoption of the slavery clause of the Lecompton constitution, and at the election for state officers under the constitution, 4 Ja 1858. H: J. Adams, T: Ewing, jr., E. L. Taylor, Dillon Pickering, Ja. B. Abbott and H. T. Green composed the board of commissioners. Also pub. in 35th Cong., 1 sess. Ho. rep. no. 377. GL 328

—Lockhart, J:, Morrow, R., Robinson, C:, Babcock, C. W., Ewing, T:, Roberts, W. Y., Winchell, J. M., Mead, A. J., St. Matthew, J. H., Taylor, E. L. Subscription paper raising funds to forward report of investigating committee, Lecompton election frauds, 14 Ja 1858. (Ms. A-1-3.)

—Adams, H: J., president board of comm'rs to investigate election frauds. Report on expenses of the commission. (Council Jour., 1859, p. 114.) 328

—Calhoun, J: Statement respecting the Kansas election, dated Washington City, 17 F 1858. (Leavenworth Herald, 6 Mr 1858.) 050

—Stanton, F: P. The frauds in Kansas illustrated; speech, Chinese assembly room, New York, 17 F 1858. 16 p. O. Wash. 1858. 904-6

—U. S. Senate. Douglas, S. A., fr. Com. on Ty's. Minority report [on] the Lecompton constitution, 18 F 1858. 24 p. O. n. t. p. [Wash.] 342

—Michigan Legislature. Resolution relative to the extension of slavery, F 1858. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. mis. doc. no. 160.) GL 328

—Bancroft, G: Letter repudiating the Lecompton swindle. [1858.]? 904-6

—U. S. Democratic Review. Admission of Kansas. (V. 41, no. 3, Mr 1858.) 978-10

—New York Legislature. Resolution in opposition to the admission of Kansas under the L. C., Mr 1858. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Ho. mis. doc. no. 103, v. 3, 1 p.; Senate, no. 204.) GL 328

—Maine Legislature. Com. on Slavery. Resolutions in relation to Kansas and slavery. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. mis. doc. no. 206, 3 p.) GL 328

—Resolutions protesting against the admission of Kansas under the L. C., Mr 1858. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Ho. mis. doc. no. 104, v. 3, 1 p.) GL 328

—Massachusetts Legislature. Resolutions in relation to the admission of Kansas, Mr 1858. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Ho. mis. doc. no. 124, v. 3, 2 p.) GL 328

—California Legislature. Resolution [favoring] the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution, 19 Mr 1858. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. mis. doc. no. 228, v. 3, 1 p.) GL 328

—U. S. Cong. Speeches on the Lecompton constitution, 1858. (Cong. Globe.) GL 328; 904-5, 10

Lecompton Constitution—*continued:*

—Crittenden, J: J. Speech on the admission of Kansas, U. S. Senate, 17 Mr 1858. O. n. t. p. 904-10

—Kansas conference bill, U. S. Senate, 27 Ap 1858. O. n. t. p. 904-10

—Stuart, C. E. Speech against the admission of Kansas, U. S. Senate, 22 Mr 1858. O. n. t. p. 904-10

—Green, J. S., of Mo. Admission of Kansas, under the Lecompton constitution, speech, U. S. Senate, 23 Mr 1858. O. 1858. 904-10

—Wisconsin Legislature. Resolution relative to the Lecomption constitution, 15 Ap 1858. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Ho. mis. doc. no. 125, 2p.; Senate, no. 242.) GL 328

—Cass, Lew. Instructions, 7 My 1858, to Gov. Denver, relative to submission of the Lecompton constitution, 2 Ag 1858. (Leav. Herald, 29 My 1858.) 050

—Board of Com'rs on Submission of Lecomption Constitution. Journal, My 1858. (Ibid.) 050

—U. S. Democratic Review. Kansas congressional record. (V. 41, no. 6, Je 1858.) 978.1

Note.—Proceedings in Congress, F to 30 Ap 1858.

—Calhoun, J. Letter to Gov. Denver, 2 Jl 1858, enclosing certificates of election for members for the leg. under the Lecompton constitution. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 501.) 906

—U. S. Democratic Review. Republican inconsistency. (V. 41, no. 6, Je 1858.) 978.1

—Denver, J. W. Election proclamation, 3 Je 1858, for election 2 Ag 1858.

—U. S. Congress. The English bill. (Wilder, D. W. Annals, 1886, p. 231.) 902

—Lawrence, W. W. H. Election of 2 Ag 1858 on Lecompton constitution as submitted by the English bill. (Ms. L-l-l.)

—Board of Com'rs on Submission of Lecompton Constitution. Proclamation announcing returns. (Herald of Freedom, 21 Ag 1858.) 050

—Lecompton and Lecompton, jr. (N. Y. Tribune almanac, 1859, p. 24.) GL 310

—U. S. House of Representatives. Covode, J:; Olin, A. B.; Train, C: R.; Winslow, W., and Robinson, J. C., select com. Report of Covode investigation. 838 p. O. Wash. 1860. 342.9

Note.—The first 324 pages contain the majority report by Messrs. Covode, Onlin, and Train, the minority report of Mr. Winslow, the journal of the com., and the testimony relative to the Lecompton constitution. Mr. Robinson's name is not signed to either report. The following persons testified before the committee: E. B. Schnabel, T: C. MacDowell, J: J. McElhone, R. J. Walker, T: L. Clingman, M. P. Bean, S: Medary, G. N. Fitch, C. Wendell, M. Johnson, S. M. Johnson, H. L. Martin, A. J. Isaacs, W: M. Browne, F. W. Walker, G: W. Bowman, E. G. Dill, D: Webster, H: Wilson, S: S. Cox, B: Andrews, C: B. Flood, W: W. Shore, J. S. Black, A. H. Evans, J. L. Elliott, J. H. Smith, T: Miller, W: B. Mann, I. Freeman, jr., H. F. Clark, C: Brown, J. H. Geiger, J: B. Haskin, J: W. Forney, J. Thompson, H. Cobb, J. W. Davidson. The document was published for the presidential campaign of 1860.

—Stanton, Ex-Gov. F: P. Address Bismarck Grove, Lawrence, 2 S 1884. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 3, 1886, p. 338.) 906

Note.—Relates to the Lecompton constitutional movement during his administration, Ap.-D. 1857.

—Thacher, T. D. The rejected constitutions. (Ibid., p. 442.) 906

—Rhodes, J. F. (In his history of the U. S. 1893, p. 278-299.) GL 973.6

Leavenworth Constitution:

—Kansas Territory. House of Representatives. [Resolution, 12 F 1858, appointing a committee to ascertain whether the governor has approved a bill providing for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention.] (Jour., p. 409.) 328.1

—Kansas Territory. Legislature. Act to provide for the election, 9 Mr 1858, of delegates to a convention to frame a state constitution. Broadside. 978.1-C. P., v. 1.

—Denver, Ex-Gov. J. W. Account of passage of Leavenworth constitutional convention law. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 3, 1886, p. 362.) 906

—Speer, J: The Leavenworth convention. (Ib., v. 5, 1896, p. 136.) 906

Note.—Relates also to the passage of the law providing for the convention. See his "Life of Ja. H. Lane," p. 175.

—Leavenworth Constitutional Convention. Report of committee on education, F. N. Blake, chairman. Circular. 1858. 978.1-C. P., v. 1.

——Schedule [report of committee on], A. Soule, chairman. Circular. 1858. 978.1-C. P., v. 1.

——Remonstrance, 30 Mr 1858, of the convention against the passage of the Lecompton constitution. Broadside. 342.2

——Original manuscript copy of the constitution, nearly complete, found in a house where Mt. F. Conway once lived. (Ms.)

——Constitution of the state of Kansas framed at Leavenworth, 10 Ap 1858. (Kansas Tribune, Topeka, 17 Ap 1858.) 342

——[Text of constitution.] Broadside. 978.1-C. P., v. 1.

——Certified copy of the constitution adopted, 31 Ap 1858. (35th Cong., 2d. sess. Ho. mis. doc. no. 44, 24 p.) G L 328

Note.—It includes the returns of the election, My 1858, on the adoption or rejection of the constitution, and for state officers.

—Kansas Weekly Herald, Leavenworth. Report of the proceedings of the constitutional convention, Minneola and Leavenworth. (27 Mr to 17 Ap 1858.) 050

—Address to the American public, 3 Ap 1858. Circular letter. 978.1-C. P., v. 1.

Leavenworth Constitution—*continued:*

—Leavenworth Convention. Call for convention, 28 Ap 1858, to nominate state officers under the Leavenworth constitution. X.

—Thacher, T. D. The Leavenworth constitution. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 3, 1886, p. 5.) 906

—Cass, Lew. Letter to Gov. Denver, 13 Mr 1858, transmitting opinion of Attorney-General Black on legality of Leavenworth constitution. (Leavenworth Herald, 3 Ap 1858.) 070

Wyandotte* Constitution:

—Wyandotte Constitutional Convention. Proceedings and debates, embracing the secretary's journal of the Kansas constitutional convention convened at Wyandot, 5 Jl 1859, under the act of the territorial legislature, entitled An act providing for the formation of a state government for the state of Kansas, approved 11 F 1859; Ariel E. Drapier, reporter. 46+439+16 p. O. Wyandot 1859. 342.2

— —Report of proceedings 5-29 Jl 1859; and report of committees, original and amended. 342.2

Note.—This is an unbound volume. The report of proceedings is clipped from the Commercial Gazette, Wyandotte, and is incomplete. The reports of committees are printed on separate slips of paper. These materials were collected by Col. R: J. Hinton.

— —List of members assembled at Wyandotte, 5 Jl 1859. Broadside. 342.2

Note.—Wyandotte co. was rep. by the delegates for the county of Leavenworth.

— —Rules for the government of the convention, adopted 5 Jl 1859. 12 p. T. Wyandotte 1859. 342.2

— —Copy of the constitution adopted, 29 Jl 1859. (36th Cong., 1st sess. Ho. mis. doc. no. 6.) GL 328

— —Sholes, H. O. Bill for transcribing copy of Wyandotte constitution. (Ms.)

— —Expenses of the convention, including bills, pay-roll, etc. (27 mss.)

— —Vaughan, Champion. Letter, Leavenworth, 7 Jl 1859, to S. O. Thacher, J. M. Winchell, John Ritchie and other republican members of the constitutional convention, introducing W: H. Taylor, M. L. Reeves, J. B. Bennet, delegates-elect from southern Nebraska to the Kansas convention, with assurances that the proposed annexation of southern Nebraska to Kansas is not for political ends. (Ms.)

Note.—There were in all 13 Nebraska delegates.

— —Hoogland, E:, Adams, H: J., and Kingman, S: A., Comm'rs appointed under act of the Territorial Leg., 7 F 1859, to audit and certify claims for losses of property during the disorder in the territory from 1 N 1855 to 1 D 1856. Report. 1767 p. O.

*The name Wyandotte is spelled without the final "e" in the constitution, as printed in the Compiled Laws of 1862. The later statutes retain the "e."

Wyandotte Constitution—*continued:*

Wash. 1861. (36th Cong., 2d sess. Ho. rep. no. 104.) 978.1

Note.—The law creating the commission required it to report to the constitutional convention in July. See Ty. Claims.

— —Martin, J: A., secretary of the convention. Letter, Atchison, 7 S 1859, to J. M. Winchell, relative to the prospects for the adoption of the constitution at the election, 4 S 1859. (4 p. ms.)

— —Medary, Gov. S: Letters to J. M. Winchell, president of the convention, d. Lecompton, 1, 9, 12 and 14 N 1859, requesting his presence with John A. Martin, secretary of the convention, and himself, to take action, as canvassing board, for the issuing of a proclamation calling the election for state officers, etc., under the constitution. (4 mss.)

—Kansas Territory. Legislative Assembly. Resolutions, F 1860, in favor of a speedy admission of Kansas into the Union as a state under the constitution formed at Wyandott. (36th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. mis. doc. no. 23, 2 p.) GL 328

—U. S. Senate. [Proceedings relative to the Wyandott constitution, 14 F 1860.] (36th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. mis. doc. no. 16, 1p.) GL 328

—U. S. House of Representatives. Committee on Territories. Report, 29 Mr 1860, of Mr. Grow [on] the constitution adopted by the people of Kansas on the 4th day of October, 1859, and the memorial of the convention praying Congress to admit Kansas as a state. (36th Cong. 1st sess., Ho. rep. no. 255, v. 2, 55p.) GL 328

Contents. Report, signed by G. A. Grow, J: J. Perry, D. W. Gooch, C: Case, H: Waldron, J. M. Ashley.—Copy of An act providing for the formation of a constitution and state government for the state of Kansas, Laws of Kansas, 1859, chapter 31.—Proclamations of Gov. Medary announcing the votes cast at the different elections held in relation to the Wyandotte constitution.—Text of the Wyandotte constitution; minority report of Cong. Com., signed by J: B. Clark, besides the following documents: Copy of the Journal of the Ho. of Rep. containing the resolutions displacing Mr. Whitfield and attempting to put Gov. Reeder in his place, with the yeas and nays thereon. Also, a copy of the two sections of the amnesty act releasing persons for criminal offenses in Kansas, and the yeas and nays thereon.

—Phillips, W: A. The Wyandotte convention. (Kansas magazine, 1873, v. 1.) 050

—Simpson, B: F. The Wyandotte constitutional convention. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 1, 2, 1881, p. 236.) 906

—Martin, J: A. The Wyandotte convention; address delivered at the reunion of the members and officers of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, Wyandotte, Kansas, 29 Jl 1882. 14 p. O. Atchison 1882. 342

—Simpson, B: F. The Wyandotte Convention; address Kan. Quarter-centennial Celebration, Topeka, 29 Ja 1886. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 3, 1886, p. 385.) 906

—McLean, H: A people-made constitution. (Kan. S. Bar Assoc. 15th an. meeting, Ja 1898, p. 67.) 347.06

Wyandotte Constitution—*continued:*

—Constitution of the state of Kansas adopted at Wyandot, 29 Jl 1859. 16 p. O. n. p., n. d. 342

Note.—A very early copy.

—Constitution der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und constitution des staates Kansas. (Ger.) 42 p. O. Topeka 1871. 342

—Konstitution for Forenta Staterna i Amerika, och konstitution for staten Kansas. (Swed.) 46 p. O. Topeka [1871]. 342

—Constitution of the state of Kansas [with marginal notes]. 29 p. O. [Topeka] 1875. 342

—Publication of constitutional amendments. 2 p. O. n. t. p. 342

Note.—List of newspapers which published senate joint resolutions Nos. 2 and 6, leg. 1887, proposing amendments to the constitution, and which were voted upon 6 N 1888.

Wyandotte Constitution—*continued:*

—Declaration of Independence, constitution of the U. S., and constitution of the state of Kansas, with notes of cases arising under the provisions of the constitution. 114 p. O. Topeka 1890. 342.1

Note.—The constitution also appears in the several editions of the general statutes of Kansas, together with the amendments added from time to time. A number of text-books have been issued by private parties giving an analysis of the constitution.

—Kansas State Legislature. Joint com. on the necessity of calling a constitutional convention. Report, 1876. 5 p. O. [Topeka 1876.] 328.4-2

—Constitutional Conv. See K. S. Leg. Jours., 1871.

—See also Compiled Laws and General Statutes of Kansas, 1862-97.

KANSAS TERRITORIAL PUBLICATIONS.

Few of the reports and papers issued by the territorial officers appear to have been published as separate documents. They are generally found in the legislative journals and executive minutes of the territory. It has been thought best to include with these reports other papers bearing upon the different departments of the territorial government.

Adjutant General:

—Geary, Gov. J: W. Proclamation, 11 S 1856, [discharging from service the pro-slavery militia]. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890, p. 526.) 906

——Proclamation, 11 S 1856, [ordering the organization of militia, composed of citizens of the territory]. (Ibid. p. 527.) 906

—Strickler, Hiram J., adjutant general. [Letter 25 D 1856, to Gov. Geary in reply to his request for the annual report of his office.] (Ibid. p. 664.) 906

——Annual report, 31 D 1856. (Ibid.) 906

——Same. (Coun. Jour. 1857, p. 285.) 328

—Kansas Territory Council, com. on militia. [Report on bill for the election of militia officers by the people, with opinion from judiciary committee thereon.] (Ibid. p. 283.) 328.1

—Stanton, Secy. F. P. Message, 15 D 1857, [vetoing bill to reorganize and regulate the territorial militia]. (Ho. Jour. ex. ses., 1857, p. 57.) 328.1

Note.—The bill was passed over the veto, but does not appear among the printed laws passed at that session. See election of officers, same volume, p. 67 and 68.

—Lane, Maj. Gen. Ja. H. Report, 15 Ja 1858, [military operations in Bourbon and Linn counties]. (Ib. 1858, p. 84.) 328

—Chadwick, C:, adjutant general. [Letter 19 Ja 1858, notifying Governor Denver of an adjourned meeting of the military board.] (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 475.) 906

—Denver, Gov. Ja. W. [Letter, 19 Ja 1858, replying to above and asserting his prerogative as "Commander-in-chief," by authority of the organic law of the territory.] (Ibid.) 906

——Message, 12 F 1858, [vetoing a bill to reorganize and regulate the militia]. (Ho. Jour. 1858, p. 428.) 328

—Kansas Territory, House of Representatives. Resolution, 10 Ja 1859, [requesting the governor and Major General Lane to report upon the troubles in southeastern Kansas]. (Ib. 1859, p. 37.) 328

Note.—Gov. Medary, in his message, 3 Ja 1859, says: "I herewith transmit the report of the Adjutant General of the Kansas militia." The report has not been found.

—Medary, Gov. S: Message to the House, 11 Ja 1859, [in reply to above resolution]. (Ibid. p. 44.) 328

—Lane, Ja. H., brigadier general Kansas militia. Letter, Lawrence, 9 Ja 1859, to Governor Medary, [relative to troubles in southeastern Kansas]. (Ibid. p. 51.) 328

Adjutant General—*continued:*

—Medary, Gov. S: Letter, 10 Ja 1859, [thanking Mr. Lane for his offer of service, but not recognizing his military title]. (Ibid.) 328

—Lewis, W. L., chairman judiciary committee House of Representatives. Report, 11 Ja 1859, [that, according to the organic law of the territory, the Governor is commander in chief of the militia]. (Ibid.) 328

—See also Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, p. 528, 544, 547, 592, 647.

Auditor:

—Donaldson, J: Report for 1st fiscal year, ending 29 Ag 1856 and to 31 D 1856. (Coun. Jour. 1857, p. 275-279.) 328

——Report of territorial auditor to the governor, 14 Ja 1857. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890, p. 693.) 906

—Strickler, H. J. Report, 1857. (Ho. Jour. 1858, p. 444-450.) 328

——Report, 1858. (Coun. Jour. 1859, p. 89-100; see also p. 59.) 328

——Report, 1859. 17 p. O. n. t. p. 353.3

——Same. (Ho. Jour. 1860, spec. ses., p. 18-32; Coun. Jour. p. 11-25.) 328

——Report, 1860. (Coun. Jour. 1861, p. 54-82; Ho. Jour. p. 50-78.) 328

Note.—This officer was designated as comptroller in 1857 and 1858.

—Kansas Territorial Council. Beebe, G: M., Updegraff, W. W., and Stewart, Watson, com. Report on report of H. J. Strickler, auditor. (Jour. spec. ses. 1860, p. 371.) 328

Capitol, Lecompton:

—Stewart, Owen C., superintendent of public buildings. Report, 23 S 1856, [in compliance with Governor Geary's request of 23 S 1856]. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890, p. 556-558.) 906

—*See also*, p. 624, dismissal of superintendent.

—Rumbold, W:, architect of public buildings. [Letter, 11 N 1856, in reply to Governor Geary's inquiries of 23 S 1856.] (Ibid. p. 556, 634.) 906

Note.—Governor Geary states the condition of the capitol building in a letter to Secretary Marcy, 22 D 1856, in same volume.

—Geary, J: W. [Letter to Rumbold, 16 F 1857.] (Ibid. p. 714.) 906

—Whittlesey, E., comptroller of the U. S. Treas. [Letters to Governor Geary, N 1856, Ja 1857, relative to appropriations for public buildings in Kansas.] (Ibid. p. 654, 732.) 906

Capitol, Lecompton—*continued:*

—U. S. House of Representatives. Committee on territories report on public buildings in Kansas, 7 F 1857. 2p. O. Wash. n. d. (34th Cong., 3d sess. Rep. no. 184, v. 3.) GL 328, 690

Note.—Committee reports adversely on further appropriations for the construction of territorial capitol and penitentiary; letter of Sec. of the Treas., 21 Ja 1857, giving statement of moneys appriated and expended for the construction of such buildings in Kansas.

—Denver, Ja. W., acting governor. [Letter, 13 Ja 1858, to comptroller of the U. S. treasury, relative to expense of transportation of materials for the capitol at Lecompton.] (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, p. 474.) 906

—Adams, F. G. Story of the capitol. (Mail and Breeze, Topeka, 22 My 1896.) 690

Census:

—Governor Kansas Territory. Census, Je 1859. (Ho. Jour., spec. sess. 1860, p. 35; Coun. Jour. p. 136.) 328

Note.—Report of committee on census returns, p. 424; Coun. Jour. p. 200; Laws, 1859, p. 78-80.

Claims, Territorial:

—Strickler, H. J., commissioner for auditing claims for Kansas Territory. Report, Lecompton, 7 Mr 1858, to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. 14p. O. n. t. p. 336-1

Note.—This report was submitted to the territorial House of Representatives in January, 1859, and ordered printed in the Journal. See page 83-96. The Commission was authorized by act of the territorial legislature 23 F 1857, see Laws, 1857, p. 47-50. The papers of the commissioner were afterwards submitted to Congress, and an index of the entire report as printed by the government in 1859, embracing references to statements of claimants and witnesses, follows this entry.

—Strickler, Hiram J., commissioner to audit, under the laws of the territorial legislature of Kansas, the claims of the citizens of that Territory for losses sustained in carrying into effect the laws of the territory, or growing out of any difficulties in the territory. Report. 678p. O. Wash. 1859. (35th Cong., 2d sess. Ho. mis. doc. no. 43.) 978.1

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Claims, Territorial—*continued:*

—Hoogland, E:, Adams, H: J., and Kingman, S: A., commissioners of claims under act of 7 F 1859. Report, printed pursuant to a resolution of the [Wyandotte] constitutional convention, passed 11 Jl 1859. 27 p. O. n. t. p. 336-1

Note.—See third entry below for index to claimants and witnesses in this report, as published by the government.

—Kansas Territory. House of Representatives, special committee on claims. [Majority] report of S: N. Wood and H. R. Dutton; minority report of W: H. Fitzpatrick. 36+5 p. O. n. t. p. [1860.] 336-1

Note.—This report was also published in the House Journal, special session, 1860, p. 481–535; see also, p. 643, 644. It contains the report of Edward Hoogland, H: J. Adams, and S: A. Kingman, claim commissioners; opinion of Wilson Shannon; communications of R. B. Mitchell, territorial treasurer, showing number of bonds issued in 1859; of Hugh S. Walsh, secretary of the territory, and of Governor S: Medary; and statement of the number and amount of bonds issued. The minority report of Mr. Fitzpatrick led to the defeat of the bonds.

—Gilpatrick, R., chairman of special committee on claim bonds. Report to the House of Representatives, 20 Ja 1861. (Jour. p. 316–347. See also, p. 308 and 407.) 328

Note.—The bonds referred to were for funding losses audited by the claim commission of Hoogland, Adams, and Kingman, under the three acts of the territorial legislature of 1859, approved 7, 11 of F. An act forbidding the payment of these bonds was passed by the legislature of 1861, see General Laws, p. 9. At this session of the legislature a memorial was also adopted, asking Congress to make an appropriation to pay the bonds, see Ho. Jour. p. 482.

—U. S. House of Representatives, committee of claims, Mr. Tappan, chairman. Report. 1767p. O. Wash. 1861. (36th Cong., 2d sess., Ho. rep. no. 104.) 978.1

Note.—Included in this report of the committee of Congress is contained the report of Edward Hoogland, H: J. Adams, and S: A. Kingman, a committee appointed under an act of the Kansas territorial legislature, passed 7th F 1859, to audit and certify claims for the loss of property taken or destroyed, and damages resulting therefrom, during the disorder which prevailed in the territory from 1st N 1855 to 1st D 1856. This report of the territorial committee contains the petitions of the claimants and affidavits of witnesses in support of each claim. The petitions and affidavits make up the principal portion of this large octavo volume of 1767 pages, and contain a remarkable fund of information relating to the troubles in Kansas during the period to which the report relates. The bonds referred to in the preceding entry were never paid by Kansas or the U. S. government. On page 360 of this volume is a statement by Hon. W: Hutchinson of the effort to secure favorable action in Congress. The numbers attached to the names following refer to the pages in the book containing the claims, testimony, or some incident relating to the person named.

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—New England Emigrant Aid Company. Memorial praying indemnification for the destruction of property at Lawrence, 21 My 1856. 28 p. O. Wash. n. d. (37th Cong., 3d sess., sen. misc. doc. no. 29.) 336-1

Contains: Papers by T: H. Webb, S. W. Eldridge, S: C. Pomeroy, J. M. Winchell, and W: Hutchinson.

—Hutchinson, G: W. and W:, Jones, W: and eleven other citizens of Kan. Ty. Memorial [praying] for indemnity from the government for losses sustained by the citizens of Kansas Territory. 4 p. O. Wash. n. d. (40th Cong., 3d sess., ho. misc. doc. no 24.) 336-1

—[Hutchinson, W:] Evidence relative to the claims of the citizens of Kansas, to accompany bill authorizing the appointment of a commission for their settlement. 29 p. O. Wash. 1869. (40th Cong., 3d sess., ho. misc. doc. no 47.) 336-1

Note.—Claims of 1855-56. Amasa Cobb submitted the evidence to Congress.

—Cobb, Amasa, from commission of claims. Report on bill (H. R. 115,) to authorize the appointment of a commissioner and the settlement of claims of citizens of Kansas. 13 p. O. [Wash. 1870.] (41st Cong., 2d sess., ho. rep. no. 77.) 336

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—U. S. Ho. of Rep. 44th Cong., 1st sess. Bill no. 641, introduced by J. R. Goodin, 6 Ja 1876. 336-1

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—U. S. Senate, 48th Cong., 1st sess. Bill no. 1587, introduced by J: Ja. Ingalls, 19 F 1884. 336-1

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—Prouty, S. S. Topeka constitutional scrip, debt of honor that the state owes. 18 p. O. Topeka, 1887. 336-1

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—Bills: An act to establish a tribunal for the transaction of county business, and to define its powers and duties, by R. R. Rees.—An act to establish probate courts and to define their powers and jurisdiction.—An act to incorporate the Kansas Valley Railroad Company, by A. McDonald.—Same, 1 Ag 1855.—An act to incorporate the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railroad Company, by R. R. Rees.—An act to organize the county of Arrapahoe in the Territory of Kansas, and to define the boundaries thereof, by W: Barbee.—An act regulating the interest of money.—An act to restrict dramshops and taverns, and to regulate the sale of intoxicating liquors, by A. M. Coffey. 328

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—Strickler, H. J. Remarks before the joint session, on the permanent location of the seat of government, [suggesting Tecumseh]. 3 p. O, n. t. p. 328

—Journal,* first session, [1855]. 260+89 p. O. Shawnee M. L. S. 1855. 328.1

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* Where the same item occurs in both the Council and House journals, the item is mentioned only in the contents of the latter, giving pages of Senate journal where it may be found: (S. p. 67, 72.)

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—Journal, second session, begun and held at Lecompton, 12 Ja 1857. 351 p. O. Lecompton 1857. 328.1

Contains: Resolution concerning the death of W: Barbee, member of council, p. 6.—Report on official acts of W: T. Sherrard, p. 85, 289.—Death of W: P. Richardson, member of the council, p. 204.—Message of Governor Geary vetoing bill to provide for the taking of the census and election of delegates to the Lecompton constitutional convention, p. 247.—Report of J: Donaldson, auditor of public accounts for first fiscal year, ending 29 Ag 1856, and up to the 31 of D 1856, p. 275.—Report of T: J. B. Cramer, treasurer, for year ending 29 Ag 1856, also statement of account up to 31 D 1856, p. 279.—Report of H. J. Strickler, chairman of committee on militia, p. 282.—Report of H. J. Strickler, adjutant general, 1856, p. 285.—Report of T: J. B. Cramer, inspector general, 1856, p. 289.—Papers relating to official acts of W: T. Sherrard, as sheriff of Douglas county, p. 289.—Statement of vote on call of Lecompton constitutional convention, election of 6 O 1856, p. 303.—Report in relation to objections of the governor to bill concerning bail, p. 304.—Report of D. A. N. Grover on bill to punish horse stealing, p. 306.—Report of committee on preemption of school lands, p. 307.—Report of committee on act to prevent dueling, p. 307.—Report of D. A. N. Grover on the penitentiary, p. 308.—Report of H. J. Strickler on roads and highways, p. 310.

—Journal, extra [third] session, 1857. 72 p. O. Lawrence 1861. 328.1

Contains: Joint resolution reaffirming the Topeka constitution, p. 32.—Petition from the Topeka Leg. relative to the Topeka constitution, p. 38.—Protest of J: A. Halderman and A. C. Davis against being unseated, p. 42.—Veto message of Gov. Stanton, bill to punish rebellion, p. 71.

—Journal, 1858 [fourth session], Lecompton and Lawrence. 351 p. O. Lawrence 1861. 328.1

Contains: Resolution, removal of seat of legislation from Lecompton to Lawrence, p. 13.—Death of Hiram B. Standiford, p. 19.—Concurrent resolution of the Topeka legislature, 11 Ja 1858, to the Territorial legislature meeting at Lawrence, asking the recognition of the Topeka State government, p. 38.—Report on bill to repeal an act to punish offenses against slave property, p. 48.—Vote of 21 D 1857, on the Lecompton constitution; result of election 4 Ja 1858, under said constitution, p. 67.—Message of Governor Denver relative to reports of treasurer and auditor,

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—Journal, [fifth session,] Lecompton, 3 Ja, and Lawrence, 7 Ja 1859. 333 p. O. Lawrence 1859. 328.1

Contains: Resolutions relative to changing the northern boundary of Kansas to Platte river in Nebraska, p. 23.—Report of committee on accounts of comptroller and treasurer, p. 59.—Report of C. K. Holliday, memorializing congress to change the boundaries of Kansas and Nebraska, p. 70.—Report of O. E. Learnard on same subject, p. 75.—Resolution asking congress to donate land to the widows of the victims of the Marais des Cygnes massacre, p. 77.—Report of H. J. Strickler, comptroller, 1858, p. 89.—Report of T: J. B. Cramer, treasurer, 1858, p. 100.—Report of H: J. Adams, president board of commissioners to investigate election frauds, p. 114.—Report of Secretary Hu. S. Walsh giving statement of votes at following elections: O 1857; 4 Ja, 2 Ag, and O 1858, p. 122.—Report of J. P. Root, C. K. Holliday, and J: Wright, committee on education, relative to purchase of Webster's dictionary for use in public schools, p. 184.—Appointment of H. J. Strickler, territorial auditor, and R. B. Mitchell, territorial treasurer, 11 F 1859, for the term of two years from date, p. 329.

—Journal, [sixth session, Lecompton and Lawrence] 1860. 95 p. O. Lecompton 1860. 328.1

Contains: Communications of Hu. S. Walsh, secretary of the territory, informing the council of his arrangements for supplying facilities for conducting the session, p. 34.—Message of S: Medary, 5 Ja 1860, objecting to removal of the legislature from Lecompton, p. 38.

—Journal, [seventh], special session, Lecompton and Lawrence, 1860. 666 p. O. Lecompton 1860. 328.1

Contains: Report of H. J. Strickler, auditor, 1860, p. 11.—Minority report of Watson Stewart on bill to permit the owners of slaves to dispose of the same, p. 128.—Census report, 1859, p. 136.—Report of treasurer, Rob. B. Mitchell, 1859, p. 141.—Resolutions memorializing congress for the admission of Kansas under the

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—Journal, [eighth session,] Lecompton and Lawrence, 1861. 310 p. O. Lawrence 1861. 328.1

Note.—Bound with House journal, 1861.

Contains: Resolution of Watson Stewart relative to settlements on lands of New York Indians, p. 15, 52.—Report of S: W. Greer, superintendent of public instruction, 1860, p. 24.—Report of H. J. Strickler, auditor, 1860, p. 54.—Report of proceedings of territorial board of equalization, 1860, p. 78.—Resolution of Watson Stewart relative to bills for divorce, p. 84.—Joint rules of House and Council, p. 120.—Report of P. P. Elder and W: G. Mathias, committee on schools and election laws, p. 147.—Letter of J: Speer, proprietor of Lawrence Republican, p. 161.—Message of Governor G: M. Beebe relating to telegraphic announcement of admission of Kansas into the Union, p. 270.—Resolution empowering Martin F. Conway to represent Kansas in the National Union Convention, F 1861, p. 273.

Governor:

—Robinson, C: Recollections and impressions of our territorial governors; address before the State Historical Society, at the annual meeting 18 Ja 1881. (Col., v. 1-2, 1881, p. 115.) 906

—Connelley, W: Elsey. Kansas territorial governors. 120 p. D. Topeka 1900. (20th Century Classics.) 920.

—See also the early books on Kansas and the later histories, as mentioned in the note under Constitution, p. 385.

During the period between the opening of Kansas to settlement, 30 My 1854, and the admission of Kansas as a state, 29 Ja 1861, six governors and five secretaries filled our executive chair. See the tables following:

Territorial Governors, and terms of office.

Reprinted from W: E. Connelley's "Kansas Territorial Governors."

Andrew H. Reeder. Term, Oct. 7, 1854 to Aug. 16, 1855. Commissioned June 29, 1854.
Wilson Shannon. Term, Sept. 7, 1855 to Aug. 18, 1856.
John White Geary. Term, Sept. 9, 1856 to March 12, 1857.
Robert John Walker. Term, May 27 to Nov. 16, 1857.
James W. Denver. Term, May 12, 1858 to Oct. 10, 1858.
Samuel Medary. Term, Dec. 18, 1858 to Dec. 17, 1860.

Governor—*continued:*

Territorial Secretaries, and terms of office.

Daniel Woodson. Term, June 29 1854 to April 16, 1857.
Frederick P. Stanton. Term, April 15 to Dec. 21, 1857.
James W. Denver. Term, Dec. 21, 1857 to May 12, 1858.
Hugh Sleight Walsh. Term, May 12, 1858 to July 1, 1860.
George M. Beebe. Term, July 1, 1860 to Feb. 9, 1861.

Executive terms of Governors and Secretaries.

The Historical Society has published in its collections, vols. 3-5, the executive minutes and correspondence of the territorial governors and secretaries, so far as they could be obtained. Much of this material also appears in various congressional documents published during the territorial period. The papers relating to the administrations of Secretaries and acting Governors Woodson, Stanton, Denver, Walsh and Beebe are included with the papers under the heads of the governors under whom they served as secretaries, and in place of whom they, from time to time, by virtue of office, served as governor. The following table is also found in Mr. Connelley's volume:

1. ..... Andrew H. Reeder, July 7, 1854 to April 17, 1855.
2. Acting Daniel Woodson, April 17, 1855 to June 23, 1855.
3. ..... Andrew H. Reeder, June 23, 1855 to August 16, 1855.
4. Acting Daniel Woodson, August 16, 1855 to Sept. 7. 1855.
5. ..... Wilson Shannon, Sept. 7, 1855 to June 24, 1856.
6. Acting Daniel Woodson, June 24, 1856 to July 7, 1856.
7. ..... Wilson Shannon, July 7, 1856 to August 18, 1856.
8. Acting Daniel Woodson, Aug. 18, 1856, to Sept. 9, 1856.
9. ..... John W. Geary, Sept. 9, 1856, to March 12, 1857.
10. Acting Daniel Woodson, March 12, 1857, to April 16, 1857.
11. Acting Frederick P. Stanton, April 16, 1857, to May 27, 1857.
12. ..... Robert J. Walker, May 27, 1857, to Nov. 16, 1857.
13. Acting Frederick P. Stanton, Nov. 16, 1857, to Dec. 21, 1857.
14. Acting James W. Denver, Dec. 21, 1857, to May 12, 1858.
15. ..... James W. Denver, May 12, 1858, to July 3, 1858.
16. Acting Hugh S. Walsh, July 3, 1858, to July 30, 1858.
17. ..... James W. Denver, July 30, 1858, to Oct. 10, 1858.
18. Acting Hugh S. Walsh, Oct. 10, 1858, to Dec. 18, 1858.
19. ..... Samuel Medary, Dec. 18, 1858, to August 1, 1859.
20. Acting Hugh S. Walsh, Aug. 1, 1859, to Sept, 15, 1859.
21. ..... Samuel Medary, Sept. 15, 1859, to April 15, 1860.
22. Acting Hugh S. Walsh, April 15, 1860, to June 16, 1860.
23. ..... Samuel Medary, June 16, 1860, to Sept. 11, 1860.
24. Acting George M. Beebe, Sept. 11, 1860, to Nov. 25, 1860.
25. ..... Samuel Medary, Nov. 25, 1860, to Dec. 17, 1860.
26. Acting George M. Beebe, Dec. 17, 1860, to Feb. 9, 1861.

Governor—*continued:*

—Reeder, And. H. Commission as governor, 29 Je 1854. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 3, 1886, p. 226.) 906

——Executive minutes, 29 Je 1854-16 Ag 1855. (Ibid. p. 226-337.) 906

Note.—These minutes were copied from a manuscript volume of 210 written pages in the possession of the Historical Society, entitled "Executive Minutes, Kansas Territory, 1854, from June 29, 1854, to Sept. 20, 1856." On the last page beneath Secretary Woodson's signature is the indorsement, "copied and forwarded."

——Executive minutes of the territory of Kansas [from 1 Ja to 30 Je 1855]. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Ho. ex. doc. v. 9, no. 66, 48p.) GL 328

——Executive minutes of the territory of Kansas, from 1 Jl to 30 D 1855. (34th Cong., 3d sess. Ho. ex. doc. no. 1, v. 1, pt. 1, p. 44-86.) GL 328

Note.—Governor Reeder's term expired 16 Ag 1855. The remaining minutes belong to the administrations of Secretary Woodson and Governor Shannon.

——Proclamation, 8 Mr 1855, ordering election of first territorial legislature. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 3, 1886, p. 251.) 906

——Official correspondence and miscellaneous papers, 21 N 1854-15 Ag 1855. (Ibid. p. 163-234.) 906

——Official message to the first legislative assembly of the territory of Kansas. 7 p. O. Leavenworth 1855. 353

——First message, 3 Jl 1855. (Ho. Jour. 1855, p. 12.) 328.1

——[Message, 6 Jl 1855, vetoing bill to remove the seat of government temporarily to the Shawnee Manual Labor School.] (Ho. Jour. 1855, p. 29, 30.) 328.1

——[Message, 21 Jl 1855, giving opinion that the legislative session being held at Shawnee M. L. S. is illegal.] (Ho. Jour. p. 67-70.) 328.1

——[Message, 21 Jl 1855, to the Council of the Territory of Kansas, vetoing a bill to incorporate a ferry at the town of Kickapoo, in Kan. Ter. Broadside. 353

Note.—Same import as above.

——Same. (Council Jour. p. 50-53.) 328.1

——See. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 3, 1886, p. 202.) 906

——Territorial Legislature. Veto message of A. H. Reeder, together with a memorial from the legislative assembly of the Territory of Kansas to Franklin Pierce, President of the United States, 26 Jl 1855, [praying for removal of Governor Reeder]. 8 p. O. Shawnee M. L. S. 1855. 353

——Message, 16 Ag 1855, notifying the Council of his removal from office. (Council Jour. 1855, p. 161.) 328

——Same. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 3, 1886, p. 278.) 906

——Review of the opinion of Chief Justice Lecompte upon the validity of the laws passed by the Kansas legislature while sitting at the Shawnee Mission, 22 Ag 1855. 7 p. O. Kansas Free State, Lawrence, 1855. 353

——See Supreme Court.

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——Affidavit, 9 O 1855, relative to the location of the town site of Pawnee. (Court Martial Col. Montgomery, 1858.) 920

——Testimony before the Special Committee to investigate the troubles in Kansas—Howard, Sherman and Oliver, 1856. (34th Cong., 1st sess, Ho. rep. no. 200, p. 933-949.) 978.1

Note.—Extracts from this testimony are given in Historical Society's 1st volume of collections, p. 147-151.

——Diary, 5-31 My 1856, Account of his escape from Kansas. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 3, 1886, p. 205-223.) 906

——Brackett, G: C. Statement relative to Governor Reeder's escape. (Ibid., p. 223.) 906

——Lowrey, G. P. Biography of Andrew H. Reeder. (Ibid. p. 197.) 906

——Kansas Weekly Herald, Leavenworth. Biographical sketch of Governor A. H. Reeder. (15 S 1854.) 070

——Same. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 1, 2, 1881, p. 145.) 906

——Kan. S. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 13 S 1879, in the Society's room, Topeka, in acknowledgment of the gift of an oil portrait of Governor Reeder, presented by his family. (Ibid., p. 153.) 906

——U. S. Senate Committee on Territories. Report [on] so much of the annual message of the President as relates to Territorial affairs, together with his special message of 24 Ja 1856, in regard to Kansas territory, and his message of the 18th of F, in compliance with the resolution of the Senate, 4 F 1856, requesting transcripts of certain papers relative to the affairs of the territory. (34th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. rep. of com. no. 34, v. 1, 61 p.) GL 328

Contents: Mr. Douglas, for the majority of the committee, states the principles upon which new states may be admitted and territories organized,—explains the organization and aims of the New Eng. Em. Aid Co. in settling the territory,—history of the election of 29 N 1854 for territorial delegate to Congress, and election of members of the territorial legislature of 30 Mr 1855.—Extract from Governor Reeder's message to the territorial legislature 2 Jl 1855.—Account of the organization of the 1st Territorial legislature.—Statement of its removal from Pawnee to the Shawnee Manual Labor School and the reasons for the same.—Statement of charges preferred against Governor Reeder, and his removal from office.—Statement relative to laws enacted by the first Kansas territorial legislature.—Resolutions adopted by a meeting held at Lawrence on the 14th or 15th of Ag 1855, to take into consideration the propriety of calling a territorial convention, preliminary to the formation of a state government, and other subjects of public interest.—Copy of the constitution and ritual of the Grand Encampment and Regiments of the Kansas Legion of Kansas Territory, adopted 4 Ap 1855.—Extract from Governor Reeder's address before the Big Springs convention in accepting the nomination for Congress.—Extracts and notes on the proceedings of the constitutional convention held at Topeka, in O 1855, and denial of precedents claimed by them for their action.

Governor—*continued:*

Minority report of Committee on Territories submitted by Jacob Collamer, giving review of Kansas territorial affairs, embracing the proceedings of the meeting at Lawrence, 15 Ag, and the Topeka constitutional convention, 19, 20 S 1855.

—Pierce, President Ek. Message, 18 F 1856, in compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 4th instant, calling for copies of certain papers relating to the Territory of Kansas. (34th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. ex. doc. no. 23, 822 p.) G L 328

Contains President's message.—Letter of W. L. Marcy, 18 F 1856, transmitting the papers called for in the resolution.—Executive minutes of the territory of Kansas, 25 Je to 5 D 1854.—Letter of Mr. Marcy to Governor Reeder, 12 Je 1855, charging him with official misconduct.—Gov. Reeder to Mr. Marcy, 26 Je 1855, denying the charge.—Reeder to Marcy, 26 Je 1855, enclosing statement of Col. E. C. McCarty.—W. Hunter, act. Sec. State, to Reeder, 28 Jl 1855, notifying him of his removal from office.—Reeder to Marcy, 15 Ag 1855, acknowledging receipt of same.—Correspondence between the president and Gov. W. Shannon, Ja. H. Lane, C: Robinson, J: Calhoun, H. J. Strickler, Col. E. V. Sumner, W: P. Richardson, G: W. Clarke and S: J. Jones, relative to the Wakarusa war and affairs in Ja and F 1856; 27 N 1855 to 16 F 1856.—Copy of president's proclamation, 11 F 1856.—Copy of the laws of Kansas Territory, 1855, p. 49–822.

——Message, 3 Ap 1856, in compliance with a resolution of the Senate, 27 Mr, calling for further documents relating to the Territory of Kansas. (34 Cong., 1st sess. Sen. ex. doc. no. 53, 1 p.) G L 328

Note.—The Secretary states that the documents have already been furnished the House.

—Woodson, Daniel, secretary and acting governor. Executive correspondence, 18 Ag–10 S 1856. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890, p. 466–497.) 906

——Executive minutes, 17 Ap, 23 Je, 17 Ag, 7 S 1855; 21 Ag–20 S 1856; 11–31 Mr 1857. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 3, p. 277–286, 324–337; v. 4, p. 742–745; v. 5, p. 223.) 906

——Message, 24 Ag 1855, relative to bill to provide pay for legislative clerks. (Ho. Jour. 1855, p. 339, 340.) 328.1

——Proclamation, 25 Ag 1856, declaring the territory to be in a state of open insurrection and rebellion. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 3, 1886, p. 325.) 906

——Biography. (U. S. Biog. Dic. Kan., 1879.) 920

——Biography. (Coffeyville Journal, 12 O 1894.) 070

Note.—Extracts from this sketch are given in 5th vol. of Hist. Soc. Col., p. 157.

——*See also*, a note prefacing the executive minutes of Governor Shannon in the 3d vol. of the Hist. Soc. Col., p. 283, explanatory of Governor Woodson's official service.

—Shannon, Governor Wilson. Executive minutes, 7 S 1855, 18 Ag 1856. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 3, 1886, p. 286–323. 906

Note.—Minutes to D 1855 are included in 34th Cong., 3d sess., Ho. ex. doc. no. 1. See Governor Reeder's administration.

Governor—*continued:*

——Correspondence and other papers, S 1855–My 1856. (Ib. v. 5, 1896, p. 234–364.) 906

——Correspondence, 11 Ap–18 Ag 1856. (Ib. v. 4, 1890, p. 385–466.) 906

——Same. (34th Cong., 3d sess., Ho. ex. doc. no. 1, v. 1, pt. 1, p. 66–86.) G L 328

——U. S. Secretary of War. Report, 22 D 1856, in compliance with a resolution of the senate, 16 D, calling for copies of the letters addressed to the war department and Wilson Shannon by Colonel Sumner, relative to Kansas affairs; also a letter from the adjutant general to Colonel Sumner, 26 Mr 1856. (34th Cong., 3d sess. Sen. ex. doc. no. 10, 8 p.) G L 328

——Biography. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 3, 1886, p. 279.) 906

——Biography. (Appleton's Cyc. of Am. Biog., v. 5, 1888.) G L 920

——Biography. (U. S. Biog. Dic. of Kan., 1879.) 920

——Simpson, B: F. Remarks in the supreme court on the death of Wilson Shannon. 11 p. O. Topeka 1877. 920

——Geary, Gov. J: White. [Executive minutes, 9 S 1856–12 Mr 1857, including his official correspondence, proclamations, etc., during that period.] (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890, p. 520.) 906

Note.—The minutes from 9 S to 30 S 1856, accompany the annual report of Jefferson Davis, secretary of war, 1 D 1856, in Ho. ex. doc. no. 1, 34th Cong., 3d sess., v. 1, pt. 1, p. 86–173; those from 1 O to 16 O 1856, are contained in Sen. ex. doc. no. 17, 35th Cong., 1st sess., v. 6, p. 27–65; those from 17 O to 21 N 1856 are contained in Ho. ex. doc. no. 10, 34th Cong., 3d sess., v. 3, p. 1–36; those from 21 N 1856 to 12 Mr 1857, are contained in Sen. ex. doc. no. 17, 35th Cong., 1st sess., v. 6, p. 65–208.

——Letters to Secretary Marcy, 9, 16 S 1856, condition of territory. (Kansas claims, 1861. Hoogland, Adams, and Kingman, p. 52, 55.) 978.1

——Inaugural address, 11 S 1856. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890, p. 524.) 906

——Official correspondence and miscellaneous papers, 9 S 1856, Mr 1857. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 264–289.) 906

——[Thanksgiving proclamation, 6 N 1856.] (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890, p. 623.) 906

——Message, 12 Ja 1857. (Coun. Jour., 1857, p. 8, Ho. Jour., p. 10–24.) 328

——Same. (From N. Y. Tribune, 27 Ja 1857.) 353.1

——Message, 21 Ja 1857, relative to appointment of W: T. Sherrard, sheriff of Douglas county. (Ho. Jour., 1857, p. 59.) 328.1

——Message, 28 Ja 1857, vetoing bill authorizing courts to admit to bail, [relates to acts of C: Hays]. (Ibid. p. 100–103.) 328.1

——House of Representatives. Resolution, 9 F 1857, relative to appointment of county officers by Governor Geary. (Ibid. p. 181.) 328.1

——Message, 18 F 1857, relating to commissions issued to officers of Coffey county. (Ibid. p. 260.) 328.1

Governor—*continued:*

——Message, 19 F 1857, vetoing bill to provide for the taking of the census and election of delegates to the Lecompton constitutional convention. (Coun. Jour. 1857, p. 247-251.) 328.1

——[Resignation, 4 Mr 1857.] (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4. 1890, p. 737.) 906

——[Farewell address to the people of Kansas, 12 Mr 1857.] (Ibid. p. 738.) 906

——Gihon, J: H., private secretary of the governor. Governor Geary's administration in Kansas. 348 p. D. Phil. 1857. 978.1

——Legislature of Pennsylvania. Memorial addresses on the death of Gov. John W. Geary, F 1873. 80 p. Q. Harrisburg 1873. 920

——Biography. (Appleton's Cyclopedia of Am. Biog.) 920

—Same. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890, p. 373.) 906

—Walker, Gov. Rob. J. Notification of appointment as governor, 30 Mr 1857. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 321.) 906

——Oath of office, Washington, 9 My 1857. (Ibid. p. 438.) 906

——Inaugural address, 27 My 1857. 24 p. O. Lecompton 1857. 353

——Same. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 328.) 906

——Executive minutes, 3 Ap to 17 D 1857. (Ibid. p. 432-460.) 906

——Correspondence and other papers. (Ibid. p. 290-464.) 906

——Address at Topeka, 6 Je 1857. (Ibid. p. 291.) 906

——Citizens of Quindaro. Rally at Quindaro house, Jl 1857, to consider the late traitorous proceedings of Governor Walker. 978.1—C. P. v. 1.

——Proclamation, 15 Jl 1857, Lawrence charter. (Hist. Soc. Col., v, 5, 1896, p. 307, 355.) 906

——Testimony before the Covode committee, U. S. Ho. of Rep., on the Lecompton constitution, including his letter to the President, 28 N 1857, and the reply of the President thereto. (Covode inves., p. 93-119.) 342.9

—Buchanan, Prest. Ja. Message, 22 D 1857, communicating, in compliance with the resolutions of the Senate of the 16th and 18th D 1857, correspondence between the executive department and the present governor of Kansas, and between the executive and any governor or other officer of the government in Kansas, with any orders or instructions which may have been issued, together with other information relative to affairs in that territory. (35th Cong., 1st sess. Sen. ex. doc. no. 8, 134 p.) GL 328

Note.—Many of these papers also appear in Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, p. 321-431.

Contents. This correspondence embraces largely the affairs of Governor Walker's administration, from the date of his appointment, 30 Mr to 15 D 1857, the day of his resignation. Besides 33 lengthy letters written by Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, Governor Walker, and Secretary Stanton, there are also the following papers: Inaugural addresses of Stanton and Walker.—Three letters of Sheriff S. W. Tunnell and Joel T. Moore, deputy sheriff, of Leavenworth county, Jl 1857.—Letter of J. H. Whitfield, Doniphan, 7 Jl 1857, relative to troubles growing out of a difficulty between Mr. Boyd, pro-slavery, and Mr. Mitchell, free-state.—Letters of Governor Walker and Gen. W: S. Harney relative to stationing troops at Lawrence to preserve the peace, 14, 15 Jl 1857.—Charter of city of Lawrence.—Proclamation of Governor Walker to people of Lawrence, 15 Jl 1857.—General orders of General Lane, nos. 1 and 2, 18, 20 Jl 1857, for the protection of the ballot-box at the election of Ag 1857 for members of the Topeka legislature and the general territorial election, 5 O 1857.—Correspondence of Norman Eddy, commissioner for the sale of Delaware trust lands, J. W. Whitfield, register, and Dan. Woodson, receiver, Osawkee, and Capt. Stewart Van Vliet, Fort Leavenworth, relative to guard of soldiers for the safe and proper conduct of the sale of the Delaware lands, Jl 1857.—Petition of J. B. Hovey, J: Beck, B. H. Stiles and 119 others, settlers on the Shawnee lands, addressed to Governer Walker, asking that measures be taken to enable them to prove up and enter the land upon which they have settled.—Letters of Maj. L. A. Armistead, 1 Ag 1857, and Lieut. Lewis Merrill, 2 Ag 1857, relative to a false alarm that Cheyenne Indians were driving in the settlers about Fort Riley; Governor Walker gives an extended account of the scare, and also mentions the threatening attitude of the Osage Indians in the southwest.—Copy of letters addressed to President Buchanan by citizens of Connecticut in regard to Kansas affairs, and the President's reply to the same, 15 Ag 1857.—Letters of Governor Walker to General Harney relative to the stationing of U. S. troops to insure a fair election, 21, 26 S 1857.—Address of Governor Walker, 10 S 1857, to the people of Kansas relative to the conduct of the territorial election, 5 O 1857.—Leavenworth Journal extra.—Letters of General Harney, 9 O, and Governor Walker, 10 O 1857, relative to accommodations for the large body of U. S. troops brought into the territory at Governor Walker's solicitations.—Proclamation of Governor Walker and Secretary Stanton, 19, 22 O 1857, relative to the fraudulent returns from Oxford and three precincts in McGee county.—Writ of mandamus of Sterling G. Cato, judge of second judicial dist., requiring Governor Walker and Secretary Stanton to issue certain certificates of election, and their answer to said writ.

—[Correspondence with General W. S. Harney, employment of troops in protecting the polls at the October election, 1857, and to aid the civil authorities in the execution of the laws against the insurgent municipal government at Lawrence in September, 1857, and to aid the civil authorities at Shawnee Mission in September, 1857.] (35th Cong., 1st sess. ho. ex. doc. no. 2, v. 2, pt. 2, p. 94-131.) GL 328

—St. Matthew, J. H. Walker's administration in Kansas. (Overland, D 1870, v. 5, p. 544.) GL 050

——Biography. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, p. 158.) 906

——Biography and portrait. (Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog.) 920

Governor—*continued:*

—Stanton, F: P. Secretary and acting Governor. Notice of his appointment as Secretary, 31 Mr 1857. (Ibid. p. 323.) 906

— —Address to the people of Kansas, 17 Ap 1857, upon assuming office. (Ibid. p. 326.) 906

— —Proclamation, 20 My 1857, census and apportionment for the Lecompton constitutional convention. (Ibid. p. 315.) 906

— —Proclamation, 1 D 1857, calling extra session of the legislature. (Coun. Jour. 1857, 3d sess., p. 3.) 328

— —Message to the Legislature, 8 D 1857. (Ibid. p. 10.) 328

— —Same. German ed. Newspaper sheet. 353

— —Message 11 D 1857, announcing resignation by J. H. Miller of his seat. (Ho. Jour., 1857, 3d sess. p. 34.) 328

— —Message, 15 D 1857, vetoing bill to organize and regulate the territorial militia. (Coun. Jour., 1857, 3d sess. p. 59.) 328

— —Message, 17 D 1857, vetoing an act to repeal an act to punish rebellion. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 320.) 906

— —Proclamation, 19 D 1857, appointing commissioners for election on the Lecompton constitution, 4 Ja 1858. (Ibid. p. 459.) 906

— —[Review of his administration as secretary and acting governor of Kansas territory;] address, Old Settlers' Meeting, Bismarck Grove, Lawrence, 2 S 1884. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 3, 1886, p. 338.) 906

— —Biographical sketch. (Ib. v. 5. p. 159.) 906

—Denver, Ja. W. Secretary and acting Governor. Notice of, and acceptance of appointment as secretary of the territory, 11, 21 D 1857. (Ibid. p. 464.) 906

—Denver, Gov. Ja. W. Address to the people of Kansas, 21 D 1857. Broadside. n. p. 353-1

— —Proclamation 26 D 1858 [relative to coming election of State officers under the Lecompton constitution, 4 Ja 1858]. Clipping. n. p., n. d. 353-1

— —Same. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 468.) 906

— —Message, 4 Ja 1858. (Coun. Jour., 1858, p. 7; Ho. Jour. p. 9.) 328.1

— —Executive correspondence, 11 Ja—D 1858. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 488-559.) 906

— —Executive minutes, 21 D 1857—D 1858. (Ibid. p. 464-518.) 906

— —Message, 22 Ja 1858, relative to report of treasurer and auditor. (Coun. Jour., 1858, p. 91.) 328.1

— —Proclamation, 25 Ja 1858, for election to fill vacancy in the council, caused by resignation of J. P. Carr of Atchison county. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 476.) 906

— —Message, 28 Ja 1858, vetoing bill relative to territorial library.) (Ho. Jour., 4th sess. 1858, p. 208.) 328.1

Governor—*continued:*

— —Message on bill repealing an act to punish offenses against slave property. (Coun. Jour., 1858, p. 263.) 328.1

— —Message vetoing a bill to establish certain banks in Kansas territory. (Ibid. p. 312.) 328.1

— —Message, 12 F 1858, vetoing bill to incorporate the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Ft. Gibson R. R. Co. (Ho. Jour., 1858, p. 410.) 328.1

— —Message, 12 F, vetoing bill to organize and regulate the militia of Kansas territory. (Ibid. p. 428.) 328.1

— —Proclamation, [Lecompton, 26 F 1858, relative to circular of J. H. Lane, containing instructions to enrolling efficers, Kansas militia.] (Nat'l Dem. extra, 26 F 1858.) Clipping. 353.1

— —Record of oath as governor, 12 My 1858. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 488.) 906

— —Letters to Secretary Cass, 4, 23 Je 1858, difficulties in Southern Kansas. (Ibid. p. 528, 531.) 906

— —Biography. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 160.) 906

— —Address, old settlers' meeting, Bismarck Grove, Lawrence, 3 S 1884, [on events of his administration]. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 3, 1886, p. 359.) 906

— —Biography. (Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog.) GL 920

—Walsh, Hugh Sleight, secretary and acting governor. Correspondence and other papers, Je 1858—My 1860. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 538-623.) 906

— —Biography. (Ibid. p. 161.) 906

—Medary, Gov. S: Oath of office as governor, 18 D 1858. (Ibid. p. 561.) 906

— —Executive minutes and correspondence, 18 D 1858—17 D 1860. (Ibid. p. 518, 519; 561-633.) 906

— —Miscellaneous papers of his administration. (Ms.)

— —Message, 3 Ja 1859. (Ho. Jour. p. 9.) 328.1

— —Reports, to President, of depredations by Montgomery's men, and on the infected district, 7, 8 Ja 1859. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 582, 583.) 906

— —Message, 11 Ja 1859, difficulties in Linn and Bourbon counties. (Ho. Jour. 1859, p. 44.) 328.1

— —Letter, Ja 1859, transmitting a resolution of the legislature relative to the annexation of that part of the territory of Nebraska lying south of the Platte river to the territory of Kansas. (35th Cong., 2d sess. Ho. misc. doc. no. 50. 2 p.) G L 328

— —Same. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 600.) 906

— —Thanksgiving proclamation, 1859. (Ibid. p. 629.) 906

— —Message, 3 Ja 1860. (House Jour., 1860, p. 17.) 328.1

— —Message, 5 Ja 1860, giving objections for the removal of the legislature from Lecompton to Lawrence. (Ibid. p. 88-90, 148.) 328.1

Governor—*continued:*

——Communication, 13 Ja 1860, in reply to a request from the legislature for his reasons for not cooperating with the legislature at Lawrence. (Ibid. p. 134.) 328.1

——Proclamation, 18 Ja 1860, to convene the legislature in special session, 19 Ja 1860. (Ib. spec. sess. 1860, p. 3.) 328.1

——Message, 20 Ja 1860. (Ibid. p. 15.) 328.1

——Message, 20 Ja 1860, objecting to adjournment of legislature to Lawrence. (Ibid. p. 40.) 328.1

——Message, 4 F 1860, relative to taxation in Pottawatomie county. (Ibid. p. 253.) 328.1

——Message, 13 F 1860, vetoing bill to facilitate the pursuit of practical anatomy. (Ibid. p. 318.) 328.1

——Veto message, 20 F 1860, on the bill to prohibit slavery in Kanses. (Ibid. p. 453; Sen. Jour. p. 438.) 353.03; 328

——Message, 22 F 1860, vetoing act locating the county seat of Breckinridge county. (Ho. Jour., spec. sess., p. 623.) 328.1

——Resignation, 17 D 1860. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 632.) 906

——Biography. (Ibid. p. 161.) 906

—Beebe, G: M., secretary and acting governor. Letter, 19 Jl 1860, acknowledging receipt of commission as secretary. (Ibid. p. 628.) 906

——Message, 10 Ja 1861. (Coun. Jour., p. 16; Ho. p. 42.) 328.1

——Message, 29 Ja 1861, vetoing bill authorizing officers to issue fee bills. (Ho. Jour., 1861, p. 298.) 328.1

—Message, 1 F 1861, relative to the admission of Kansas into the Union. (Ho. Jour., 1861, p. 438; Coun. Jour. p. 270.) 328.1

——Biography. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 162.) 906

House of Representatives:

—Journal,* first session of first territorial legislative assembly, begun and held at the town of Pawnee, 2 Jl 1855. 382+69 p. O. Shawnee M. L. S. 1855. 328.1

Contains: First message of Governor A. H. Reeder, 3 Jl 1855, p. 12; S., p. 13.—Report of committee on credentials, p. 17.—Message of Governor Reeder vetoing a bill to remove the seat of government temporarily to Shawnee Manual Labor School, p. 29; S., p. 50—Message of Governor Reeder on illegality of present session of the legislature, p. 67.—Veto message, 24 Ag 1855 of Daniel Woodson, acting governor, p. 339.—Apx: Opinion of the supreme court in regard to the legality of the session, p. 3.—Memorial to the President relative to the legality of the legislative session, p. 10; S., Apx. p. 12.—Report of committee on Judiciary favoring an act to extend the "Revised Statutes" of the state of Missouri, 1844-45, over Kansas Territory, p. 14.—Committee on bill exempting slaves from execution, p. 19.—Committee on bounds of counties and districts, p. 22.—Report of committee on elections on bill admitting Indians to the right of citizenship, p. 24.—Petition of W: P. Lamb for ferry across Missouri river at Atchison, p. 25.—Committee on constitutional convention, p. 26.—Resignation of S. D. Houston, p. 27.—Rules and orders, House of Representatives, and joint rules of the Council and House, p. 29.—Public printing, p. 35; S. Apx. p. 27.

—Journal, [second session] begun at Lecompton, Ja 1857. 356 p. O. Lecompton 1857. 328.1

Contents: Message of Gov. J: W. Geary 12 Ja 1857, p. 10; S. p. 8.—Message of Governor, 21st Ja 1857, relative to appointment of W: T. Sherrard, sheriff of Douglas county, p. 59.—Report on governor's message, p. 61, 105.—Report of J. W. Martin, chairman, on troubles and raids in Kansas, p. 91.—Banking system for Kansas, p. 97, 98, 164, 190.—Message of Governor Geary vetoing bill authorizing courts to admit to bail, [relates to acts of C: Hays,] p. 100.—Report of T: J. B. Cramer, territorial treasurer, 1856, p. 144.—Atchison ferry charter, p. 159, 161.—Test oaths, p. 163.—Memorial requesting the President to reinstate U. S. Judge S: D. Lecompte, p. 165, 217.—Report of W. H. Jenkins on boundaries of Riley and Pottawatomie counties, p. 229.—Report of Jos. C. Anderson on portion of the governor's message relating to slavery, p. 236.—Message of Governor Geary 18 F 1857, commissions issued to officers of Coffey county, p. 260.—Buchanan town company, at forks of Solomon and Smoky Hill rivers, p. 263.—Railway to Gulf of Mexico, p. 271.

—Journal, extra [third] session, [Lecompton] 1857. 80 p. O. Lawrence 1861. 328.1

Note.—Bound with Journal of 1858.

Contents: Proclamation of Acting Governor F. P. Stanton, 1 D 1857, convening an extra session of the legislature, p. 3; S., p. 3.—Message of acting governor, 8 D p. 10; S., p. 10.—Contested election in Linn county, p. 17.—Report of A. B. Bartlett, C. Graham, C. Columbia, H: Owens, and E. N. Morrill, committee on governor's message, p. 20; S., p. 21.—Report of J: Speer, Harris Stratton, H: Owens, C: Jenkins, and J: Curtis, committee on election in Leavenworth county, p. 22; S., p. 24.—Election of W. W. Ross to the office of public printer, and R. G. Elliott as superintendent of public printing, p. 33.—Memorial to congress asking admission of Kansas under the Topeka constitution, p. 29.—Message from Governor Stanton, on resignation of J. H. Miller, p. 34.—Concurrent resolution reaffirming the Topeka constitution, p. 52.—Message of Governor Stanton 15 D 1857, vetoing a bill to reorganize and regulate the territorial militia, p. 57; S., p. 59.—Report of W. W. Ross, public printer, 16 D 1857, p. 65.—Election of militia officers, p. 67.

—Journal [fourth session], 1858, Lecompton and Lawrence. 451 p. O. Lawrence 1861. 328.1

Contains: Message of acting Governor Ja. W. Denver, 4 Ja 1858, p. 9; S. p. 7.—Rules of the house and joint rules of the legislature, p. 29.—Report of committee on memorial from Topeka legislature, relative to Lecompton constitution, p. 70, 91; S. p. 74.—Report of Maj. Gen. Ja. H. Lane,

*Where the same item occurs in both the Council and House journals, the item is mentioned only in the contents of the latter, giving pages of Senate journal where it may be found: (S. p. 67, 72.)

House of Representatives—*continued:*

15 Ja 1858, military operations in Bourbon and Linn counties, p. 84.—Report of S. S. Cooper, J: Speer, W. P. Badger, E. N. Morrill, and H. Miles Moore, committee on resolutions of the free state legislature, p. 119.—Resignation of Champion Vaughan from office of State Printer, p. 120.—Resolution memorializing Congress for grant of land for school purposes in lieu of sections 16 and 36 in Indian reservations, p. 157.—Invitation to members of the legislature to visit Lawrence public schools, p. 177, 211.—Message of Governor Denver vetoing bill in reference to obtaining books from territorial librarian, p. 208.—Contest case of Arch. Elliott against W. P. Badger of Atchison county, p. 242.—Committee on contested election in Marshall county, p. 392, 369.—Report of H. Stratton on counties and county lines, p. 294.—Petition of R. B. Mitchell to Congress relative to bill providing for a constitutional convention, p. 369.—Claims audited by J. H. Strickler, mentioned, p. 379.—Appropriation for the completion of the capitol building at Lecompton, p. 385.—Election of Caleb S. Pratt, W. S. Lewis, and Ashael Hunt, penitentiary commissioners, p. 390; S. p. 319.—Message from Council relative to action upon report of claim commissioners, p. 402.—Bill for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention, p. 409.—Governor's message vetoing bill to incorporate the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Ft. Gibson R. R. Company, p. 410.—Governor's message concerning corporations, p. 411.—Message of Governor vetoing a bill to reorganize and regulate the militia, p. 428.—Protest against the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution, p. 443.—Report of H. J. Strickler, Comptroller of Kansas Territory, 31 D 1857, p. 444.

—Journal, [Fifth session] Lecompton and Lawrence, 1859. 373 p. O. Lawrence 1859. 328.1

Contents: Report of committee on contested seats, Doniphan and Marshall counties, p. 4.—Message of Gov. S: Medary, 3 Ja 1859, p. 9; S. p. 7.—Adjournment of the legislature to Lawrence, p. 18, 23.—Troubles in Linn and Bourbon counties, p. 24, 37, 44, 51, 57, 59, 64.—Resolution on appropriations for public buildings in Kansas, p. 29, 50; S. p. 22.—Election of T. D. Thacher as State Printer, p. 49.—Letter of Ja. H. Lane to Governor Medary, dated 9 Ja 1859, relative to troubles in southeast Kansas, and governor's reply to the same, of date 10 Ja, p. 51.—Election of W: McKay, E. S. Lowman, and Ja. McCahon, commissioners to codify the laws and report, p. 55; S. p. 323.—Report of committee to examine accounts of Comptroller and treasurer, p. 67.—Report, correspondence of T. D. Thacher and Secretary Hugh S. Walsh relative to public printing, p. 67.—Resolution of J: W. Wright relative to the renaming of counties formerly named in honor of border ruffians, p. 74.—Resolutions of J: W. Wright relative to donation of 160 acres of land to the widows of W. Colpetzer, Michael Robinson, and W: Stilwell, murdered by C. A. Hamilton and others 19 My 1858, p. 77.—Report of H. J. Strickler, commissioner for auditing claims for Kansas territory, 7 Mr 1856, p. 83.—Memorial to Congress relative to granting of lands for railroads, etc., p. 97, 197; S. p. 105.—Lyman Scott on state printer, p. 99.—Resolution of J: Lockhart asking for the removal of Hugh S. Walsh from the office of secretary of the territory, p. 99.—Report of S: W. Greer, superintendent of common schools, for the year 1858, p. 102.—Resolution of L. D. Bailey for arrest of Hugh S. Walsh and examination before the bar of the House, p. 108.—Resolution of J: W. Wright on a division of Kansas territory, p. 115.—Expenses of committee to urge upon the President the postponement of public-land sales in Kansas territory, p. 120, 150.—Report of J. B. Hovey on boundary lines of Johnson county, p. 176.—Reports of codifying commissioners, p. 179, 359.—Letter of G. W. Brown in reference to public printing, p. 202.—Resolution asking the President not to renominate Judge Lecompte for chief justice of Kansas territory, p. 208.—Oro county, selection of temporary seat of justice for, p. 209.—Balloting for commissioner to audit claims, choice, S: A. Kingman, p. 295, 370.—Election of W: McKay, attorney for the adjustment of claims, p. 371; S. 332.

—Journal, [sixth session] Lecompton, 2 Ja., [Lawrence, 7 Ja] 1860. 162p. O. Lecompton 1860. 328.1

Contains: Removal of seat of legislation to Lawrence, p. 8, 14, 88, 99, 118, 133, 134, 147.—Message of Gov. S: Medary, 3 Ja 1860, p. 17; S. p. 16.—Report of S: W. Greer, superintendent of public schools for the year 1859, p. 34.—Resolutions of S: N. Wood against slavery in Kansas, p. 87.—Resolution offered by H: Shively, memorializing Congress to admit Kansas under the Wyandotte constitution, p. 110.—Report on contested election of G: G. Pierce and Ja. S. Magill of Marshall county, p. 135, 161.—Resolution of J: W. Scott adjourning legislature sine die, p. 155.—Report of committee on accounts of legislature, p. 160.

—Journal, special [seventh] session, Lecompton and Lawrence, 1860. 745p. O. Lecompton 1860. 328.1

Contains: Proclamation of Gov. S: Medary, convening the legislature, 19 Ja 1860, p. 3; S. p. 3.—Adjournment to Lawrence, p. 9, 10, 12, 13, 40, 42, 202.—Message of Gov. S: Medary, 20 Ja 1860, p. 15; S. p. 26.—Report of H. J. Strickler, auditor, 1859, p. 18.—Report of Rob. D. Mitchell, treasurer, 1859, p. 34.—Census report, Je 1859, p. 35, 424; S. p. 200.—Resolution addressed to Hugh S. Walsh, secretary of the territory, requesting printing, stationery, etc., for legislative purposes, p. 41.—Organization and boundaries of counties, p. 47, 409.—Petition for change in boundary lines of Madison and Breckenridge counties, p. 52, 73.—Resolution of S: N. Wood inquiring into the propriety of abolishing offices of territorial and county superintendents of schools, p. 53.—Petition relative to boundaries of Linn county, p. 55, 74.—Letter of M. W. Delehay, chief clerk, relative to charges against his official conduct made by the correspondent of the Leavenworth Daily Herald, and vindication from same, p. 118, 164.—Resolution calling for report of J: Richie, S. B. Prentiss, and Fielding Johnson, penitentiary commissioners, p. 207.—Resolution relative to appropriations for and condition of capitol buildings at Lecompton, p. 213.—Message from Governor Medary relative to taxation in Pottawatomie county, p. 253.—Message of Governor Medary vetoing bill to facilitate the pursuit of practical anatomy, p. 318.—Resolution of S: N. Wood asking congress to defray the expenses of the

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—Journal, [eighth session] Lecompton and Lawrence, 1861. 494p. O. Lawrence 1861. 328.1

Contains: Resolutions, &c., relative to adjournment of session from Lecompton to Lawrence, p. 8, 9, 11, 19.—Report of S: W. Greer, superintendent of public schools, 1860, p. 23.—Message of Governor G: M. Beebe, 10 Ja 1861, p. 42; S. p. 16.—Report of H. J. Strickler, territorial auditor, 1860, p. 50.—Report of territorial board of equalization, 1860, p. 74.—Contested seats in Marshall and Washington counties, p. 86, 88.—Minority report of W: Perry and V. P. Markham in matter of contested seats in House of Representatives, 10th district, p. 89.—Resolutions indorsing the movements of Maj. Rob Anderson at Fort Sumpter, p. 96, S. p. 42.—Resolution relating to the president of the U. S. in suppressing outrages in southern Kansas by one Montgomery, p. 106, 120.—Distribution for the relief of destitution in Kansas, p. 107, 120.—False report of Brig. Gen. Harney on the distribution of relief in Kansas, p. 120, 123, 137.—Resolution offered by C: B. Lines relative to revolutionary action of southern states, p. 122, 138.—Communication of J: Speer, proprietor of Lawrence Republican, p. 233.—Report of C: B. Lines on the bill to regulate sale of intoxicating liquors, etc., p. 257.—Report of mass meeting, Eudora, 24 Ja 1861, signed by C: Darr, chairman, and A. A. Woodhull, secretary, p. 282.—Incorporation of Episcopal female seminary, Topeka, p. 287, 457.—Resolutions offered by C: B. Lines memorializing legislatures of other states for seed wheat, etc., for the destitute people of Kansas, p. 289, 293, 312; S. p. 228, 288.—Message of Governor Beebe vetoing bill authorizing certain officers to issue fee bills, p. 298.—Bill prohibiting the treasurer of the territory from paying any bonds under acts approved 7 and 11 F 1859, p. 308.—Report of R. Gilpatrick, chairman of committee on claim bonds, p. 316.—Resolutions praying congress for remuneration of citizens for losses in Kansas troubles, p. 407, S. p. 304.—Protest of C: B. Lines, R. Gilpatrick, W: Perry, J: T. Burris, J: T. Snoddy, W: E. Bowker, G: G. Pierce, R. M. Williams and Ja. Hanway against proceedings of House in reference to divorces, p. 435.—Message of Governor Beebe relative to admission of Kansas into the Union, p. 438.—Resolution asking Congress to relieve the destitution in Kansas, p. 460.—Report of C: B. Lines, chairman of committee on ways and means, p. 475.—Memorial to Congress asking payment of claims for losses of Kansas citizens, p. 482.

—Bills, 1855: An act concerning commissioners, surveyors, and chain carriers of roads and highways, by Allen Wilkinson.—An act concerning marriage contracts, by Jos. C. Anderson.—An act to define the boundaries of the several counties of Kansas, by Samuel A. Williams.—An act to incorporate the Atchison bank of Kansas Territory, No. 131, by J: H. Stringfellow.—An act to incorporate the Leavenworh bank, no. 182 substitute for bill 172.—An act to prevent tresspass on the possessions of settlers on public lands, by O. H. Browne.—An act to regulate elections, no. 109 substitute for bills nos. 52 and 73.—An act regulating marriages, by J. C. Anderson. 8 bills. [1855.] 328

—House ballot. Broadside. 1855. 328

—Reports of Committees, 1855: Judiciary. Report [recommending the passage of an act extending the revised statutes of Missouri, 1844 and 1845, over the territory of Kansas], by W: G. Mathias, chairman, 7 p. O. Shawnee M. L. S. 1855.—Minority report on [application of J: W. Freeler for divorce] by S: A. Williams. Broadside.—Com. [on] Ho. bill no. 79, Exempting slaves from Sale under Execution. Report, by J. C. Anderson. Broadside. 1855. 328

—Rules and orders. 7p. O. n. t. p. [1855.] 328

Inspector General:

—Cramer, T: J. B. [Report to Governor Geary. 2 O, 29 D 1856.] (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890, p. 592, 665.) 906

——Same. (Coun. Jour. 1857, page 289.) 328.1

—Geary, Gov. J: W. [Order to Gen. Cramer, 12 S 1856, relative to discharge of territorial militia, and care of the arms of the territory.] (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890, p. 528.) 906

Legislature:

—Statutes passed at the 1st session of the legislative assembly, 1855, to which are affixed the declaration of independence and the constitution of the United States and the act of Congress organizing said territory, and other acts of Congress having immediate relation thereto. 7+1058+1 p. O. Shawnee M. L. S. 1855. 345.2

—An act to establish a probate court, with the powers and duties of a board of commissioners, and to define its jurisdiction. 6 p. O. Shawnee M. L. S. 1855.—An act to incorporate the city of Leavenworth, Kansas Territory. 7 p. O. Shawnee M. L. S. 1855.—An act prescribing the time of holding the district courts. 4 p. O. Shawnee M. L. S. 1855.—An act to punish offenses against slave property. 4 p. O.

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Shawnee M. L. S. 1855.—Laws to regulate elections. 12 p. O. Shawnee M. L. S. 1855. 5 pam. 328

—Laws, 2d session. 378 p. O. Lecompton 1857. 345.1

—Laws of the Territory of Kansas passed by special session, D 1857. 15 p. O. n. p., n. d. 345.1

—Laws, 3d and 4th sessions, D 1857, 1858. 469+2 p. O. Lecompton 1858. 345.1

—Private laws, 4th session, 1858. 398+1 p. O. Lecompton 1858. 342.1
Note.—Bound with Laws of 1857-58.

—Election laws, 12 F 1858. 16 p. O. Lecompton n. d. 324

—General laws, 5th session, 1859. 720 p. O. Lawrence 1859. 345.1.

—McKay, W:, Lowman, E. S., and McCahon, Ja., commissioners, to codify the laws. Report, 11 F 1859, to legislative assembly. (Coun. Jour., 1859, p. 323.) 328
Note.—These commissioners were elected by the legislature of 1859, see Ho. Jour. p. 55. They reported a complete system of laws which were adopted at the same session, and the laws of 1855 repealed.

—Private laws, 5th session, 1859. 233 p. O. Lawrence 1859. 345 1

—General laws passed at the general [6th] and special [7th] sessions, 1860. 264 p. O. Lecompton 1860. 345.1

—Private laws passed at special [7th] session, 1860. 12+455 p. O. [Lawrence] n. d. 345.1

—General laws passed at [8th] session, Ja 1861. 35+1 p. O. Lawrence 1861. 345.1

—Private laws passed at [8th] session, Ja 1861. 68+1 p. Lawrence 1861. 345.1
Note.—General and private laws for 1861, bound in one cover.

—Catalogue of members and officers, Jl 1855. Broadside. 328.8

—Joint rules, 1855. (Ho. Jour. p. 29-34.) 328.1

—Rules of council and house, 1857. (Ho. Jour. extra sess., p. 29.) 328.1

—Rules for the government of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Kansas, adopted, 4 Ja 1858. 42 + 8 p. T. Lawrence 1858. 328.5
Note.—Contains autographs of members of the legislature.

—Joint rules of house and council, 1861. (Coun. Jour., p. 120-122.) 328.1

—Resolutions, Ja 1859, asking for an extension of twenty days for the present legislative assembly. (35th Cong., 2d sess. Ho. mis. doc. no. 41. 2 p.) G L 328

—See Claims;—Constitution, Lecompton, Bd. of Comm'rs to investigate election frauds, 1858.

Library:

—Strickler, H. J., librarian. Report, 1856. (Coun. Jour., 1858, p. 159.) 328.1

—Whittlesey, E., U. S. comptroller. [Letter to Gov. Geary, 27 N 1856, relative to money drawn in favor of Dr. J: H. Gihon, for the purchase of territorial library.] (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890, p. 657.) 906

Library—*continued:*

—Geary, Gov. J: W. Message, 12 Ja 1857. (Ibid. p. 676.) 906.1

—Denver, J. W., acting governor. Message relative to territorial library. (Ho. Jour., 1858, p. 208.) 328.1

Penitentiary:

—Newby, Capt. E. W. B., master of convicts. [Correspondence with Governor Geary regarding employment of convicts, D 1856.] (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890, p. 655; see also, p. 390, 579.) 906

—Hampton, L. J., master of convicts. [Report to Gov. Geary, 15 N 1856, 10 Ja 1857.] (Ibid. p. 636, 694. See also p. 628, 723, 737.) 906

— —See Coun. Jour. 1857, 2d sess., p. 308.

—Kansas territory legislature. Memorial asking an appropriation of money for the erection of a penitentiary, 1858. (35th Cong., 1st sess. ho. misc. doc. no. 120, v. 3, 2 p.) G L 328

— —[Election of Caleb S. Pratt, W. S. Lewis, and Ashael Hunt, penitentiary commissioners, 11 F 1858.] (Ho. Jour. 1858, p. 390-399.) 328.1

—House of Representatives. Resolution, 6 F 1860, calling for report of penitentiary commissioners: J: Ritchie, S. B. Prentiss, and Fielding Johnson. (Ib. 1860, spec. sess., p. 207.) 328.1

—See also Coun. Jour. 1857, 1858; Ho. 1860.

Public Printer:

Brady, J: T. Report, 27 Ag 1855. (Ho. Jour. 1855, apx.; p. 35.) 328.1

—Legislature. Election of W. W. Ross, public printer, and R. G. Elliott, superintendent of printing. (Ho. Jour. 1857, p. 33.) 328.1

Ross, W. W. Report as public printer. 16 D 1857. (Ibid. p. 65.) 328.1

—Vaughan, Champion. Resignation of the office of public printer, 20 Ja 1858. (Ib. 1858, p. 120.) 328.1

— —Election of T. Dwight Thacher, state printer. (Ib. 1859, p. 33.) 328.1

—Thacher, T. D., and Walsh, Hugh. Correspondence relative to public printing. (Ibid. p. 67, 99.) 328.1

— — *See also* Wilder's Annals, p. 250.

—Brown, G: W. Letter, 29 Ja 1859, to Speaker of the Ho. of Rep. rel. to the public printing. (Ibid. p. 202.) 328.1

Senate: *See* Council.

Superintendent of Public Schools:

—Noteware, Ja. H. Common-school law of Kansas territory, approved 12 F 1858. 16 p. O. Leav. [1858.] 379
Note. To the laws is appended a page addressed to the public, in which Mr. Noteware mentions the work done by him in reference to organizing the schools of the territory.

—Greer, S: W. Report, 1858. (Ho. Jour. 1859, p. 102-106.) 328.1

— —Report, 1859. (Ho. Jour. 1860, p. 34-82.) 328.1

Superintendent of Public Schools—*continued:*

— — Report, 1860. (Coun. Jour. 1861, p. 24-40; Ho. Jour. p. 23-39.) 328.1; 379

Note.—By act of the legislature, 12 F 1858, the office of Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools was created. On the same day Ja. H. Noteware was confirmed by the Council as superintendent to enter upon his duties 1 Mr 1858. Mr. Noteware made no report. He was succeeded by S: W. Greer, who was superintendent elected 4 O 1858, and entered upon the duties of the office 2 D 1858. J: C. Douglass was elected 3d Superintendent of Public Schools, N 1860, and qualified 2 Ja 1861. He entered upon his duties 7th Ja. His term expired the following month, upon the organization of the state government at Topeka.

For biographical sketches of these officers, and their work, see Columbian history of education in Kansas, 1893.

Supreme Court:

—McCahon, Ja. Reports of cases determined in the supreme court of the Territory of Kansas; together with an important case determined in the district court of the first judicial district of said territory, before one of the judges of the supreme court, and several important cases determined in the circuit court of the U. S. for the district of Kansas; with preface, table of cases, notes, and index. 298p. O. Chicago 1870. 345.42

Note.—The preface of McCahon's report contains a statement relative to the terms and services of the territorial justices. The Chief Justices were S: D. Lecompte of Maryland, appointed 3 O 1854; and J: Pettit of Indiana, who succeeded Lecompte 9 Mr 1859, and served until the admission of the state.

Associate Justices: Saunders W. Johnston of Ohio, 29 Je 1854-13 S 1855; J. M. Burrell of Greensburg, Pa., 13 S 1855, served but a few weeks, on account of ill health, dying O 1856; T: Cunningham of Pennsylvania, 19 N 1856, but resigned before entering upon the duties of his office; Jos. Williams of Iowa, 3 Je 1857 to admission of state. Rush Elmore of Alabama, 29 Je 1854; Sterling G. Cato of Alabama, 13 S 1855; Rush Elmore, Jl 1858 to admission of state.

Court Reporters: Marcus J. Parrott, Jl 1855-D 1857; T: B. Sykes, D 1857—

The Executive Minutes of Kansas Territory published in the Historical Society Collections, v. 3-5, contain many references to the official acts of the territorial judiciary. The legislative journals of the territory should also be consulted.

—Lecompte, S: D. Opinion [Ag. 1855], concurred in by Rush Elmore [and A. J. Isacks U. S. district attorney], upon the right of the legislative assembly to locate temporarily the seat of government, and upon the validity of their acts of legislation at such place, given in reply to a resolution of the legislative assembly. 9 p. O. Shawnee M. L. S. 1855. 345.4

Supreme Court—*continued:*

—See Coun. Jour. Apx. p. 3;—Governor Reeder, Ag 1855.

—Kan. Ter. Leg. Concurrent resolution, 20 Ag 1855, denying the power of the President to remove Territorial judges from office. (Coun. Jour. 1855, p. 187.) 328.1

— —1st District. Lecompte, S: D. [Report, 6 O 1856, to Gov. Geary, of courts held in his district.] (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890.) 906

Lecompte, S: D. Letter. Leavenworth city, 23 D 1856, to J. A. Pearce of the U. S. Senate, relative to his bailing Charles Hays, the murderer of Buffum. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890, p. 726.) 906

—Courts, 2d Dist. Cato, Sterling G. [Report, 29 O 1856, to Gov. Geary, of courts held in his district.] (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890, p —.) 906

—Lecompte, S: D. Letter, 10 Je 1858, to Secretary Cass, relative to holding terms of court. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 5, 1896, p. 531). 906

—Kan. Ty. Leg. Joint resolution asking for an additional U. S. district judge for the territory, 27 F 1860. (36th Cong., 1st sess. ho. mis. doc. no. 34.) GL 328

Treasurer:

—Cramer, T: J. B. Report for year ending 29 Ag 1856. (Coun. Jour. 1857, p. 279-282; Ho. Jour. p. 144-146.) 328.1

— —Report, 31 D 1856, to Governor Geary. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 4, 1890, p. 665.) 906

— —Report for 1857. (Coun. Jour. 1858, p. 250-252.) 328.1

— —Report for 1857, 1858. (Ib. 1859, p. 100-102.) 353.2; 328.1

—Mitchell, Rob. B. Report, 1859. (Ho. Jour. 1860, spec. sess. p. 34-35; Coun. Jour. p. 140-142.) 328.1

Note.—Do not find the report for 1860.

— —[Settlement with the state, My 1861.] (Ho. Jour.—state—1861, p. 341.) 328.1

—Territorial debt. *See* State Ho. Jour., 1863.

—*See also* Territorial Legislature. Journals, 1855-61.

KANSAS STATE PUBLICATIONS.

Kansas Academy of Science:

The Academy was first organized in Lawrence in September, 1868, as the Kansas Natural History Society. The name was changed to the Kansas Academy of Science in October, 1871. The first publication issued covered the brief proceedings of the 1-4 annual meetings, and the transactions of the fifth, 1872, and was published on pages 341-417 of the 1st annual report of the State Board of Agriculture, 1872. Vol. 2 was printed in the 2d report of the board, 1873, with separate paging. The Academy was made a coordinate branch of the State Board of Agriculture by the laws of 1873, and since 1895 has been receiving legislative appropriations.

Presidents—B: F Mudge, S 1868—O 1871, O 1878—N 1880; J: Fraser, O 1871—S 1873; Fk. H. Snow, S 1873—O 1878; J. T. Lovewell, N 1880—N 1882; A. H. Thompson, N 1882—N 1883; R. J. Brown, N 1883—N 1885; E. L. Nichols, N 1885—N 1886; J: D. Parker, N 1886—O 1887; J. R. Mead, O 1887—O 1888; T. H. Dinsmore, jr., O 1888—O 1889; G. H. Failyer, O 1889—N 1890; Rob. Hay, N 1890—O 1891; E. A. Popenoe, O 1891—O 1892; E. H. S. Bailey, O 1892—O 1893; L. E. Sayre, O 1893—D 1894; W. Knaus, D 1894—Ja 1896; D. S. Kelly, Ja—D 1896; S: W. Williston, D 1896—O 1897; D: E. Lantz, O 1897—D 1898; E. B. Knerr, D 1898—

Secretaries—J: D. Parker, 1868—S 1873; J: Wherrell, S 1873—O 1875; Jos. Savage, O 1875—O 1877; E. A. Popenoe, O 1877—O 1889; E. H. S. Bailey, O 1889—O 1892; A. M. Collette, O 1892—O 1893; E. B. Knerr, O 1893—D 1898; D: E. Lantz, D 1898—

Since 1887 Bernard B. Smyth has been librarian and curator, in charge of the rooms of the Academy at the capitol, and has edited the transactions since volume 9. This last duty had previously been performed by the secretaries.

—[Proceedings 1-4 annual meetings Kansas Natural History Society, 1868-'71, and transactions of the Academy of Science, 1872.] (Bd. of Ag. an. rep. 1872, p. 341.) 630.6

—Transactions, v. 2, papers read at the sixth annual meeting, Lawrence, Sept. 1873. 22p. O. Topeka 1874. 506

—Transactions, v. 3, 7th annual meeting, Topeka, Oct. 1874. 31p. il. O. Topeka 1875. 506

—Transactions, v. 4, 8th annual meeting, Topeka, Oct. 1875. 62p O. Topeka 1875. 506

—Transactions, v. 5, 9th annual meeting, Topeka, Nov. 1876. 74p. il. O. Topeka 1877. 506

—Transactions, v. 6, 10th and 11th annual meetings, Topeka, 1877 and 1878. 9p. il. O. Topeka 1878. 506

—Transactions, v. 7, 12th and 13th annual meetings, Topeka, 1879 and 1880. 135p. O. 1 map. Topeka 1881. 506

Kansas Academy of Science—*continued:*

—Transactions, v. 8, 14th and 15th annual meetings, Topeka, 1881 and 1882. 84p. il. O. Topeka 1883. 506

—Transactions, v. 9, 16th and 17th annual meetings, Topeka and Lawrence, 1883 and 1884. 144p. il. O. Topeka 1885. 506

—Transactions, v. 10, 18th and 19th annual meetings, Manhattan and Emporia, 1885 and 1886. 154p. il. O. Topeka 1887. 506

—Transactions, v. 11, 20th and 21th annual meetings, Topeka and Leavenworth, 1887 and 1888. 127p. il. O. Topeka 1889. 506

—Transactions, v. 12, 22d annual meeting, Wichita 1889. 52 p. il. O. Topeka 1890. 506

—Transactions, v. 13, 24th and 25th annual meetings, Ottawa and Atchison 1891 and 1892. 175 p. il. O. Topeka 1893. 506

—Transactions, v. 14, 26th and 27th annual meetings, Emporia and Manhattan, 1893 and 1894. 370 p. il. O. Topeka 1896. 506

—Transactions, v. 15, 28th and 29th annual meetings, Lawrence and Topeka, 1895 and 1896. 226 p. il. O. Topeka 1898. 506

—Transactions, v. 16, 30th and 31st annual meetings, Baldwin and Topeka, 1897, 1898. 320 p. il. O. Topeka 1899. 506

—History. (Supt. Pub. Inst. Rept. 1871, 1872.) 379.7

—Proceedings, 10-18 an. meeting. (In Western Review of Science and Industry, v. 1-9, 1877-83.) GL 505.

—Program, an. meeting, 1878-83, 86, 87, 90-93. 13 pam. 506

—Parker, J: D. Origin of the Kan. Acad. of Sci. (Kan. C. Rev. of Sci. and Ind., v. 7, no. 11. Mr 1884. GL 505

—Bailey, E. H. S. Brief history of the organization, with constitution, by-laws, and membership. 10 p. O. n. p. 1890. 506

—Smyth, Bern. B. Accessions to the library, from 1 N 1890 to 31 O 1892. 32 p. O. [Topeka, 1893.] 506

Note.—From Transactions, v. 13.

——Curator and librarian. Letters to members of the legislature, 22 Ja 1895, 23 D 1896, explanatory of the aims and needs of the academy. Mim. circular. 328.4-4

——[Letter] to the members of the legislature [dated], Topeka, 2 Mr 1897, [asking favorable consideration of Senate bill no. 427]. Circular. 328.4-4

—Thompson, A. H., president, and Smyth, B. B., curator. Letter, 26 Ja 1899, relative to Ho. concurrent resolution no. 12, for the removal of the Goss ornithological collection from the capitol. Mim. circular. 328.4-4

Kansas Academy of Science—*continued:*

—Bartholomew, Elam. The Kansas Uredineæ, paper before the 31st annual meeting of the Academy, 1898. 36 p. O. [Topeka 1899.] 506

—Beede, J. W. On the correlation of the coal measures of Kansas and Nebraska, paper before the 31st annual meeting, 1898. [16] p. O. [Topeka 1899.] 506

—Bushong, F. W. The deep well at Madison, Kansas, paper before the 31st annual meeting, 1898. [2] p. O. [Topeka 1899.] 506

—Hitchcock, A. S. Grasses of Kansas, paper before the 27th annual meeting, 1894. [14 +5] p. O. [Topeka 1896.] 506

—Knerr, E. B. Relativity in science, paper before the 30th annual meeting, 1897. [10] p. O. [Topeka 1899.] 506

—Lantz, D: E. A list of birds collected by N. S. Goss in Mexico and Central America, paper before the 30th annual meeting, 1897. [64] p. O. [Topeka 1899.] 506

——The Kansas Academy of Science, address before the 31st annual meeting, 1898. [8] p. O. [Topeka 1899.] Bound with S: W. Williston's paper. 506

—Norton, J. B. S. A bibliography of literature relating to the effects of wind on plants, read before the 30th annual meeting, 1897. [62] p. O. [Topeka 1899.] 506

—Reed, Minnie. Kansas mosses, paper before the 27th annual meeting, 1894. [49] p. O [Topeka 1896.] 506

—Smyth, Bern. B. Floral horologe of Kansas, paper before the 31st annual meeting, 1898. [18] p. O. [Topeka 1899.] 506

——Harmonic forms, paper before the 26th annual meeting, 1893. [28] p. O [Topeka 1896.] 506

——The terminal boulder belt in Shawnee county, paper before the 27th annual meeting, 1894. [12] p. O [Topeka 1896.] 506

—Tweeddale, W: Water purification, paper before the 31st annual meeting, 1898. [10] p. O. [Topeka 1899.] 506

—Walters, Lora L. Erysipheæ of Kansas, paper before the 27th annual meeting, 1894. [6+5] p. O [Topeka 1896.] 506

—Williston, S: W. Science in education, paper before the 30th annual meeting, 1897. [10] p. O. [Topeka 1899.] 506

Adjutant General:

The following military papers were printed in the first volume of public documents, 1861, in compliance with a legislative resolution: Official report of the battle of Springfield, embracing casualties.—Report of Maj. J: A. Halderman, 1st Regiment, Kansas Volunteers, 19 Ag 1861.—Report of Lieut. Col. C: W. Blair, 2d Kansas Regiment, 17 Ag 1861.—Killed, wounded and missing in the Kansas Brigade, 1861.

—Chadwick, C: Report, 1862, 1st annual. (Fr. Kan. pub. doc. 1862, p. 95-148.) 353.6

Note.—Lyman Allen was appointed adjutant general by Governor Robinson, but did not serve, and General Chadwick was appointed in his stead.

Adjutant General—*continued:*

—Dudley, Guilford, Was appointed and served from 1 Mr 1863 to 30 Ap 1864. Made no report.

—Holliday, Cyrus K. Report, 1864. 714 p. O. Leavenworth 1865. 973.7

Note.—Contains the history of the Kansas state militia to 31 D 1864, including roster of all the militia regiments and companies engaged in the service of the state, and of the United States, to and including Price's raid in October 1864.

—Anderson, T: J. Report, 1865. 22 + [2] p. O. Topeka 1865. 353.6

——An act for the enrollment, organization, discipline, and pay of militia. 8 p. O. [Lawrence 1865.] 353.6

——Same. Reprinted by G: W. Martin. 353.6

——Report, 1866. 20 p. O. n. p., n. d. 353.6

——[Communication, 17 Ja 1867, asking for an appropriation for the completion of a roster of Kansas soldiers.] (Sen. Jour. p. 154.) 328.1

——Report, 1861-1865. 2 v. O. Leavenworth, 1867, 70. 973.7

——Same, reprinted by authority. 654+294 p. O. Topeka, 1896. 973.7

Note.—The roster was prepared by Adjutant General T: J. Anderson, who also collected the material for the military history. The military history was prepared by J. B. McAfee from this data, from his own personal experiences in the army of the frontier, in 1862-64, and from the personal narratives of many soldiers. Mr. McAfee had the proof of all corrected at the date of the expiration of his term of office, except the appendix, which was added by others.

The publisher was given permission to print 500 copies of the history, which had been incorporated as part of the second volume, in a separate book for his own benefit. The state reserved for sale 500 copies of vols. 1 and 2, and distributed the balance. The edition of the second volume was nearly all burned in Crane's bindery. The 500 copies of the history given to Burke were then bought by the state. A preface to the military history, prepared by Mr. McAfee, giving credit to the persons who furnished data, was not published.

In D: Whittaker's report for 1870, he says that he purchased, by order of the legislature, from W. S. Burke 75 copies of the second volume and 418 copies of the military history for $2500. Each member of the legislature was sent a copy of the history.

A brief account of the service of the 18th Kansas cavalry is given by Col. H. L. Moore in his address on the Nineteenth Kansas Regiment, on page 35 of this volume.

Contents, v. 1: Adjutant General's report, Jl 1867.—Executive department, governor, commander-in-chief and staff, 1861 to 1867.—Officers from Kansas commissioned by the president.—Officers from Kansas commissioned in regiments not belonging to the state.—List of Kansas volunteer organizations.—Statement of calls on Kansas by the president.—Casualties in Kansas regiments during the war.—Roster of officers and enlisted men of Kansas volunteers, First to Eleventh regiments.

Adjutant General—*continued:*

Contents, v. 2: Roster of officers and enlisted men of Kansas volunteers by regiments and companies from the Twelfth to the Seventeenth.—Roster of First and Second Regiments Kansas Colored.—First, Second and Third Kansas Battery. Independent Colored Kansas battery.—First Brigade band, first division, army of the frontier.—Enlistments in other organizations.—Eighteenth Kansas cavalry batallion.—Enlistments in regular army.—Official military history of Kansas regiments during the war for the suppression of the great rebellion.

—McAfee, J. B. Communication relative to clothing and forage furnished the 1st Battalion Kansas Volunteer Militia and 19th Regiment Kansas Volunteers. (Ho. Jour., 1869, p. 232, 328.) 328.1

——Report, 1867. 16p. O. n. p., n. d. 353-6

——Report, 1868. 17p. O. [Topeka 1869.] 353.6

——Official military history of Kansas regiments during the war for the suppression of the great rebellion. 464+1 p. O. Leavenworth 1870.

Note.—This is the "History" mentioned in the note under Maj. Anderson's administration.

—Moorhouse, W: Simpson. Report, 1869. 11p. O. [Topeka 1870.] 353.6

—Whittaker, D: Report, 1870. 79p. O. Topeka 1870. 353.6

——Report, 1871. 8p. O. Topeka 1871. 353.6

——Report, 1872. 15p. O. Topeka 1872. 353.6

Note.—Report for 1870 contains roster of officers and enlisted men of the 19th regiment Kansas Volunteers, 1868,69.

—Morris, C: Arch. Report, 1873-74. 69p. O. Topeka 1874. 353.6

——Report, 1875. 97p. O. Topeka 1876. 353.6

—Beman, Hiram T. No report. Served Ja 1876-31 Mr 1878. 353.6

—Noble, P: S. Report 1876-78. 38p. O. Topeka 1879. 353.6

——Same. (Sen. Jour. 1879, p. 274.) 328.1

——Circular No. 1. In memoriam, May 6, 1880. 353.6

——Report, 1879-'80, 2d biennial. 66p. O. Topeka 1881. 353.6

——National Guard Association. Minutes of first meeting, Topeka, 14 Ja 1880. 13p. O. Topeka 1880. 353.6

——Letter to adjutant general of the United States relative to assistance proffered for the perfection of the militia of the state. (U. S. Sec. of War, an. rep., 1880, p. 254.) GL 353.6

——Roster of Kansas state militia, 1880. 7p. O. n. p., n. d. 353.6

——Report for 1881-'82, 3rd biennial. 29p. O. Topeka 1883. 353.6

—Moonlight, T: Report for 1883-'84, 4th biennial. 57p. O. Topeka 1884. 353.6

—Campbell, A. B., comp. The laws governing the Kansas National Guard, in effect May 1, 1885, and rules and regulations adopted in conformity therewith by the state military board, 2 Je 1885. 54p. T. Topeka 1885. 353.6

——Report in relation to the first annual encampment of the Kansas National Guard, Topeka, 1885, by Major General T: M. Carroll. 10p. O. Topeka 1885. 353.6

——General orders nos. 1-7, 1885. Circulars. Topeka 1885. 353.6

——Report for 1885-'86. 5th biennial. 93p., map, O. Topeka 1886. 353.6

——General orders 1 and 2, 1886. Circulars. Topeka 1886. 353.6

——General court martial order no. 1, 1886. Circulars. Topeka 1886. 353.6

——Report of military board, 7 D 1886. 4 p. O. n. t. p. 353.6

——Military map of Kansas, 1886. Chicago 1886. 353.6

——Report for 1887-'88, 6th biennial. 79p. O. Topeka 1888. 353.6

——Circular letter no. 2, 12 F 1887. Topeka 1887. 353.6

——General order no. 4 to Kansas National Guard, 6 Ag 1888. [Military service in memory of P. H. Sheridan.] Circular. 353.6

—Roberts, J: N. Report for 1889-'90, 7th biennial. 79p. O. Topeka 1890. 353.6

——Report for 1891-'92, 8th biennial. 58 p. O. Topeka 1892. 353.6

—Artz, H: H. No report. Appointed Adjutant General 11 Ja 1893, resigned 31 Mr 1894.

—Davis, Albert J. Report for 1893-'94, 9th biennial. 99 p. O. Topeka [1895]. 353.6

——General order no. 40, 18 Ag 1894, announcing the death of ex-Gov. Charles Robinson. Circular. 353.6

—Fox, Simeon M. Report for 1895-6, 10th biennial. 104 p. O. Topeka 1896. 353.6

——Circular no. 1, 20 F 1896, [Rules for Kansas National Guard]. 6 p. O. [Topeka 1896.] 353.6

——Letter recommending increase in the annual appropriation National Guard, 1897. (Adjutant Generals of the several states, letters, etc., p. 15.) 353.6

——Kansas National Guards' Officers Association of the state of Kansas. Letter to the legislature dated 10 F 1897, [relative to appropriations]. 4 p. O. n. t. p. 328.4-4

—Allen, Hiram. Rules and regulations governing the Kansas National Guard, 1897. 146 p. T. Topeka 1897. 353.6

——Report for 1897-'98, 11th biennial. 90 p. O. Topeka 1898. 353.6

——Roster of volunteer troops furnished by the state of Kansas for the Spanish-American war, 1898. 48 p. O. Topeka 1899. 353.6

Note.—Two editions were published having same title page and paging, one bound in blue paper, the other in yellow

Adjutant General—*continued:*

—Fox, Simeon M. [Codified] militia law, [My 1899]. 15 p. O. Topeka [1899]. 353.6

—*See also* Ho. Jour. 1865; Sen. Jour. 1868;—Paymaster General and Quartermaster General.

Agents for Lands:

—Agents to select lands granted to the state by the general government, S. E. Hoffman, E. P. Bancroft, H. B. Denman. Report, 14 Ja 1862. (Pub. Docs. 1861, p. 35.) 353.9

—Carney, Gov. T: [Message, 28 Ja 1864, relating to state agent, Champion Vaughn.] (Sen. Jour., 1864, p. 115.) 328.1

—Crawford, Gov. S: J. [Report relating to G: W. Veale, state agent for the sale of railroad lands.] (Ho. Jour., 1867, p. 781.) 328.1

—Drenning. F. H., agent for railroad lands. Letter, 13 F 1875, respecting the condition of his office. (Sen. Jour., 1875, p. 305.) 328.1

Agricultural College.

—Laws of the U. S. and Kansas relating to the College up to the year 1885, with summary of regulations. 48 p. O. Manhattan 1885. 630.7-A

—Annual report, 1868-76, biennial report, 1-11, 1877-98. 20 pam. O. Topeka, n. d. 1898. 630.7-B

—Special report, 6 Ja 1886. 10 p. O. [Topeka 1886.] 630.7-B

—Same. (Ho. Jour., 1886, p. 49.) 328.1

Finances.

—List of College lands for sale by I: T. Goodnow, 1 My 1869. [Circular with map on reverse.] 630.7-D

—Legislature. Report of committee on needs of college. (Sen. Jour., 1869, p. 238.) 328.1

——Report of committee to visit. (Leg. Jours. 1872, '72, '76, '77, '89.) 328.1

—Purcell, E. B., and Adams, N. A., treasurer and secretary. Statement of endowment fund of the college. 11 p. n. p., n. d. 630.7-D

——Same. (Sen. Jour., 1876, p. 629. 328.1

—Map of a portion of Kansas showing college lands in Washington, Marshall, Clay, Riley, and Dickinson counties. 19 x 13 in. Cin. n. d. 912.03

—Oswalt, Mathias, vs. Hallowell, J. R., treasurer of Washington county. Syllabus and opinion of Supreme Court of Kansas on taxation of College lands. 3 p. O. n. t. p. 630.7-D

—Randolph, A. M. F., attorney general. Taxation of college lands, opinion, 24 Ja 1876. Broadside. 630.7-D

—Crawford, S: J., agent. Arguments before the Secretary of the Interior and Commissioner of the General Land Office, in the matter of the claims of Kansas relating to Agricultural College lands, 1 Mr and 1 Je 1880, 7 F 1881, 23 My 1885. 4 pam. O. Wash. Topeka. n. d. 636.7-D

—[Financial statement, D 1882.] 4 p. O. n. t. p. 630.7-D

Agricultural College—*continued:*

—Blackmar, Fk. W. (In his Federal and state aid to higher education in the U. S. 1890, p. 301.) GL 379.11

—Fairchild, G: T. [Letter] to the house of representatives of Kansas: A plea for the state institutions. Circular. 1897. 328.4-4

See also Ho. Jour. 1886.

—Kansas Educational Jour. The location and building of the college, Ja 1864. (v. 1, p. 9.) 370.5

—Report of committee to visit. (Ib. v. 9, Ja 1873, p. 311.) 370.5

—Board of Regents of the Kansas State Agricultural College, plaintiff in error, vs. B: F. Mudge, defendant in error. Petition in error in the supreme court of the state of Kansas. 20 p. O. n. p. [1877.] 630.7-E

—Prairie Farmer, Chicago, Ill. Editorial journeyings—Kan. S. Ag. Col. (5 Je 1886.) 630.7-E

—College symposium, containing a complete and authentic history of the institution and its various departments, short sketches of the faculty and graduates, accounts of all student organizations, extracts from society papers, student orations, etc.; prepared by the College Symposium Publishing Company, [P. S. Creager, J: O. Morse, H. W. Avery, A. Midgley, S: L. Van Blarcom, H: E. Moore, Kary C. Davis]. 238 p., 16 il., 6 por., 4 gr. of por. O. Topeka 1891. 630.7-E

—Walters, J. D. Columbian History, 76 p., 12 il., 6 por. O. Topeka 1893. 630.7-E

—[Sketch.] Anon. (Colum. Hist. of Educ., 1893, p. 55.) 370.9

—Fisher, Rev. H. D. Blue Mont College. (In his The Gun and the Gospel, p. 47.) 811

—Godard, A. A., and West, J. S. Brief of plaintiffs in error in the case of W. T. Yoe, plaintiff in error, vs. C. B. Hoffman, defendant in error, and J. S. McDowell, plaintiff in error, vs. L. N. Limbocker, defendant in error, in the supreme court. 48 p O n. p. n. d. [1899.] 353 5

Note.—Action to oust plaintiffs in error from their offices as regents of the Agricultural College.

——Brief and argument of defendant in case of C. B. Hoffman, plaintiff, vs. W. T. Yoe, defendant, before Kansas Court of Appeals, N. Dept., Cent. Div., 22 Je 1899. 34 p. O. n. p., n. d. [1899.] 353.5

Note.—Action to oust W. T. Yoe and J. S. McDowell from their offices as regents of the Agricultural College.

Catalogs.

—1st to 36th an. catalogs, 1863-99. 29 pam. O. Manhattan, Topeka 1864-99. 630.7-H

Note.—The later catalogs have views of the college grounds, and exteriors and interiors of the buildings.

Circulars of Information.

—Anderson, J: A., president. [Circular 20 O 1873.] 4p. O. n. t. p. 630.7-I

——Hand-book. 124 p. O. Manhattan 1874.

Note.—This pamphlet was reprinted with few changes, in the annual report of the State Board of Agriculture for 1874, p. 259-319. 630.7-H.

Agricultural College—*continued:*

—A good education pays. [12] p. ob. Fe. n. t. p. 630.7-I

—Official score card, N 1898. [8] p. O. Manhattan. 630.7-I
Note.—Contains group picture of football team.

—College quiz; Request for press advertising; To possible students. 3 circulars. 1898-99. 630.7-I

—A free education—where to get one. Circular 1899. 630.7-I

Bulletins—Official Periodicals.

—The Nationalist, institute extra, 16-20 Ja 1872. 5 no. O. Manhattan 1872. 630.7-J

—The Industrialist; weekly, edited by the president and faculty of the college, vol. 1-26; 24 Ap 1875 to Je 1900. 26vQ.F. Manhattan 1875-1900. 050; 630.7-J
Note.—Vols. 24 and 25 were published monthly.

—The Students' Herald; weekly, edited and published by the students of the college, vol. 1-5, Ja 1896 to Je 1900. 5v. F.Q. Manhattan 1896-1900. 050

—Abstracts of the meteorology of 1874, condensed from the records of the college. 15p .O. Manhattan 1875. 630.7-J

—Shelton, E. M., professor of agriculture. Report of experiments 1883-85. 3 pam. il. O. Manhattan 1884-86. 630.7-J

—Experiment Station. Annual report, 1-12 1888-1900. 12 v. il. O. Topeka, Manhattan 1889-1900. 630.7-J

——Bulletin no. 1-93, Ap 1888—Ap 1900. 93 pam. il. O. Manhattan, Topeka 1888-1900. 630.7-J

——Department of horticulture and entomology. Report, extracted from the first annual report of Station, 1888. 119p. il. O. Topeka. n. d. 630.7-J

——Botanical department. Report, extracted from first annual report of Station, 1888. [71] p. il. O. Topeka. n. d. 630.7-J

——Chemical department. Report, extracted from first annual report of Station, 1888. 48p. O. Topeka. n.d. 630.7-J

——Farm department. Extract from annual report of Station, 1888. 108p. il. O. Topeka. 630.7-J

——Farm department. Report of experiment in pig-feeding. 19p. il. O. n. p. n. d. 630.7-J

—*Note.*—Extracted from report of Kan. S. Bd. of Ag., Ap 1889.

——Report extracted from the second annual report of Station, 1889. 94p. il. O. Topeka 1890. 630.7-J

——Press bulletin no. 1-66; 1898-7 Mr 1900. Circulars. 630.7-J

——Newspaper Bulletin—weather report, E. R. Nichols, observer, O 1898-Mr 1900. Circulars. 630.7-J

——See also Ho. Jour. 1887,—University.

Addresses.

—Benedict, S. S. A farmer's views on education; address, 12th annual commencement, 7 Je 1881. 7 p. O. Manhattan 1881. 630.7-K

Agricultural College—*continued:*

—Burrell, H. A. The good of evil; annual address, 5 Je 1888. 23 p. O. Manhattan 1888. 630.7-K

—Humphrey, Ja. Annual address, 12 Je 1883. 8 p. O. Manhattan 1883. 630.7-K

—Mayo, A. D. American brains in American hands; annual address, 1885. 29 p. O. Manhattan 1885. 630.7-K

—Peck, G: R. The conflict of social forces; annual address, 1884. 17 p. O. Manhattan 1884. 630.7-K

—Thacher, S. O. The education of the industrial classes; address, 11th annual commencement, 8 Je 1880. 7 p. O. Manhattan 1880. 630.7-K

—Thacher, T. D. Industrial education; annual address, 23 Je 1874. 15 p. O. Lawrence 1874. 630.7-K

——Science and productive industry; annual address, 8 Je 1886. 16 p. O. Topeka 1886. 630.7-K

Todd, A. Daniel Webster; 2d annual address, Webster Literary Society, 7 Je 1884. 22 p. O. Manhattan 1884. 630.7-K

Programs. Memorabilia.

—Programs, 1861-'97. 32. 630.7-L

Lectures. Class Manuals. Examinations.

—Programme of the examination of classes, Je 1869, D 1870, Mr 1873. 3 circulars. 630.7-N

—Grade rules. Circular n. d. [189-] 630.7-N

—Lists of papers for farmers Institutes. 2 circulars. n. d. 630.7-N

—Outline course of study, 1898. 4p. D. n. t. p. 630.7-N

—Farmers' short course. 8p. il. O. n. p., n. d. 630.7-Z

—[Breese, C. M.] Table for determination of minerals. 12p. O. Topeka. n. d. 630.7-N

—[Failyer, G: H. and Willard, J. T.] Outlines of inorganic qualitative chemical analysis compiled for the classes in analytical chemistry. 97p. O. Manhattan 1886. 630.7-N

—Fairchild, G: T. The science of wealth, synopsis of a course of lectures in political economy. 9p. O. Manhattan 1885. 630.7-N

—Graham, I. D. The microscope and its revelations, a lecture. 18p. O. Manhattan 1884. 630.7-N

—Todd, A. Synopsis of lectures on military science. [43] p. O. Manhattan 1883. 630.7-N

Student theses. Orations, Essays, etc.

—Alpha Beta Literary Society. The gleaner gleaned; compiled from gleaners published between 1875 and 1884. 207p. D. Manhattan 1884. 630.7-O

—Webster Literary Society. Webster biennial reporter, comprising selections from the various productions presented during 1882 and 1883. 102 p. S. Manhattan 1884. 630.7-O

Alumni.

—List of graduates, 7 Je 1887. 10 p. Folder, T. Manhattan 1887. 630.7-T

Agricultural College—*continued:*

Classes.

—Van Deventer, J. W. Class-day poem, 1886. 3. p. D. n. p., n. d. 630.7–U

—Dairy School. Outline of course, 1898, 1900, and circulars relative to college herd. 5 pam. and circular. 630.7—Z

—Department of Horticulture. Price list of stock, Mr 1898. Circular. 630.7—Z

—Mechanical Department. Equipment, courses of study, etc. 15 p. il. O. Topeka n. d. 630.7—Z

—Military Department. Kansas State Legislature. [Resolution, 22 Ja ——, asking that Gen. J. W. Davidson be detailed as professor of military tactics in the college.] (Sen. Jour., 1867, p. 159.) 328.1—Z

—Vroom, Maj. P. D. Report of inspection of military department of Kansas State Agricultural College, My 1891. (U. S. Sec. of War. Annual report, 1891, v. 5, p. 315.) GL 353.6

—See also, Leg. Doc.

Asylum for the Education of the Idiotic and Imbecile Youth—Lawrence and Winfield:

—Reports, biennial, 1-9, 1881-1898. 8pam. O. Topeka 1882-'98. 371.93

Note.—Published in reports of Board of Trustees of state charitable institutions, 1881-'98. The first report is entitled "A Few Facts," etc.

Superintendents—H: M. Greene, 1 S 1881—N 1888; Dr. C. K. Wiles, 9 N 1888—1 Jl 1893; Dr. F. Hoyt Pilcher, 1 Jl 1893—Je 1895; Dr. C. S. Newlon, 1 Jl 1895—1 Jl 1897; Dr. F. H. Pilcher, 1 Jl 1897—6 Jl 1899; Dr. C. S. Newlon, 6 Jl 1899—

The institution occupied the old university building at Lawrence S 1881 to Mr 1887, when it was removed to Winfield.

—Kansas State Legislature. Report of committee. (Leg. Jour. 1889.) 328.1

—Musgrave, R. C., M. D. Inspection of asylum. (Bd. of Health, 8th an. rep. 1892, p. 229.) 614

—*See also*, K. S. Legislative documents.

Architect:

—Itemized estimate of cost of Garfield University, and completing the unfinished portion. (Sen. Jour., Com. on Garfield Univ. 1897.) 328.4-4

See State House Commissioners.

Attorney General:

—Simpson, B: Fk. Opinion. (Ho. Jour. 1861, p. 398; S. p. 172.) 328.1

Note.—C: Chadwick was appointed by Governor Robinson to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Attorney General B. F. Simpson, 30 Jl 1861, and held the office until the election of S: A. Stinson to fill the vacancy in N 1861.

—Stinson, S: A. Opinion in the matter of the right of military appointees to a seat in state senate, 29 Ja 1862. 7p. O. Topeka 1862. 353.5

——Opinions, &c. (Ho. Jour., 1862.) 328.1

—Guthrie, Warren W: Report, [1863, 1st an.] 7p. O. n. t. p. 353.5

Attorney General—*continued:*

——Opinions. (Ho. and Sen. Jour., 1863, 1864.) 328.1

—Brumbaugh, Jerome D. Opinion as to constitutionality of the bill granting the 500,000 acres of internal improvement land to certain railroads, 16 F 1866. (Ho. Jour. 1866, p. 494.) 353.5

——Opinions. See Leg. Jour., 1865-'66. 328.1

—Hoyt, G: H: Opinions. (Ho. and S. Jour., 1867.) 328.1

—Danford, Addison. Opinions. (Ho. Jour., 1869, p. 407; 1870, p. 424, 621.) 328.1

—Williams, Arch. L. Opinions. (Leg. Jour., 1871, 72, 73, 74.) 328.1

—Randolph, Asa Maxson Fitz. Report 1875. 16 p. O. Topeka 1876. 353.5

——Opinion, 12 N 1875, relative to the legality of a session of the legislature commencing Ja 1876. 8 p. O. n. t. p. 353.5

——Opinion 20 Ja 1876, relative to moneys received from the sale of school lands. Circular. 353.5

——Taxation of college lands, opinion 24 Ja 1876. Broadside. 353.5

——Opinions. (Sen. Jour., 1874, p. 140; 1876.) 328.1

——Statement in relation to expenses in the Lappin cases, 24 Ja 1876. 6 p. O. n. t. p. 353.5

——Opinion, 2 F 1876, concerning present claim of the state to 500,000 acres of land under act of 4 S 1841. 9 p. O. n. p. n. d. 353.5

——Report, 1876. 170 p. O. Topeka 1877. (In An. rep. v. 1.) 353.5

—Davis, Willard. Opinion, 27 F 1877, State vs. Lappin. 3 p. O. Topeka 1877.

——Notices of convention of county attorneys, dated 27 Mr and 23 Ap 1877. Two circulars pasted in Proceedings of the first convention. 340

——Proceedings of convention of county attorneys held in the office of the Attorney General, at Topeka, 12-15 Je 1877. 23+2p. O. Topeka 1877. 340.06

——Report no. 2; proceedings of the adjourned convention of county attorneys held in the office of the Attorney General at Topeka, from the 14th-17th days of Ag 1877. 34 p. 1 tab. O. Topeka 1877. 340.06

——Opinions. See Leg. Jours., 1877, '79.

——Opinion, 12 Ja 1878, rel. to county printing. 1 p. O.

——Circular no. 3, [addressed] to county attorneys, containing opinion by supreme court in case of the state vs. J: Campbell and A. G. Jones, 19 Ap 1878. 3 p. O. [Topeka] n. d.

——The new school-book law, opinion 15 Ap 1878. 3 p. Q. 353.5

——Report, 1877-78, 1st biennial. 236 p. O. Topeka 1879. 353.5

——Report, 1879-80, 2d bien. 151 p. O. Topeka 1880. 353.5

——The prohibitory amendment, opinion, 20 D 1880. 3 p. Q. Circular. (Pam., bound with an. rep. v. 1.) 353.4

Attorney General—*continued:*

— —and Jetmore, A. B. The charter of the Kansas Medical Society held to be void, opinion, 13 Ap 1880. 4 p. Q. n. p., n. d. 353.5

—Johnston, W: A. Report, 1881-82, 3d bien. 94 p. O. Topeka 1882. 353.5

— —Report, 1883-84, 4th bien. 104 p. O. Topeka 1884. 353.5

— —Opinion. (Ho. Jour., 1881, p. 431.) 328.1

— —List of county officers, state of Kansas, O 1885. 16 p. O. [Topeka 1885.] 351.2

—Smith, G: P. Appointed 1 D 1884 to fill vacancy.

—Bradford, Simeon Briggs. Opinion, 1884. (Ho. Jour., 1885, p. 29; S. 1885, p. 727, 1886.) 328.1

— —Official letters giving facts and figures on the enforcement of the prohibitory liquor law [5 O 1885.] 8 p. O. n. p., n. d. 353.5

— —Special report, 1885. 13 p. O. n. p. [1886.] 353.5

— —Report, 1885-86, 5th biennial. 162 p. O. Topeka 1886. 353.5

— —Report, 1887-88, 6th biennial. 144 p. O. Topeka 1888. 353.5

—Kellogg, Lyman Beecher. Report, 1889-90, 7th biennial. 119 p. O. Topeka 1890. 353.5

—Ives, J: Nutt. Report, 1891-92, 8th biennial. 61 p. O. Topeka 1892. 353.5

—Little, J: T: Report, 1893-94, 9th biennial. 59 p. O. Topeka 1892. 353.5

—Dawes, Fernando B. Kan. Breeze Co., plaintiff, vs. W: C. Edwards, sec. of state, def. Brief and argument of defendant, by attorney-general. 8 p. O. Topeka [1895.] 353.5

— —Report, 1895-96, 10th biennial. 105 p. O. Topeka 1896. 353.5

—Boyle, Louis C. Report, 1897-98, 11th biennial. 52 p. O. Topeka 1898. 353.5

—Godard, Aretas A. Briefs in cases before the Kansas Supreme and Appelate Courts and the U. S. Circuit Court, first division, district of Kansas, 1899 and 1900. 15 pam. O. Topeka [1899, 1900]. 353.5

See also Ag. College.

Auditor:

—Hillyer, G: S. Report 19 Ap. (Ho. Jour. 1861, p. 184.) 328.1

— —Report, 1861 [1st annual]. (Pub. Doc. 1861, p. 48-59.) 353.9

—Stevens, Rob. S. Direct tax apportioned to Kansas. (Sen. Jour., 1862, p. 51.) 328.1

— —Kans. S. Leg. Proceedings in the cases of the impeachment of C: Robinson, J: W. Robinson, and G: S. Hillyer. 425 p. O. Lawrence 1862. 328.1

—Lakin, D: Long. Report, 1862 [2d annual]. 353.2

—Hairgrove, Asa. [Communication 27 Ja 1863, relative to territorial and state indebtedness.] (Ho. Jour., p. 114, 163.) 328.1

Auditor—*continued:*

— —[Statement 8 F, of payment by counties of territorial tax.] (Ho. Jour. 1864, p. 302.) 328.1

— —[Statement 11 F, of amount of warrants drawn for the state penitentiary.] (Ho. Jour., 1864, p. 318.) 328.1

— —Report, 1863 [3d annual]. 52 p. 3 tab. O. n. t. p. 353.2

— —Report, 1864 [4th annual]. 44 p. table, O. n. t. p. [Lawrence 1865.] 353.2

—Swallow, J: R. Report, 1865 [5th annual]. 58 p. 1 table, O. Topeka 1865. 353.2

— —Statement 3 F, 1866. (Ho. Jour., p. 291, 429.) 328.1

— —Report, 1866 [6th annual]. 63 p. 1 tab. O. [Leav.] n. d. 353.2

— —[Report 15 F 1867 on certain warrants.] (Leg. Jours.) 328.1

— —[Report on taxes in other states.] (S. Jour. 1867, p. 389.) 328.1

— —Report, 1867 [7th annual]. 72 p. O. n. t. p. [Topeka.] 353.2

— —[Report, 5 F 1868.] (Ho. Jour., p. 389.) 328.1

— —Report, 1868 [8th annual]. 58 p. 1 tab. O. n. t. p. (Topeka.) 353.2

—Thoman, Alois. Report, 1869, 9th annual. 75 p. 3 tab. O. [Topeka.] n. d. 353.2

— —Report, 1870, 10th annual. 61p. O. Topeka 1870. 353.2

— —Report, 1871, 11th annual. 87p. 3 tab. O. Topeka 1871. 353.2

— —Report for 1872. (Ho. Jour. 1873, p. 489.) 328.1

— —Report, 1872, 12th annual. 81p. 3 tab. O. Topeka 1873. 353.2

— —Kan. S. Leg. Report of committee to investigate the affairs of the auditor and treasurer. (Jours. 1870, p. 525-560) 328.1

— —Report of committee on charges against the auditor in the registration of certain bonds. (Sen. Jour. 1873, p. 300; Ho. p. 1064.) 328.1

—Wilder, D: W. Report, 1873, 13th annual. 96p. O. Topeka 1873.

— —Report, 1874, 14th annual. 150p. O. Topeka 1874. 353.2

— —Report, 1875, 15th annual. 130p. O. Topeka 1875. 353.2

—Bonebrake, Parkinson I. Report, 1876, 16th annual. 142p. O. Topeka 1876.

— —[Special] report relating to sections 16 and 36 in Indian reservations, 18 Ja 1877. 4p. O. 353.2

— —Report, 1877-8, 1st biennial. 282p. O. Topeka 1878. 353.2

— —[Special report on] school lands 29 Ja, 1879. 8p. O. [Topeka 1879.] 353.2

— —Report, 1879-80, 2d biennial. 334p. O. Topeka 1880. 353.2

— —Report, 1881-82, 3d biennial. 364p. O. Topeka 1882. 353.2

—McCabe, E. P. Balance of taxes unpaid from the several counties for the years 1861-83. (Sen. Jour. 1885, p. 404.) 328.1

Auditor—*continued:*

——Report, 1883-4, 4th biennial. 402p. O. Topeka 1884. 353.2

——Report, 1885-6, 5th biennial. 425p. O. Topeka 1886. 353.2

—McCarthy, Timothy. Report, 1887-8, 6th biennial. 496p. O. Topeka 1888. 353.2

——[Special report maintenance of destitute insane, 10 Ja 1889]. Circular. 353.2

——Sale of school lands in unorganized counties. (Ho. Jour., 1889, p. 406.) 328.1

——Report, 1889-90, 7th biennial. 530 p. O. Topeka 1890. 353.2

—Hovey, C: Merrill. Report, 1891-2, 8th biennial. 562 p. O. Topeka 1891. 353.2

—Prather, Van Buren. Report, 1893-4, 9th biennial. 533 p. O. Topeka 1894. 353.2

—Cole, G: E. Reports, 1895-6, 10th biennial. 350 p. O. Topeka 1896.

—Morris, W. H. Report, 1897-8, 11th biennial. 320 p. O. Topeka 1898. 353.2

See also, Bd. of Equalization, Leg. Docs., Railroad assessors.

Bank Commissioner:

—Johnson, C: S. Biennial report, 1st, 1892. 100 p. O. Topeka 1892. 332

—Breidenthal, J: W. Special report, 1893. 75 p. O. Topeka 1893. 332

——Biennial report, 2d, 1894. 276 p. O. Topeka 1894. 332

——Summary of 2d biennial report, 1894. 59 p. O. Topeka 1894. 332

——Biennial report, 3d, 1896. 239 p. O. Topeka 1896. 332

——Biennial report, 4th, 1898. 269 p. O. Topeka 1898. 332

——Kansas building and loan law, chapter 78, session laws of 1899. 24 p. O. Topeka 1899. 332

Board of Agriculture:

The Kansas State Agricultural Society was organized 5 Mr 1862, and was incorporated under the act of 6 Mr 1862. Under the act of 7 Mr 1872 the name of the society was changed to the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

The secretaries have been: F. G. Adams, 1862-'64; J: S. Brown, 1865, 66; H. J. Strickler, 1867-'70; Alfred Gray, 1871-1880; J. K. Hudson, 1880-1881; F. D. Coburn, 1881-1882; W: Sims, 1882-88; Mt. Mohler, 1888-11 Ja 1894; F. D. Coburn, 11 Ja 1894—

—Adams, Fk. G:, secretary. Organization of a State Agricultural Society, 5 Mr 1862. [with] constitution. Broadside. 630.6

—The Kansas Farmer; journal of the State Agricultural Society, mo. v 1, My 1863-Ap 1864. 1 v O. Topeka 1863, 64. 630.6

Note.—Nos. 4, 7, 8, lacking.

—Stark, And., editor. Kansas annual register, 1864; published by the State Agricultural Society. 265+9 p. por. O. Leav. 1864. 630.6

Note.—Judge L. D. Bailey, president of the society, furnished most of the material for this volume.

Board of Agriculture—*continued:*

—Brown, J: S., secretary. The Kansas Farmer, v 3, no. 10, O 1865. Lawrence, 1865. 630.6

Note.—For files of the Farmer see periodical list in biennial report of Historical Society.

—Gray, Alf., secretary. Premium list [7th annual] fair of the State Agricultural Society, Topeka, S 1871. 364 p. O. Topeka 1871. 606

——Rules and regulations and list of premiums, 8, 9, 10 annual exhibitions of the State Board of Agriculture, Topeka and Leavenworth, 1872, 1873, 1874. 3 pam. O. T. Topeka [1872] -74. 606

——Transactions, 1872, with an abstract of the proceedings of county agricultural societies and of the state horticultural society. 432+206 p. il. O. Topeka 1873.

Note.—1st annual report. 630.6

——Report, 1873 [2d annual]. 5+307+22p. il. O. Topeka 1874. 630.6

Note.—The proceedings of the 1-5 meetings of the Kansas Academy of Science were printed in the Transactions, 1872, p. 341-417. Those of the 6th meeting, 1873, were published in the report of the board for 1873.

——Third annual report, 1874, embracing statistical exhibits of the agricultural, industrial, mercantile, and other interests of the state, sectional maps of each organized county, showing their relative size and location, timber and prairie, upland and bottom, railroads, towns, water power, etc. 372p. il. O. Topeka 1874. 630.6

Note.—Transactions of the Academy, 1874, are printed in this volume.

——Fourth annual report, 1875, including a complete census of the state. 753 p. il. maps, O. Topeka 1875. 630.6

Note.—In addition to matter contained in the former report, the maps show the congressional and land districts and location of schoolhouses. The proceedings of the Academy of Science, 1875, are included.

——Fifth annual report, 1876. 284+64+312 p. il. maps, O. Topeka 1877. 630.6

Note.—The volume includes the transactions of the Academy of Science, v. 5, 1876, and the report of the Centennial managers.

——First biennial report, 1877-'78. Ed. 2. 632 p. il. maps, O. Topeka 1878. 630.6

——Report of county societies to the board, 1 Jl 1874. Broadside.

——[County maps, showing townships, location of mills, relative area of upland, bottom, prairie, and forest.] 79 maps and plates, O. Kansas City, Mo., 1874. 630.6

——Catalogue of minerals, fossils, and birds, in the agricultural room, 1 Ja 1875. 9 p. O. Topeka 1875. 630.6

——[Scrap-book containing newspaper clippings relating to Grasshoppers in Kansas, 1866-'67, 1874-'75.] 15 p. nar. Q. 630.6

Note.—The book is indexed by counties; a blank day-book of 100 p.

——[Scrap-book of the Centennial International Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876.] 55 p. Q. 606

Note.—Relates largely to the Kansas exhibit.

Board of Agriculture—*continued:*

——Compilation of the manner and means heretofore employed for the extermination of the grasshopper. 20 p. O. Topeka 1877. (Circular no. 4, 1877.) 630.6
Note.—Other circulars and pamphlets were issued during Mr. Gray's term, which have not been obtained.

—Hudson, Jos. K. Second biennial report, 1879–80. 640 p. por. maps, il. O. Topeka 1881. 630.3
Note.—A biographical sketch and portrait of Mr. Gray are given.

——Quarterly reports, Mr, Je, S, D 1880. 4 pam. il. O. Topeka 1880, 81. 630.6

——Quarterly reports, Mr, Je, S 1881. 3 pam. O. Topeka 1881. 630.6

—Coburn, Foster Dwight. Quarterly report, 1881. 242 p. O. Topeka 1881. 630.6

—Sims, W: Third biennial report, 1881–82. Ed. 2. 715 p. maps, il. O. Topeka 1883. 630.6

——Fourth biennial report, 1883–84. 713 p. maps, il. O. Topeka 1885. 630.6

——Fifth biennial report, 1885–86, containing the census for 1885. 604 + 237 p. maps, il. O. Topeka 1887. 630.6
Note.—Contains reports of State Veterinarian and State Fish Commissioner.

——Quarterly report, M, Je, S 1882. 3 pam. O. Topeka 1882. 630.6

——Crops, live stock, fruit, etc., 30 Je 1882. 4 p. O. n. p., n. d. 630.6

——Report, Mr, Ap. My, Je, Jl, Ag, S and D 1883. 8 pam. maps, il. O. Topeka 1883–4. 630.6

——Report, Mr, Ap, My, Je, Jl, Ag, S 1884. 7 pam. map, O. Topeka 1884. 630.6

——Report, Mr, Ap, My, Je, Jl, S, D 1885. 7 pam. O. Topeka 1885–86. 630.6

——Bulletins, Mr, Ap, My, Je, Jl, Ag, S 1886. 6 pam. O. Topeka 1886. 630.6

——Report, Mr, Ap, My, Je, Jl, Ag, D 1887. 6 pam. O. Topeka 1887–88. 630.6

——Kansas: its resources and capabilities, its position, dimensions, and topography; information relating to vacant lands, agriculture, horticulture and live stock; schools, churches, manufactures, mines and mining, etc. 60 p. map, il. O. Topeka 1883. 630.6

——Same. German, Swedish and Danish editions. 3 pam. O. Topeka 1883. 630.6

——Kansas: information concerning its agriculture, horticulture and live stock; vacant lands, schools, churches, manufactures, wealth, mineral resources, etc. 59p. il. O. Topeka 1884. 630.6

——Same. German, Swedish, and Danish editions. 3 pam. O. Topeka 1884.

——Kansas: a brief account of its geographical position, dimensions, topography, railroads, manufactures, and mineral resources; agricultural and miscellaneous statistics, 1883–84; sketch of growth and development in population, wealth and agriculture from 1860; vacant public lands and meteorology. 48p. map, O. Topeka 1885. 630.6

——Special report on indigestion in cattle, by A. A. Holcombe. 8p. O. Topeka 1886. 630.6

Board of Agriculture—*continued:*

——Special report for 1886, showing the lands in Kansas belonging to the government, schools, and railroad companies, with information as to how they can be obtained. 16p. map, O. Topeka 1886. 630.6

——Tables showing the population of Kansas for 1885. 16p. O. Topeka 1885. 630.6

——Special report for the information of home seekers. 33p. maps, O. Topeka 1886. 630.6

——Maps of counties and statistics of population. 95p. 96 maps, O. Topeka 1886. 630.6

—Mohler, Martin. Sixth biennial report, 1887–88. 546+258 p. maps, il. O. Topeka 1889. 630.6

——Seventh biennial report, 1889–'90. 10+282+260 p. map, diagram, il. O. Topeka 1891. 630.6

——Eighth biennial report, 1891–'92. 12+284+306 p. map, il. O. Topeka 1893. 630.6

——Report, Mr, My, Je, Ag, S 1888. 4 pam. O. Topeka 1888. 630.6

——Report, Mr, Ap, My, Je, Jl, Ag, S, D 1889, 7 pam. map, il. O. Topeka 1889, 1890. 630.6

——Report, Mr, My, Je, Jl, Ag, S 1890. 6 pam. O. Topeka 1890. 630.6

——Report, Mr. Ap, Je, Jl, S, D 1891. 6 pam. O. Topeka 1891, '92. 630.6

——Report, Mr, Ap, My, Je, Jl, Ag, S, N 1892. 8 pam. O. Topeka 1892, '93. 630.6

——Report, My, Je, Jl, S, D 1893. 5 pam. O. Topeka 1893, '94. 630.6

——Proceedings, 18th annual meeting, Ja 1889. 127 p. O. Topeka 1889. 630.6

——Proceedings, 19th annual meeting, Ja 1890. 168 p. O. Topeka 1890. 630.6

——World's fair report. 60 p. il. O. Topeka 1893. 630.6

——Tree growing in Kansas; circular letter containing the act to encourage the planting and growing of timber, passed by the Legislature of 1889. 630.6

—Coburn, Foster Dwight. Ninth biennial report, 1893–'94. 537 p. map, il. O. Topeka 1895. 630.6

——Tenth biennial report, 1895–96, containing information upon the methods and cost of raising corn in Kansas; the raising, value and uses of the sorghums for forage and grain; the construction of silos, and the making, using and the advantages of ensilage; cow culture or dairying; steer and heifer beef; proceedings of the board; census of 1895. 9+855 p. il. O. Topeka 1896. 630.6

——Eleventh biennial report, 1897–98, containing information upon the most profitable methods of beef production, pork production, and the rearing of farm poultry; mineral resources of Kansas; analyses of the state's agricultural statistics for the preceding twenty years. 8+840 p. il. O. Topeka 1899. 630.6

—Report, Mr, Ap, Je, S, N 1894. 5 pam. O. Topeka 1894. 630.6
November report is on alfalfa growing.

Board of Agriculture—*continued:*

——The Russian thistle, Ag 1894. 15 p. O. Topeka 1894. 630.6

——Report, Mr 1895: Alfalfa, irrigation, well-water supply, subsoiling; addresses 24th annual meeting, Ja 1895. 216 p. il. O. Topeka 1895. 630.6

——Crop bulletin, 12 N 1895. 4 p. ms. 630.6

——Report, December 1895: census, 1895; farm, crop, and live-stock statistics. 136 p. O. Topeka 1895. 630.6

——Same. Mimeograph circular, 31 D 1895. 630.6

——Report, March 1896: corn and sorghums; addresses 25th annual meeting of the board, Ja 1896. 230p. il. O. Topeka 1896. 630.6

——Crops, population and fairs, Ap to S 1896. 6 mimeograph circulars. 630.6

——Report, S 1896: cow culture. 264 p. il. O. Topeka 1896. 630.6

——Report, Mr 1897: the helpful hen; addresses 26th annual meeting, Ja 1897. 256 p. il. O. Topeka [1897]. 630.6

——Report, D 1897: the beef-steer and his sister. 282 p. il. O. Topeka [1898]. 630.6

——Report, Mr 1898: the plow, cow and steer; papers 27th annual meeting, Ja 1898. 200 p. il. O. Topeka [1898]. 630.6

——Report, S 1898: pork-production. 227 p. O. Topeka [1898]. 630.6

——Kansas statistics: Tables showing the state's population by counties and cities, assessed valuation, acres, yields, and value of agricultural products, and numbers and value of live stock, for the years 1897 and 1898, together with other tables and diagrams showing yields and values of numerous productions for various periods, Ja 1899. 87 p. O. Topeka 1899. 630.6

——Report, Mr 1899: the modern sheep; papers 28th annual meeting, Ja 1899. 264 p. il. O. Topeka [1899]. 630.6

——Report, D 1899: the horse useful. 244 p. il. O. Topeka [1900]. 630.6

——Report, Mr 1900: Forage and fodders; addresses at Board's 29th annual meeting, Ja 1900. 30 p. il O. [Topeka 1900.] 630.6

——A decade of Kansas agriculture, 1888–97. Table 8 Ja 1898. 630.6

——Kansas agriculturally, in 1897. Card. 630.6

——Kansas farm products and values in 1898. Card. 630.6

——Kansas agricultural products and live stock in 1899. Card. 630.6

—[Maps of] Kansas, 1879, 1883, 1885, 1886, 1887. Chic. 1883–87. 912–P 1

Note.—Map for 1887 shows population of each county on 1 Mr 1886, and centers of population for the years 1860, 1870, 1876, 1880, 1884, and 1886.

—Programs of annual meetings, 23–29, 1894–1900. 9 circulars. 630.6

—See also board of centennial managers.—(Ho. Jour. 1883.)

Note.—Lack all monthly and quarterly reports previous to 1880, also weather reports for My, Je, and Jl 1891.

Board of Centennial Managers, Exposition, Philadelphia, 1876:

The board consisted of eleven members appointed by the governor under the acts of 1874 and 1876, providing for the participation of Kansas in the exposition. They were as follows: G: T. Anthony, president; W. L. Parkinson, vice-president; Alfred Gray, secretary; George W. Glick, treasurer. Members: J: A. Martin, G: A. Crawford, E. P. Bancroft, C: F. Koester, T. C. Henry, R. W. Wright, and W. E. Barnes.

—Report, etc. (Ho. Jour. 1875, p. 272, 471; Sen. p. 155, 403.) 328.1

—Report, 1876. 19 p. O. Topeka 1876. 606

—Circulars and blanks relating to the exposition at Philadelphia, 1876. 606

—Centennial edition of the 4th annual report of the State Board of Agriculture, 1875, compiled from the original report of the board. 348 p. map, il. O. Topeka 1876. 606

—Report to the legislature, [31 D 1876]. 312 p. map, il. O. Topeka 1877. 606

—Report. (Sen. Jour. 1876, p. 74; Ho. p. 99; Sen. 1877, p. 695; Ho. p. 1099.) 328.1

Board of Commissioners on Public Institutions:

—1st and 2d annual reports, 1873, 1874. 2 v. O. Topeka 1874–'75. 353

Note.—It was the duty of this board to visit and report upon the conduct of the following institutions: State University; State Agricultural College; State Normal Schools at Emporia, Leavenworth, and Concordia; Deaf and Dumb Asylum, School for the Blind, Insane Asylum, and State Penitentiary. The report for 1874 embraced the private charitable institutions of Leavenworth. This board was discontinued by the legislature of 1875.

See the Board of Trustees of State Charitable Institutions.

Board of Dental Examiners:

—Annual reports, 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 14. 1885, 1887, 1888, 1890, 1892, 1898. 6 pam. O. Topeka 1885–1898. 617.6

Note.—Presidents, L. C. Wasson, T. I. Hatfield, and F. B. Lawrence; Secretaries, A. M. Callaham and J. O. Houx. There has been some irregularity in the numbering and printing of the reports.

Board of Education:

—Course of study for county normal institutes 1877, 1878, 1879, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1886, 1887, 1889, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1898, 1899, and 1900. 14 pam. O. 2 v. D. Topeka 1877–1900. 370.7

Note.—This publication is issued from the office of the state superintendent and has been privately printed since 1879. The volumes for 1899 and 1900 also embrace courses of study for the common schools. The Board consists of the state superintendent of public instruction, the chancellor of the State University, the president of the State Agricultural College, the president of the State Normal School, and three others to be appointed by the governor.

—County examination questions, Ap 1889, 1896. Broadsides. 370.7

Note.—County examination questions, as prepared by the Board, 1892–'98, have been published with answers, in six pamphlets, by J: Mac Donald.

Board of Education—*continued:*

—Rules and regulations governing the issuing of state certificates, life diplomas, conductors' and instructors' certificates, and the approval of the course of study of institutions of learning. 8 p. S. Topeka 1893. 370.7

——Manual for the use of approved institutions of learning and of candidates for certificates and diplomas issued by the board. 27 p. O. Topeka 1894. 370.7

—and County and City Superintendents of Schools. Course of study for the public schools, district and elmentary grades. 59 p. O. Topeka 1896. 370.7

Note.—Bound also with 10th bien. rep. Supt. Pub. Inst., 1895–'96.

—Genet, T. E. Kansas examiner, containing all the questions issued by the state board of education. O. 1893. 371.13

—*See also*, Supt. Pub. Inst. H. D. McCarty and H. C. Speer.

Board of Equalization.

—Reports, 1876–1898. [Auditor's reports 1876–1898.] 353.3

Note.—The board was created in 1876, and consists of the secretary, auditor and treasurer of state. The reports for 1887, '89, '91, '92 and '95 are also printed in the reports of the board of railroad assessors for those years.

Board of Health.

—Redden, J. W., secretary. Annual report, 1st, 1885. 183p. O. Topeka 1886. 614

——Annual report, 2nd, 1886. 236 p. O. Topeka 1887. 614

——Annual report, 3rd, 1887. 385 p. O. Topeka 1888. 614

——Annual report, 4th, 1888. 14+345 p. O. Topeka 1889. 614

——Annual report, 5th, 1889. 17+362 p. O. Topeka 1890. 614

——Annual report, 6th, 1890. 17+262 p. O. Topeka 1891. 614

—O'Brien, M. Annual report, 7th, 1891. 9+230 p. O. Topeka 1892. 614

——Annual report, 8th, 1892. 11+323 p. O. Topeka 1893. 614

—Dykes, H: A. Annual report, 9th, 1893. 397 p. O. Topeka 1894. 614

——Annual report, 10th, 1894. 205 p. O. Topeka 1895. 614

—Kirkpatrick, T: Annual report, 11th, 1895. 185 p. O. Topeka 1896. 614

——Annual report, 12th, 1896. 162 p. O. Topeka 1897. 614

—Gill, H. Z. Annual report, 13th, 1897. 207 p. O. Topeka 1898. 614

——Annual report, 14th, 1898. 196 p. O. Topeka 1899. 614

—Swan, W. B. Annual report, 15th, 1899. 184 p. O. Topeka 1900. 614

—Diphtheria, suggestions concerning its restriction and prevention, by J. W. Redden. 8 p. O. n. p., n. d. 614

—Instructions for compiling the condensed returns of deaths. 16 p. O. n. p. [1886.] 614

Board of Health—*continued:*

—Laws governing the practice of medicine in Kansas, with rules of the board. 47 p. O. Topeka 1898. 614

—Same. 36 p. O. Topeka 1899. 614

—Powers and duties of local boards of health. 13 p. O. Topeka 1885. 614

—Prevention and suppression of epidemic and malignant diseases, diphtheria. 8 p. O. Topeka 1896. 614

—Prevention and suppression of epidemic and malignant diseases, scarlet fever. 8 p. O. Topeka 1896. 614

—Prevention of cholera, 15 S 1892. 4 p. O. n. t. p. [Topeka 1892.] 614

—Prevention of typhoid fever, circular letter, no. 2, 30 Ag 1897. 614

—Quarantine rules and regulations of the board for the prevention and isolation of smallpox. 2 p. O. n. t. p. 614

—Registration of physicians in the state of Kansas, 1893. 53 p. O. Topeka 1894. 614

—Sanitation and food supply of cities of Kansas, especially of Topeka, bulletin no. 3. 4 p. O. 614

—Scarlet fever, suggestions concerning its restriction and prevention. 6 p. O. n. p., n. d. 614

—Smallpox: its prevention and restriction. 4 p. O. n. p., n. d. 614

—State sanitary convention, Lawrence. [Program.] D 1898. 614

—Summary report of board. 7 p. O. n. p. [1896.] 614

—Typhoid fever: diagnosis and prevention, with a report of the epidemic at Manhattan, by H. Z. Gill, secretary, and S. W. Williston, sanitary adviser. 16 p. O. Topeka 1898. 614

—What sanitary science has done for American life, by J. B. Johnson; also, relations of the state board of health to the public, by S. W. Williston. 23 p. O. Topeka 1899. 614

—Redden, J. W. Statement as to work of Board. [4] p. O. n. p. [1889.] 614

—See also, Leg. Docs.

—1898. Quarterly report, S. List of counties reporting the higher number of preventable diseases; report of the city of Topeka for the quarter.

—1899. 1st Qr.—Water filtration, purification, and typhoid fever, smallpox, scarlet fever, cerebro-spinal meningitis, consumption, tuberculosis, la grippe, diphtheria; table showing mortality by counties from eleven principal diseases, mostly communicable.

Board of Irrigation Survey and Experiment:

This Board was created by the legislature of 1895 for the term of two years, for the purpose of making experiments in irrigation. See chapter 162, laws of 1895, and chapter 21, laws of 1897.

—See Commissioner of Forestry and Irrigation.

Active members, appointed by the Governor: D. M. Frost, W: B. Sutton, M. B. Tomblin. Advisory members: G: T. Fair-

Board of Irrigation—*continued:*

child, president State Agricultural College, Erasmus Haworth, geologist State University.

—Report for 1895 and 1896, to the legislature. 238 p. 24 pl. consisting of pictures, maps and diagrams, O. Topeka 1897. 631

Board of Pharmacy:

—Annual reports, 1-4, 11-14 [1887-1890, 1897-1900]. 8 pam. O. Topeka 1888-1900. 615.06

—[Statement of money received and paid out, Je 1885 to O 1886.] 3 p. O. [Topeka 1887.] 615.06

—See also, Sen. Jour. 1886.

Note.—The act creating the board was passed in 1885, and amended in 1887 and 1897. The secretaries have been J. I. Taylor, R. F. Bryant, H. W. Mehl, W. C. Johnston, and W. E. Sherriff. Reports for 1892 and 1893 were not printed.

Board of Pardons:

—Rules adopted 8 Mr 1893. Circular. Broadside. 353

—See Governor.

Board of Public Works:

—Report, 1895, 1896. 6 p. O. Topeka 1897. 692

Note.—The commissioners during the period covering this report, were J: Seaton, president; Michael Heery, treasurer; Sol Miller, Secretary. The Board was created by act of the legislature of 1891. Other reports may have been printed.

—See state house commissioners.

Board of Railroad Assessors:

—Reports, 1877-1899. 16 pam. O. Topeka [1877]-'95. 336.2

Note.—1888, 1890, '94, '96-1898, are printed only in the state auditor's reports covering those years.

——Facts submitted, 26 My 1892. [4] p. O. n. t. p. 336.2

—Ives, J: N., attorney general. It was law that governed the action of the board of railroad assessors. Broadside. 336.2

Note.—The board was created by the legislature of 1876, and consists of the lieutenant governor, secretary of state, treasurer, auditor, and attorney-general.

Board of Railroad Commissioners:

—Annual reports, 1-16, 1883-1898. 16 v. O. Topeka 1884-'99. 385

Note.—Members of the Board: H: Hopkins, 1 Ap to 18 D 1883; Ja. Humphrey, 1 Ap 1883 to 1 Ap 1891; Leonidas L. Turner, 1 Ap 1883 to 1 Ap 1887; Almerin Gillett, 8 F 1884 to 1 Ap 1889; A. R. Greene, 1 Ap 1887 to 1 Ap 1893; G: T. Anthony, 1 Ap 1889 to My 1893; W: M. Mitchell, 1 Ap 1891 to My 1893; P. B. Maxson, 1 Ap 1893 to 6 F 1895; J: Hall and W. D. Vincent 6 My 1893 to 6 F 1895; S: T. Howe, Ja. M. Simpson, 6 F 1895 to 1 F 1897; Jos. G. Lowe, 6 F 1895 to 1 Ap 1897; W. M. Campbell and W. P. Dillard, 1 F 1897 to 3 Ap 1899; L. D. Lewelling, 1 Ap 1897 to 3 Ap 1899.

Secretaries: Erastus J. Turner, 1 Ap 1883 to 1 Ag 1886; H: C. Rizer, 1 O 1886 to 30 Je 1889; C: S. Elliott, 1 Jl 1889 to 1 My 1893; M. D. Henderson, 1 My 1893 to 6 F 1895; B. F. Flenniken, 6 F 1895 to 1897; R. W. Turner, F 1897 to 1 My 1898; Ja. M. Senter, My 1898 to 3 Ap 1899.

The special session of the Legislature, 1898-'99, repealed the laws relating to the Board of Railroad Commissioners, abolishing the Board after the 3d of Ap 1899, and creating the Court of Visitation.

—Book of instructions for the guidance of carriers in making annual reports to the board. 7+27 p. O. Wash. D. C. 1889. 385

—Classification of operating expenses as prescribed by the board. 27 p. O. Wash. D. C. 1889. 385

—Same. 27 p. O. Wash. D. C. 1890. 385

—Cost of building Kansas railroads, [communication to the Kansas senate, 24 Ja 1885]. 4 p. O. n. t. p. 385

—Same. (Sen. Jour. 1885, p. 272.) 328.1

—Decisions, City of Wichita, complainant, vs. A. T. & S. F. R. R. Co. [and other cos.] 18 p. O. Topeka 1889. 385

—Decision, general reduction in freight rates, 30 Je 1894. 17 p. O. Topeka. n. d. 385

—Decision, [petition of members of the Farmers' Alliance and farmers of Kansas for reduction of local rates from Kansas points to the Missouri river, on farm products, 1 Jl 1890]. 17 p. O. Topeka 1890. 385.

—Decision, Wichita Wholesale Grocery Co., [and others] complainants, vs. A. T. & S. F. Co., [and other cos.] respondents, [6 Ja 1892]. 22 p. O. Topeka 1892. 385

—Grain rates, [communication to the Kan. Ho. of Rep., 6 F 1885]. 7 p. O. n. t. p. 385

—Laws of general interest pertaining to railroads in the state of Kansas, together with forms of procedure. 21 p. O. Topeka 1883. 385

—Map of Kansas. 12x19 in. Chic. 1888. 912-P.1

—Maximum railroad rates; report, in compliance with Senate resolution no. 53. 7 p. O. n. t. p. 385

—Official railroad map of Kansas. 12x20 in. Buffalo and N. Y. 1891. 912-P.1

—Report on maximum rates. (Sen. Jour., 1885, p. 381.) 328.1

—Report on the distribution of coal and seed grain to the needy settlers of western Kansas in 1895. 30 p. O. Topeka 1896. 385

—Henderson, M. D., secretary and seed-grain commissioner. Report, relating to seed grain for western Kansas, 1893, 1895. 2 pam. O. Topeka 1894; 1895. 385; 328.4-4

—Special rates on Central Branch railroad, [communication to the Kan. Ho. of Rep., 26 Ja 1886]. 10 p. O. n. t. p. 385

—Anderson, T: J. Speech in the Ho. of Rep., 19 F 1879, relative to an act to establish a board of railroad commissioners. 17 p. O. Topeka 1879. 385

—Ware, Eugene F. Proposed railroad commissioner law, [1 D 1882]. 22 p. O. Fort Scott 1882. 385

Board of Railroad Commissioners—*cont.:*

—Greene, A. R. Kansas state railroad commission. (Cosmopolitan, Ja 1892.) 385

—The mayor and council of the city of Beloit, complainant, vs. The Missouri Pacific Railway Co., respondent; case before the Kansas Board of Railroad Commissioners. Decision of board and evidence on rehearing. 201 p. O. n. p. n. d. [1883.] 385

—The State of Kansas on the relation of J: T. Little, attorney-general, vs. W: M. Mitchell. Opinion of the Supreme Court [deciding that the Executive Council had the power to remove]. (Kan. report, v. 50, p. 289.) 345.42

Note.—The Executive Council removed G: T. Anthony and W: M. Mitchell, 8 F 1893, and elected in their places W. D Vincent and J: Hall. The opinion was filed 6 My 1893.

—*See also*, Court of Visitation; Leg. Docs., and Ho. and Sen. Jour. 1883; Sen. 1893.

Board of Trustees of State Charitable Institutions:

—Laws and statistics relating to the charitable institutions of the State of Kansas, from their foundation to the fiscal year ending Je 30, 1889. 47p. O. Topeka 1889. 361

—Reports 1-11 biennial, 1877-98. 9 v. O. Topeka 1878-98. 361

Note.—The 1st and 2d biennial reports, 1877-80, were published as separate reports of the different State charitable institutions, and were also bound in the Public Documents for those years. The 3d report is a volume of 166 pages bound in the Public Documents for 1881-82.

The reports at first covered the operations of only the State Insane Asylums at Osawatomie and Topeka, Institution for the Education of the Blind, Wyandotte, and the Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Olathe; 1879-80, contains besides, the first report of the State Reform School, Topeka; 1881-82, the first report of the State Asylum for Idiotic and Imbecile Youth, Lawrence, now Winfield; 1887-88, the first report of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home, Atchison; 1889-90, the first report of the State Industrial School for Girls, Beloit.

Members of the board of Trustees, 1876 to 1898: T: T. Taylor, W. B. Slosson, J: T. Lanter, J: H. Smith, Jos. P. Bauserman, Edn. Knowles, C: E. Faulkner, Amasa T. Sharpe, J. L. Wever, J. M. Hogue, C. R. Mitchell, M. Maloney, D. O. McAlister, S. L. Gilbert, August Hohn, G: C. Rogers, Ph. Krohn, A. Bondi, Jac. Stotler, W. S. Crump, L. K. Kirk, Adrian Reynolds, T. F. Rhodes, R. F. Bond, Harrison Kelley, W. W. Miller, W. T. Yoe, H. B. Kelly, Ja. Martin, W. S. Wait, M.. E. Lease, J. W. Freeborn, M. A. Householder, N. M. Hinshaw, H. S. Landis, W. N. Allen, Morton Albaugh, G: A. Clark, K. E. Wilcockson, T. Blakeslee, F. M. Lockard, W. L. Brown, H. G. Jumper, S. C. Wheeler, P. H. Dolan, B. F. Shane, W. D. Street.

—Special report, 8 D 1888. 5p. O. n. t. p. (Pasted in front of 5th biennial report.) 361

—Legislature Report. (Ho. Jour. 1885.) 328.1

Board of Charities—*continued:*

—Betton, F. H. Kansas. (Nat'l Conf. of Charities and Corrections. Proc. 20th an. sess., Chicago, Je 1893.) GL 360

—*See also*, Board of Health—Leg. documents and Journals.

Note.—The state has at various times made appropriations towards defraying the expenses of private charitable institutions in our different cities.

Board of World's Fair Managers:

—Report, containing report of the Board of Managers Kansas exhibit, from Ap 1891 to Mr 1893, and transactions of the Kansas Board of World's Fair Managers, from Mr to D 1893; together with illustrations and descriptions in detail of all Kansas exhibits and awards, 1893. 8+115 p. il. O. Topeka 1894. 606

Note.—A voluntary board was organized in pursuance of proceedings of a delegate convention held in Topeka, Ap 1891, which board was succeeded by a board of managers appointed by the governor under act of 4 Mr 1893. The volume contains the reports of the two boards, copy of the act of the legislature, an account of the Kansas building, reports of the various exhibits, treasurer's report, and an appendix containing dedicatory exercises, the address of Chief Justice A. H. Horton; Columbian ode, by T: B. Peacock; and program of Kansas week, including the welcoming address, on that occasion, by Gov. L. D. Lewelling.

—Same. Ed. 2. 133 p. il. O. Topeka 1894. 606

Note.—Besides the matter contained in the first edition are two articles: Description and productions of the state, and Irrigation in western Kansas.

——Mineral resources of Kansas. 23 p. O. [Topeka 1893.] 606

Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics:

The bureau was created by act of the legislature of 1895, the executive officer being a commissioner and receiving his appointment biennially from the governor and senate. The extra session of the legislature, 1898-99, repealed this law, and substituted an act creating a "State Society of Labor and Industry," with power to elect a secretary who "shall be *ex-officio* commissioner of the Bureau of Labor and Industry and State Factory Inspector."

—Betton, Fk. H. Annual report, 1st, 1885. 8+268 p. O. Topeka 1886. 331

——Annual report, 2nd, 1886. 11+485 p. O. Topeka 1887. 331

——Annual report, 3rd, 1887. 11+327 p. O. Topeka 1888. 331

——Annual report, 4th, 1888. 305 p. O. Topeka 1889. 331

——Annual report, 5th, 1889. 407 p. O. Topeka 1890. 331

——Annual report, 6th, 1890. 234 p. O. Topeka 1891. 331

——Annual report, 7th, 1891. 227 p. O. Topeka 1892. 331

—Todd, J. F. Annual report, 8th, 1892. 153 p. O. Topeka 1893. 331

——Annual report, 9th, 1893. 824 p. O. Topeka 1894. 331

Bureau of Labor—*continued:*

— —Annual report, 10th, 1894. 230 p. O. Topeka 1895. 331

—Bird, W: G. Annual report, 11th, 1895. 6+211 p. O. Topeka 1896. 331

— —Annual report, 12th, 1896. 105 p. O. Topeka 1897. 331

—Johnson, W. L. A. Annual report, 13th, 1897. 400 p. O. Topeka 1898. 331

— —Extract from the 13th annual report, pts. 1, 2, 3, 1897. 115 p. O. Topeka, 1898. 331

— —Annual report, 14th, 1898. 360 p. O. Topeka 1899. 331

— —Labor Laws and laws affecting the interests of labor, with an appendix of the state mining law. 102 p. O. Topeka 1898. 331

— —Labor laws and laws affecting the interests of labor. 46 p. O. Topeka 1900. 331

—State Society of Labor and Industry, legislative committee:

— —Report for 1899. 22 p. O. Topeka 1900. 331

— —Proceedings of first and second annual conventions, F 1899, F 1900; also proceedings of first and second annual conventions of the State Association of Miners, F 1899, F 1900. 2 pam. O. Topeka 1900. 331

— —Programs annual convention, 1899, 1900. Circulars. 331

Claims:

—Indian Commission to audit claims for losses sustained by settlers on the western frontier. Report. (Adjt. Gen. Rept. 1869, p. 6; 1871, p. 5; 1872, p. 5.) 353.6

Note.—The papers of the commission were sent, by order of the legislature, to the U. S. Secretary of the Interior. See Wilder's Annals, 1886, p. 570.

—U. S. House of Representatives. Committee on Military Affairs. Report, My 1870, on bill (H. R. 112), to authorize the settlement of the claims of the state of Kansas for services of the troops called out by the governor of the state upon the requisiton of Major General Curtis to repel the invasion of General Price. 8 p. O. [Wash.] n. d. (41st Cong., 2d sess. Ho. rep. no. 64.) 336-2

—Hardie, Ja. A., Bingham, J. D., Stanton, T. H., commissioners. Report relative to claims of the state of Kansas for expenses of troops raised to suppress the rebellion, Topeka, 5 Ap 1871. 18 p. O. Wash. n. d. (42d Cong., 2d sess. Ho. misc. doc. no. 36.) 336-1

—U. S. Ho. of Rep., 42d Cong., 2d sess. Bill 1063, to accompany above, Mr 1872. 336-1

—Anthony, Gov. G: T. Statement relating to the claims of the state of Kansas for money expended for the United States in organizing, arming, equipping, supplying, subsisting, transporting and paying the state militia, and of the necessity and authority for such expenditure. 28 p. O. Topeka 1877. 336-1

Note.—Relates to the Price raid claims and claims arising from Indian depredations, 1865-69. The pamphlet also contains a statement of bonds issued by the state for military purposes.

Claims—*continued:*

—Price Raid Auditing Commission, J: P. St. John, president, Ja. Smith, secretary. 2 blanks and 1 circular. 1879. 336-1

—Commissioner to Audit and arrange the Price Raid Claims, J: C. Caldwell. Report containing complete alphabetical lists of all union military scrip, interest certificates, and all claims filed; also, all state legislation on the subject; and the report of the Hardie Commission. 516 p. O. Topeka 1889. 328.4

See also Ho. Jour. 1869.

—Commission to audit Quantrill Raid Claims. W: H. Bear, J: N. Murdock and C: D. French. Report, 17 Jl 1875. ms.

Note.—Never printed. Is in the office of the Secretary of State, Topeka.

—Carney, T: Unwritten history, conclusive reasons why the Kansas raid claims should be paid by the state; address, Old Settlers' Meeting, Bismarck Grove, 4 S 1884. Broadside. 1884. 336-1

Note.—Relates to the Quantrill raid.

—Commission [to Examine and Audit Claims for] Losses Sustained by Citizens of Kansas by the Invasion of Indians during the year 1878. Report. 58 p. O. Topeka 1879. 336-1

—See also State Agent.

Commissioner, American Exposition, London, 1887.

—Collins, F: Kansas: information relating to its location, extent, general surface features, population, etc. 23 p. O. London. n. d. 917.81

Commissioner of Fisheries:

—Long, D. B. Report, 1st to 3rd biennial, 1877-'82. 3pam. O. Topeka 1878-'83. 639

— —Supplemental report, 25 Ja 1879. 3p. O. [Topeka 1879.] 639

— —Fish culture. 3p. O. Topeka, n. d. 639

— —Same. (Sen. Jour., p. 99; Ho. p. 172.) 328.1

—Gile, W. S. Report, 4th biennial, 1883-'84. 30p. O. Topeka 1885. 639

—Fee, S. Report, 5th and 6th biennial, 1885-'88. O. Topeka 1886-'88. 639

—Brumbaugh, J: M. Report, 7th biennial, 1889-'80. 8p. O. Topeka 1891. 639

—Wampler, J. W. Reports, 1st and 2d annual, 1893-'94. 2 pam. O. Topeka, Brazilton 1894-'95. 639

—Sadler, O. E. Report, 1895-'96. 7p. O. Topeka 1896. 639

—Shults, J. W. Report, 1897-'98. 48p. O. Topeka 1898. 639

Note.—No report was published for 1881-'82.

Commissioner of Forestry and Irrigation:

—Robb, S. C. Report, 1st annual, 1888. 16 p. O. Topeka 1888. 634.9

—Allen, Martin. Report, 1st biennial, 1889-'90. 11 p. O. Topeka 1890. 634.9

—Bartlett, G: V. Report, 2d biennial, 1891-'92. 4 p. O. Topeka 1893. 634.9

Commissioner of Forestry—*continued:*

—Wheeler, E. D. Report, 3d biennial, 1893–'94. 32 p. O. Topeka 1894. 634.9

—Bartlett, G. V. Report, 4th biennial, 1895–'96. 7 p. O. Topeka 1896. 634.9

—Wheeler, E. D. Report, 5th biennial, 1897–'98. 126 p. il. O. Topeka 1899. 634.9

——Bulletin No. 1, on the subjects of agriculture, horticulture, irrigation, and forestry. 83 p. O. Topeka 1898. 631

Note.—The legislature of 1897 added to the office of forestry commissioner certain duties relating to irrigation.

—See also. Hort. Soc., and Leg. Doc.

Courts of Appeals:

The Courts of Appeals were created by the legislature of 1895, for the purpose of relieving the Supreme Court. By the terms of the act the state was divided into a northern and a southern department. Each of these departments was sub-divided into three divisions, called the eastern, central and western, with separate courts. In the northern department the courts were to be held at Topeka, Concordia, and Colby, respectively; in the southern department at Fort Scott, Wichita, and Garden City. Six judges were to be appointed by the governor to fill the positions until the 11th of Ja 1897, when their successors, chosen by the electors of each division, at the general election of November, 1896, were to come into office and continue for the term of four years, until the second Monday in Ja 1901, when the courts would expire.

Judges appointed by the governor for the term ending 11 Ja 1897: Northern Department.—A. D. Gilkeson, presiding judge, Hays City; T. F. Garver, assoc. judge, Salina; G: W. Clark, assoc. judge, Topeka. Southern Department.—W. A Johnson, presiding judge, Garnett; A. W. Dennison, assoc. judge, El Dorado; Elrick C. Cole, assoc. judge, Great Bend.

Judges elected for the term ending 14 Ja 1901: Northern Department.—J: H. Mahan, presiding judge, Abilene; Abijah Wells, assoc. judge, Seneca; S: W. McElroy, assoc. judge, Oberlin. Southern Department.—A. W. Dennison, presiding judge, El Dorado: B. F. Milton, assoc. judge, Dodge City; M. Schoonover, assoc. judge, Garnett.

—Randolph, A. M. F. Reports of cases decided from 19 Mr 1895-3 Ap 1896, v. 1, 2. 2 v. O. Topeka 1895, 1896. 345.42

—Dewey, T: Emmet. Reports of cases decided from 7 Je 1895–3 D 1896, v. 3, 4. 2 v. O. Topeka 1896, 1897. 345.42

—Clemens, Gasper Chris. Reports of cases argued and determined, 3 D 1896-23 D 1897, v. 5, 6. 2 v. O. Topeka 1898. 345.42

—Dewey, T: E. Reports of cases decided previous to S 1898, prior to Jl 1899, v. 7, 8. 2 v. O. Topeka 1899, 1900. 345.42

—Garver, T. E. Judicial amendment to the constitution. (State Bar Assoc. Proceedings, 1899.) 347.06

Court of Visitation:

The court was created by act of the special legislative session of 1898–99. Officers were appointed by the governor and senate for the term beginning 3 Ap 1899, as follows: W. A. Johnson, presiding judge; J. C. Postlethwaite, associate judge; L. S. Crum, associate judge; A. J. Myatt, solicitor; J. M. Mickey, clerk.

Two cases were brought involving the constitutionality of the court, one in the circuit court of the U. S., and the other in the supreme court of the state of Kansas. Both decisions were adverse, and the court ceased to be on 12 My 1900.

Court of Visitation—*continued:*

—Rules of practice and laws conferring jurisdiction. 26 p. O. Topeka 1899. 385

—Blank forms for use of court. 7. 385

—The Western Union Telegraph Company, complainant, vs. A. J. Myatt, state solicitor, W. A. Johnson, J. C. Postlethwaite, and L. C. [S.] Crum, composing the court of visitation of the state of Kansas, and J. G. Maxwell, defendants; in the U. S. Circuit Court, district of Kansas, first division. Bill of complaint, by G: H. Fearons, W. H. Rossington, C: B. Smith, Cliff. Histed, L. C. Krauthoff, and Fk. Hagerman, solicitors. 36 p. O. Kansas City, Mo. [1899]. 385

——The joint and several answers of defendants to the bill of complaint of the Western Union Telegraph Company, complainant, [by] A. J. Myatt, state solicitor, A. A. Godard, attorney general, solicitors for defendants, [and] E. D. McKeever, Allen & Allen, solicitors for defendant J. G. Maxwell. 40 p. O. Topeka [1899]. 385

——Exceptions of complainant to the joint and several answers of the defendants, [by] G: H. Fearons, Rossington, Smith & Histed, Fk. Hagerman, solicitors for complainant, L. C. Krauthoff, of counsel. 5 p. O. Kansas City, Mo. [1899]. 385

——Brief for complainant, [by] G: H. Fearons, Rossington, Smith & Histed, [and] Fk. Hagerman, solicitors for complainant, [and] L. C. Krauthoff, of counsel. 53 p. O. Kansas City, Mo. 1899. 385

——Supplemental brief of A. J. Myatt, solicitor for defendants, and A. A. Godard, of counsel. 31 p. O. Topeka [1899]. 385

——Hook, W: C. Opinion of the court on application for temporary injunction. 40 p. ms. 385

—The State of Kansas, ex rel., A. A. Godard, Attorney General, vs. W. A. Johnson, J. C. Postlethwaite and L. S. Crum, judges, and J. M. Mickey, clerk, of the court of visitation of the state of Kansas, defendants, in the Supreme Court of the state of Kansas. Brief for plaintiff, by Garver & Larimer, attorneys for complainant Robison. 16 p. O. Topeka [1900]. 385

——Brief and argument of the attorney general, A. A. Godard, and J. S. West, assistant, for the State. 24 p. O. Topeka [1900]. 385

——Brief and argument in opposition to application for writ of mandamus, by Robert Dunlap, attorney for the A. T. & S. F. R. R. Co., as Amicus Curiæ; E. D. Kenna, A. A. Hurd, counsel. 61 p. O. Chicago [1900]. 385

——Brief of defendants, [by] Allen & Allen, [and] A. J. Myatt, attorneys for defendants. 61 p. O. Topeka [1900]. 385

——Reply brief of the attorney general, A. A. Godard, [and] J. S. West, assistant. 16 p. O. Topeka [1900]. 385

Court of Visitation—*continued:*

— —Smith, W: R. Syllabus and opinion [of the court, including dissenting opinion of, Doster, C. J.] 33 p. ms. 385

Governor:

—Robinson, C: Message, 30 Mr 1861. 14p. O. n. t. p. 328.1

— —Same. 8p. O. Topeka 1861. 328.1

— —Message transmitting proposed amendment to the national constitution, prohibiting congress from abolishing slavery in any state. (Ho. Jour., 1861, p. 56.) 328

— —Message, 11 My 1861, relative to the furnishing of Kansas troops to the general government. (Sen. Jour., 1861, p. 222, 228.) 328

— —Message, 25 My 1861, relative to bill for funding the indebtedness of the territory. (Ho. Jour., 1861, p. 480.) 328

— —Annual message, 14 Ja 1862. [7] p. D. n. p., n. d. 353.03

— —Legislature Proceedings in the cases of the impeachment of C: Robinson, J. W. Robinson, and G: S. Hillyer. 425p. O. Lawrence 1862. 328.1

—Carney, T: Inaugural message, 14 Ja 1863. 24p. D. n. p., n. d. 353

— —[Message, 17 F 1863, relative to loss by illegal sales, of state bonds.] (Ho. Jour., 1863, p. 273.) 328.1

— —Annual message, 13 Ja 1864. 31p. D. Leavenworth 1864. 353.03

— —[Message, 27 Ja 1864, transmitting petitions from the citizens of Lawrence for the formation of a battalion of state troops.] (Ho. Jour., 1864, p. 183.) 328.1

— —Proclamation, 8 O 1864, [calling out the militia of Kansas to repel the rebel invasion under Gen. Sterling Price.] Broadside. 353.03

—Crawford, S: J. Annual message, 11 Ja 1865. 7p. D. n. p., n. d. 353

— —Annual message, 10 Ja 1866. 20p. D. n. p., n. d. 353

— —Annual message, 9 Ja 1867. 30p. D. Leavenworth 1867. 353

— —Annual message, 14 Ja 1868. 28p. [Lawrence 1868.] 353

— —Same. German ed. 19p. D. 353

— —Message, 4 F 1868, giving detailed statement of moneys due the state from the general government. (Sen. Jour., p. 220.) 328.1

— —List of persons pardoned from the Penitentiary during 1867. (Sen. Jour., 1868, p. 305.) 328.1

— —Thanksgiving proclamation, 7 D 1865. Circular. 353

—Harvey, Ja. Madison. Annual message, 12 Ja 1869. 16p. O. n. p., n. d. 353

— —Message relative to charges against chairman board of directors of the penitentiary. (Sen. Jour., 1869, p. 38; Ho., p. 73, 207.) 328.1

— —Annual message, 11 Ja 1870. 20p. O. Topeka 1870. 353

— —Same. German ed. 16p. O. Leavenworth 1870. 353

Governor—*continued:*

— —Annual message, 10 Ja 1871. 19p. O. Topeka 1871. 353

— —Annual message, 9 Ja 1872. 29p. O. Topeka 1872. 353.03

—Osborn, T: And. Annual message, 1873. 16p. O. Topeka 1873. 353

— —Annual message, [15 Ja 1874]. 27p. O. Topeka 1874. 353

— —Message, [special session], S 1874, [grasshopper relief]. 5p. O. [Topeka 1874.] 353

— —Annual message, 13 Ja 1875. 38p. O. Topeka 1875. 353

— —Same. German ed. 40 p. O. Atchison 1875. 353

— —Same. Swedish ed. 31 p. O. n. p. 1875. 353

— —The Osage troubles in Barber county, Kansas, in the summer of 1874; correspondence between the state government and the interior department—testimony relative to the killing of four Osage Indians. 68 p. O. Topeka 1875. 970

— —Message transmitting report of state board of agriculture on destitution, 26 Ja 1875. 17 p. O. [Topeka 1875.] 353

— —Annual message, 11 Ja 1876. 37 p. O. Topeka 1876. 353.03

— —Conference, Omaha, Neb., O 1876, to Consider the Locust Problem. The Rocky Mountain locust or grasshopper; report of proceedings. 58 p. O. St. Louis 1876. 632

Note.—Governor Osborn represented Kansas. The governors of Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota and Dakota were present, together with Prof. C. V. Riley and other scientists.

—Anthony, G: T. Annual message, 10 Ja 1877. 35 p. O. Topeka 1877. 353

— —Special message, F 1877, to the legislature, relating to lands granted to the state of Kansas by the United Stats. 15 p. O. [Topeka 1877.] 353

— —Thanksgiving proclamation, 1877. 353

— —Message of retiring governor, 13 Ja 1879: [State claims, school lands, strike of railroad employes on the A. T. & S. F. R. R., Indian raid of Sept. and Oct., 1878, report of pardons granted.] 62 p. O. Topeka 1879. 353

— —Same. (Sen. Jour. 1879, p. 205; Ho. p. 430.) 328.1

—St. John, J: P. Biennial message, 14 Ja 1879. 27 p. O. Topeka 1879. 353

— —Biennial message, 11 Ja 1881. 17 p. O. Topeka 1881. 353

— —Thanksgiving proclamations, 11 N 1879, 10 N 1880, 12 N 1881. 353

— —Report of pardons issued, from 13 Ja 1879 to 11 Ja 1881. (Sen. Jour. 1881, p. 678; Ho. p. 1149.) 328.1

— —List of pardons granted from 10 Ja 1881-8 Ja 1883. (Ho. Jour. 1883, p. 159.) 328.1

—Glick, G: W. Biennial message, 9 Ja 1883. 52 p. O. Topeka 1883. 353

— —Same. German ed. 53 p. O. Topeka 1883. 353

Governor—*continued:*

— —Statement of pardons granted from 8 Ja 1883-12 Ja 1885. 5 p. O. n. t. p. 353.03

— —Proclamation, 13 Mr 1884, convening the legislature. (Ho. Jour. 1885, p. 3; Sen. p. 3.) 328

— —Message, 18 Mr 1884. (Ho. Jour. 1886, p. 6; Sen. p. 7.) 328

—Martin, J: A. Biennial message, 13 Ja 1885. 44 p. O. Topeka 1885. 353

— —Same. Swedish ed. 45 p. O. Topeka 1885. 353

— —Arbor day proclamation, 16 Mr 1885, 9 F 1888. 353.1

— —Proclamation relative to the death of Gen. U. S. Grant, 23 Jl 1885. 353 1

— —Thanksgiving proclamations, 9 N 1885, 13 N 1886, 13 N 1888. 353.1

— —Message, dismissal of *quo warranto* proceedings brought by the state against the Kansas Pacific Railway Co. 4 p. O. n. t. p. 353

— —Special message, 19 Ja 1886. 32 p. O. Topeka 1886. 353

— —Biennial message, 11 Ja 1887. 54 p. O. Topeka 1887. 353

— —Pardons granted for two years ending 10 Ja 1887. (Ho. Jour. 1887, p. 958; Sen. p. 674.) 353

— —[Special] message, 25 F 1887. 4 p. O. Topeka 1887. 353

— —Biennial message, 8 Ja 1889. 48 p. O. Topeka 1889. 353

— —[Special message] submitting list of pardons during the biennial period ending 14 Ja 1889. 8 p. O. [Topeka 1889.] 353.03

—Humphrey, Lyman U. Inaugural address, 14 Ja 1889. 10 p. D. Topeka 1889. 353

— —Biennial message, 16 Ja 1889. 41 p. O. Topeka 1889. 353

— —Message [relative to the beef combine]. (Sen. Jour. 1889, p. 455.) 328.1

— —Arbor day proclamations, 26 Mr 1889, 3 Mr 1892. 353.1

— —Proclamation relative to the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the inauguration of Washington, 30 Ap. 1889. 353

— —Interstate deep harbor convention proclamation, 14 Ag 1889. 353

— —Thanksgiving Day proclamations, 11 N 1889, 14 N 1891. 353

— —Labor day proclamation, 13 Ag 1890. 353

— —Biennial message, 12 Ja 1891. 35 p. O. Topeka 1891. 353

— —Message, 19 Ja 1891, relative to supplying coal to the destitute in western Kansas. (Ho. Jour. 1891, p. 69.) 328.1

— —Columbus Day proclamation, 7 S 1892. 353.1

— —Farewell address, 9 Ja 1893. (Topeka D. Capital, 10 Ja.) 050

—Lewelling, Lorenzo D. Inaugural address, 9 Ja 1893. (Topeka D. Capital, 10 Ja.) 050

Governor—*continued:*

— —Biennial message, [17 Ja] 1893. 28 p. O. Topeka 1893. 353-2

— —Address to the House of Representatives. (House Jour., 1893, p. 239, 248.) 328.1

— —Biennial message, 9 Ja 1895. 28 p. O. Topeka 1895. 353.3

—Morrill, Edm. N. Message, 15 Ja 1895. 55 p. O. Topeka 1895. 353-3

Note.—The messages are also published in the legislative Journals.

— —Thanksgiving proclamation, 1895. (Daily Capital, 7 N 1895.) 050

— —Thanksgiving proclamation, 1896. (Daily Capital, 11 N 1896.) 050

—Leedy, J: W. Biennial message, 12 Ja 1897. 22 p. O. Topeka 1897. 353

— —Proclamation, 11 N 1897, Thanksgiving day. 353

— —Arbor day proclamation, 7 Ap 1898. 353

— —An act concerning railroads, conferring additional powers on the board of railroad commissioners, and providing penalties for its violation. 16 p. O. n. t. p. 353

Note.—Bill sent by Governor Leedy in F 1898 to members of the Kansas legislature for their consideration.

— —Arbor day proclamation, 1898. (Advocate and News, Topeka, 13 Ap 1898.) 050

— —Proclamation, 15 D 1898, calling extra session of the legislature for 21 D 1898. (Ibid. 21 D.) 050

— —Same. (Ho. Jour. ex. sess. 1898-99, p. 1; Sen. p. 1.) 328.1

— —Thanksgiving proclamation, 1898. (Advocate and News, 9 N 1898.) 050

—Stanley, W: E. Annual message, 10 Ja 1899. 23 p. O. n. p., n. d. 353

— —Kansas regulations concerning cattle transportation; proclamation quarantining certain localities on account of Texas fever, 25 F 1899. Folio. 353

— —Arbor day proclamation, 1899. (Daily Capital, 4 Ap 1899.) 050

— —Thanksgiving proclamation, 1899. (Daily Capital, 10 N 1899.) 050

— —Arbor day proclamation, 5 Ap 1900. (Daily Capital, Ap 1900.) 050

Historical Society:

At the annual convention of the Kansas Editors' and Publishers' Association held at Manhattan, 7 Ap 1875, D. W. Wilder offered a resolution, which was adopted, providing for a committee to organize a state historical society.

A majority of the committee, with other gentlemen, met in Topeka, 13 D 1875, and organized the society.

Floyd P. Baker was elected secretary, but resigned 4 F 1876, when F. G. Adams was chosen secretary, serving until his death 2 D 1899, and was succeeded by G: W. Martin.

—Adams, Fk. G:, secretary, 1876-1899. List of collections, with account of the organization of the Society, and an explanation of its objects. 18 p. O. Topeka [1877]. 906

Historical Society—*continued:*

——Scrap books, 1-8, containing newspaper clippings relating to the Society, 1875 to 1900. 8 v. Q. O. 906

——Circulars, blanks, etc. Specimen book, 1876-1899. Q.

——Biennial reports, 1-11, 1879-1898. 11 v. O. Topeka 1879-1898. 906

Note.—The 1st to 6th reports also appear in the Society's first four volumes of collections. The 1st was also printed in the Senate journal for 1879.

——Abstract of the 9th biennial report, 1 N 1894. 24 p. O. Topeka 1894. 906

——List of newspapers in Kansas, 1880, '82, '84, '85, '87, '89, '91. 2 broadsides, 5 pam. O. Topeka 1880-91. 906

——Transactions, vols. 1 and 2. First and second biennial reports, together with a statement of the collections of the Society from its organization, in 1875, to January, 1881. 328 p., map, il., O. Topeka 1881. 906

Note.—The back title of the volume reads "Collections," instead of Transactions.

——Transactions, vol. 3, embracing the third and fourth biennial reports, 1883-1885, together with copies from early Kansas territorial records and other historical papers; also the proceedings of the Kansas Quarter-centennial celebration 29 Ja 1886. 519 p. O. Topeka 1886. 906

——Transactions, vol. 4, embracing the fifth and sixth biennial reports, 1886-'88, together with copies of official papers during a portion of the administration of Governor Wilson Shannon, 1856, and the executive minutes of Gov. J: W. Geary during his administration, beginning 9 S 1856 and ending 10 Mr 1857. 819 p. O. Topeka 1890. 903

——Transactions, vol. 5, 1889-'96, together with addresses at annual meetings; copies of official papers and executive minutes during the administration of Governors Rob. J. Walker, Ja. W. Denver, and S: Medary, and of acting Governors Daniel Woodson, Fred P. Stanton, Ja. W. Denver, Hu. S. Walsh, and G: M. Beebe 1857-'60; and including some papers of dates 1855 and 1856. 695 p. O. Topeka 1896. 906

——Union of libraries. 18 p. O. [Topeka 1881.] n. t. p. 906

——Publications, embracing biographical sketches and the executive minutes of Governors Reeder and Shannon, 1854-'56; addresses of Governors Stanton and Denver at Bismarck Grove, 1884; and proceedings of the Kansas Quarter-Centennial celebration at Topeka, 29 Ja 1886. 302 p. O. Topeka 1886. 906

——Reports of annual meetings, 1885-'88. (Magazine of Western History, Mr 1885, F 1888.) G L 973.05

——Directory of the Kansas historical exhibit in the Kansas building at the world's Columbian exposition, 1893. 36 p. O. Topeka 1893. 906

——[Letter] 26 F 1897, to the legislature of Kansas, [relative to appropriations, etc.] 3 p. circular. 906; 328.4-4

—Admire, W: Woodford. The Kansas State Historical Society and its founders. (Mag. of western hist., F 1889, v. 9, p. 407.) GL 050

Historical Society—*continued:*

—Bonebrake, Parkinson I. Memorial address on the life and character of G: T. Anthony, Ja 1898. 11 p. O. Ottawa 1897. 906

—Darling, C: W. List of historical and pioneer societies in United States and Canada. (Mag. of western hist., F 1885, v. 1, p. 351.) 973.05

—Gleed, C: S., editor. Kansas Memorial, a report of the old settlers' meeting, Bismarck Grove. 15, 16 S 1879. 261p. map, il. O. Kansas City, Mo., 1880. 906

Note.—Although this volume was not published by the state, the secretary of the Historical society, as Mr. Gleed says in his preface, "performed the most important part of the work of preparation."

—Henry, Stuart. Solon Otis Thacher, memorial. 32p. O. n. p., n. d. [1898.] 906

—Kelley, H. B. No man's land; absence of, and value of government; address before the society, 11 F 1889. 15 p. D. Topeka 1881. 906

—Legislature. Report on transfer of miscellaneous books from the state library to the library of the historical society. (Ho. Jour. 1883, p. 400; Sen. p. 674). 328.1

—Legislature. Proceedings relative to permanent and temporary rooms. (Jours. 1895.) 328.1

—Martin, J: A. Address at the quarter-centennial celebration of Kansas as a state, Topeka, 29 Ja 1886. 17 p. O. Topeka 1886. 906

—Reading Rooms and Libraries of Topeka. Union list of periodicals, 1888. 12 p. T. Topeka 1888. 017

—Scott, C. F., Anthony, D. R., and five other members of the state Editorial Association. Appeal to the legislature and executive council, in behalf of the historical society. 8 p. O. [Topeka] 1899. 906

—Senate. Resolution to provide the Society with suitable rooms. (Jour. 1877, p. 621.) 328.1

—Speer, J: Accuracy in history; address before the 22d annual meeting of the society, 18 Ja 1898. 24p. O. Topeka 1898. 906

—Taylor, A. R. History of normal school work in Kansas. Address before the 23d annual meeting of the society, 17 Ja 1899. 16p. D. n. t. p. 906

--[Wooster, L. C., for the board of directors of the Kansas educational exhibit.] Columbian history of education in Kansas; compiled by Kansas educators, and published under the auspices of the Kansas state historical society, for the Columbian exposition, 1893. 8+231p. il. O. Topeka 1893. 370.09

Note.—The secretary of the historical society prepared only the chapter relating to the state superintendent of public instruction, the relation of the work to the society being simply nominal, and for the purpose of securing the publication of the volume by the state as a valuable historical document.

—Martin, G: W., secretary, 1899. The collection of history. D 1899. 6p. O. Topeka 1899. 906

Historical Society—*continued:*

——Proceedings of the twenty-fourth annual meeting, 16 Ja 1900; containing also report of secretary and revised list of Kansas newspapers up to 15 F 1900. 48p. O. Topeka 1900. 906

——The Kansas State Historical Society and its great work. (State Normal Monthly, v. 12, Mr 1900.) 906

——Transactions, Vol. 6, 1896-1900, together with addresses at annual meetings; memorials, and miscellaneous papers. Bibliography of Kansas constitutions, and Territorial and State documents. Topeka 1900. 906

—Freeman, Winfield. The battle of Arickaree. 13p. O. [Topeka 1900.] 906

—*Note.*—Reprinted from 6th vol. of Society's collections.

Horticultural Society:

The Society was organized in May, 1867, by correspondence, as the Kansas State Pomological Society. At the first meeting 10 D 1867, the name was changed to the Kansas State Horticultural Society. The transactions from 1867 to 1871 are published in one volume; 1872 is bound in the 1st volume of the State Board of Agriculture, 1872.

Secretaries: G: C. Brackett, 11 D 1867 to 30 Je 1895; Edwin Taylor, 1 Jl 1895 to 1 Jl 1897; W: H. Barnes, acting secretary 1 Jl 1895, and Secretary 1 Jl 1897 —.

—Pomological and Horticultural Society. [Condensed transactions, from its organization to its last annual meeting, and in full for 1871.] 83 p. O. Topeka 1872. 634

Brackett, G: C., secretary. Transactions, 1872, proceedings 2d semi-annual meeting, Humboldt, and 6th annual meeting, Topeka, with papers from prominent horticulturists. Topeka 1873. 209+[1] p. O. Topeka 1873. 634

——Transactions 1873, proceedings 3d semi-annual meeting, Holton, also 7th annual meeting, Osage Mission, [with] papers from prominent horticulturists. 147 p. O. Junction City 1874. 634

——Transactions 1874, proceedings 4th semi-annual meeting, Grasshopper Falls, and 8th annual meeting Emporia; also laws relating to horticulture, essays from prominent horticulturists, and lectures from distinguished persons, vol. iv. 245 p. il. O. Topeka 1875. 634

——Transactions 1875, proceedings 5th semi-annual meeting, Fort Scott, and 9th annual meeting, Manhattan, together with the proceedings of division, county, and local societies, vol. 5. 10+267 p. il. O. Topeka 1876. 634

——Transactions 1876, proceedings 6th semi-annual meeting, Olathe, and 10th annual meeting, Emporia, v. 6. 15+225 p. O. Topeka 1887. 634

——Report 1877, proceedings 7th semiannual meeting, Abilene, 11th annual meeting, Parsons, vol. 7. 15+362 p. il. O. Topeka 1878. 634

——Circular no. 5, 1 S 1877; no. 8, 1 O 1878. 2 pam. O. n. t. p. 634

——Report 1878, proceedings 8th semiannual meeting, Garnett, and 12th annual meeting, Ottawa, vol. 8. 16+339 p. map, il. O. Topeka 1879. 634

Horticultural Society—*continued:*

——Report 1869, proceedings 9th semiannual meeting, Beloit, 13th annual, Holton, vol. 9. 30+460 p. por. il. O. Topeka 1880. 634

——Report 1880, proceedings 10th semiannual meeting, Hutchinson, 14th annual meeting, Wyandotte, vol. 10. 16+497 p. il. O. Topeka 1881. 634

——Report 1881, proceedings 11th semiannual meeting, Winfield, and 15th annual, Lawrence, vol. 11. 16+484 p. il. O. Topeka 1882. 634

——Report 1882, proceedings 12th semiannual meeting, Clay Center, and 16th annual, Topeka, vol. 12. 12+295 p. il. O. Kansas City 1883. 634

——Report 1883, proceedings 13th semiannual meeting, Olathe, and 17th annual, Ottawa, vol. 13. 14+280 p. il. O. Topeka 1884. 634

——Report 1884, proceedings 14th semiannual meeting, Junction City, and 18th annual, Burlingame, vol. 14. 12+306 p. O. Topeka 1885. 634

——Report 1885, proceedings 15th semiannual meeting, Oswego, and 19th annual, Manhattan, vol. 15. 14+340 p. il. O. Topeka 1886. 634

——Report 1886, proceedings 16th annual meeting, Wichita, and 20th annual, Emporia, vol. 16. 16+312 p. il. O. Topeka 1887. 634

——Fruit manual, 1886. [40] p. il. O. n. t. p. 634

——First biennial report, proceedings semi-annual and annual meetings, 1887-'88, vol. 17. 16+492 p. il. O. Topeka 1889. 634

——Second biennial report, proceedings of the annual meetings in 1889 and 1890, vol. 18. 16+103+176 p. por. il. O. Topeka 1891. 634

——Third biennial report, 1891-'93, vol. 19. 16+132+232 p. il. O. Topeka 1894. 634

——Reports on forestry, 2d to 7th annual, 1880-'86. 6 v. O. Topeka 1881-'87. 634.9

Note.—The reports are compilations of the forestry articles published in the Society's Transactions, 1880-'86, when the publication was discontinued by the Society. No report was issued in 1882.

—Taylor, Edw., secretary. Fourth biennial report, proceedings of the annual meeting, Fort Scott, 1894, and Lawrence, 1895, vol. 20; edited by the deputy secretary W: H. Barnes. 100 p. por. O. 634

—Barnes, W. H., secretary. Transactions, containing the proceedings of the summer meeting, Iola, and annual meeting, Topeka, 1896, vol. 21. 100 p. O. Topeka 1897. 634

——Transactions, containing the proceedings of the annual meeting, Topeka, 1897, vol. 22. 100 p. por. il. O. Topeka 1898. 634

——Papers read before the 31st annual meeting of the society, 1897. 37+[1] p. O. n. t. p. [Topeka 1898.] 634

——Transactions, containing the proceedings of the 32d annual meeting, Topeka, 1898, vol. 23. 135 p. il. O. Topeka 1899. 634

Horticultural Society—*continued:*

——Transactions, containing the proceedings of the 33d annual meeting, Topeka, 1899, vol. 24. 100 p. il. O. Topeka 1900. 634

——The Apple, what it is, how to grow it, its commercial and economic importance, how to utilize it. 229 p. il. O. Topeka 1898. 634.06

——The Peach: how to grow your trees, how to plant and care for them, how to find its enemies, how to gather, pack and market, how to enjoy it in the home. 159 p. il. O. Topeka 1899. 634

——Report on Kansas grapes, 1 Ag 1899. Folder. 634

——Report on Kansas apples, 1 Ag 1899. Folder. 634

——Kansas fruit reports, 25 S 1899. Folder. 634

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—Bills, 1883-1899. 13 v. ob. O. and Q. n. t. p. 328.6

—Calendars, 1879, 1885-1899. 10 v. Q. n. t. p. 328.7

—Committee charged with the investigation of the election of J: J. Ingalls to the U. S. senate. Report, together with testimony. 131 p. O. Topeka 1879. 920

—Rules of the House, 1889-1895, 1899. 6 pam. O. [Topeka 1889-'99.] 328.5

—*See also* House Journals.

—Supreme court. Constitutionality of the Ho. of Rep. of the state of Kansas, known as the Douglass House, discussed and decided; opinion of Chief Justice Horton concurred in by Mr. Justice Johnston, 11 Mr 1893. [20] p. O. n. d. St. Paul. 328.4-4

—Journal, 1861-1899. 33 v. O. Lawrence, Topeka, Leavenworth, 1861-1899. 328.1

Note.—House and Senate, 1861, bound in one; special session 1874 bound in back of 1875; special session 1884 bound in front of 1885. Other special sessions have been 1886, 1898-'99.

An extra journal was issued in 1893, the Populist House publishing its proceedings covering 10 Ja to 28 F.

When the same subject is mentioned in both journals, the page for the Senate is printed following the entry for the House journal. The earlier journals were indifferently indexed, and contained many reports of state officers, reports of committees, and miscellaneous papers not found elsewhere. The indexes as contained in the later journals are full, and what is given below, for the later sessions, is of interest more as giving the general tone of legislation, than for practical reference.

—Daily edition of Journal, 1893-1899. 6 v. O. n. t. p. [Topeka 1893-1899.] 328.1

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House Journal, 1861.—Message of Gov. C: Robinson, 30 Mr, p. 34 (S. p. 19). Election of U. S. senators, S: C. Pomeroy and Ja. H. Lane, 4 Ap, p. 77 (S. p. 49). Western boundary of Missouri, p. 111. Amendment of the U. S. constitution prohibiting the abolishment of slavery in the states, p. 123. Report of W. F. M. Arny's relief receipts and distributions, Kansas central relief committee, 24 Mr 1861, and resolution of thanks, p. 141, 171. Proclamation relating to the great seal of the state, p. 150, 187, 243 (S. p. 150, 223). Communication of W. R. Griffith, superintendent of schools, 16 Ap 1861, p. 170. Proclamation relating to state loan and issue of $150,000 bonds, p. 149, 175, 382, 449, 528 (S. p. 121, 161, 217, 223, 237). Estimate of secretary of state, J. W. Robinson, of current expenses of the state for the year ending Mr 1862, p. 187. Report of G: S. Hillyer, state auditor, p. 184. Annexation of southern Nebraska to Kansas, p. 264 (S. p. 182). Bluemont college, p. 270 (S. p. 164). Purchase of —— Farren of his map of eastern Kansas for the state library, p. 299. Proclamation relative to a discourse delivered by Rev. P: McVicar, p. 307. Report of Secretary Robinson relative to copies of territorial laws found at Lecompton, p. 311. Use of Topeka Congregational church for legislative purposes, p. 328. Settlement with the treasurer of the territory of Kansas, My 1861, p. 341 (S. p. 206). Opinion of B. F. Simpson, attorney general, p. 398 (S. p. 172), Present condition of the capitol buildings at Lecompton, p. 491. Message of the governor vetoing a bill to locate the state university, p. 494. Purchase of O. B. Gunn's map of Kansas for the legislature, p. 594.

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House Journal, 1862. Resolution ratifying act of congress admitting Kansas into the Union, p. 19. Contested elections of Sidney Clarke and G: W. Smith, p. 44. Proc. rel. to the bond sale and investigation, p. 48, 116, 119, 147, 200, 229, 245, 249, 256, 260, 262, 265, 269, 272, 280, 283, 297, 309, 327, 329, 349, 355, 357, 360, 365, 379, 439. Commun. of C. K. Holliday offering, on the part of the city of Topeka, ground for Capitol purposes, p. 49, 81, (S. p. 23, 30). Message from the Governor, rel. to the protection of the border, p. 73, 232. Opening of the Cherokee neutral and Osage lands to settlement, p. 86, 105, 138. Opinions of S: A. Stinson, atty. gen., p. 101, 160, 229, 249, 410. Death of Col. H. P. Johnson, p. 111. Penitentiary com'rs, p. 124. War policy of Ja. H. Lane, p. 156. Res. recommending that General Lane be appointed Major General, p. 171. Apportionment for members of the house of representatives, p. 186. Rep. on public printing, p. 213. Res. on the death of W. R. Griffith, state supt. of pub. inst., p. 236. Payment for supplies of state militia for defense of Atchison, p. —, (S. 1861, p. 254). Resolutions, victory at Fort Donelson, p. 285. Erection of building to be used for state offices, L. C. Wilmarth, p. 287. Impeachment of J: W. Robinson, G. S. Hillyer, and C: Robinson, p. 297, 349, 360, 365 (S. p. 89, 97, 98, 104, 116, 132). Repayment for supplies furnished Kansas militia in U. S. service, Cyrus Leland, p. 339. Special report of H. R. Dutton, state treasurer, p. 401. Selection of state lands, p. 406. Letter of M. F. Conway, Wash., 23 F, 1862, denying complicity with bond sale, p. 439. J. P. Root, p. 479.

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——Same. (Ho. Jour. 1889, p. 963; S. p. 230, 328.) 328.1

——*See also* Legislative Documents.

—Board of Managers. Report, 1895-98, 1st, 2d biennial. 2 pam. O. Topeka 1896-98. 364

Note.—The first biennial report 1896, contains a complete history of the institution from the time of the passage by the legislature of the first act for its establishment, Mr 1885, to the time of the publication of the report. The first inmates were received in Ag 1895.

—Board of Managers: J: Armstrong, J. M. Humphrey, Tully Scott, 11 Mr to Jl 1895; S. R. Peters, 25 Jl 1895 to 29 Mr 1897; T. J. O'Neil, 25 Jl 1895 to date; M. B. Nicholson, 25 Jl to 15 N 1895; W. J. Lingenfelter, 15 N 1895 to date; B. F. Wallack, 29 Mr to 17 My 1897; D. McTaggart, 31 My to 4 Ag 1897; J. J. Miller, 30 Ag 1897 to 23 F 1899; Philip Kelley, 23 F 1899 to date.

Superintendents: H. F. Hatch, 12 Mr to 9 Jl 1895; J. C. O. Morse, 16 Ag 1895 to 31 My 1897; W. J. Lingenfelter, acting superintendent, 31 My to 15 Ag 1897; S. W. Case, 15 Ag 1897 to 1 Mr. 1899; J. S. Simmons, 1 Mr. 1899—

Industrial School for Girls, Beloit:

—Biennial reports, 1st-5th, 1889-1898. (Board of Trustees, State Charitable Institutions. 7th-11th biennial reports.) 361

Note.—The school was organized 1 F 1888 by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Kansas, Mrs. Fannie H. Rastell, president, and came under state control 18 Mr 1889, Mrs. M. Marshall, superintendent from date of organization to S 1891; Miss Martha P. Spencer, S. 1891-1893; Miss Tamsel F. Hahn, S 1893-Je 1895; Mrs. S. V. Leeper, Je 1895-31 Jl 1897; Mrs. Phœbe J. Bare, 1 Ag 1897-1 Ag 1899; Mrs. Hester A. Hanback, 1 Ag 1899—

The 2d, 3rd and 5th reports are also bound in pamphlet form.

—House of Representatives. Proceedings to establish the school. (Jour. 1889, p. 974, 1051.) 328.1

—Spencer, M. P. [Sketch.] (Colum. Hist. of Educ. 1893, p. 67.) 370.9

Insane Asylum, Osawatomie:

—By-laws. 10 p. O. Paola 1870. 363.2

—By-laws, organization of the board for 1873, laws relating to the asylum. 26 p. O. Ottawa 1873. 362.2

Insane Asylum, Osawatomie—*continued:*

—Reports, 3-8, 10-12 annual, 1-11 biennial, 1867-72, 74-98. 17 pam. il. O. Topeka [1867-98]. 362.2

Note.—1867-72, 1874 in separate pamphlets, 1873 in 1st annual report of board of commissioners of public institutions; 1876-80, published in pamphlets, together with report of Topeka Insane Asylum; 1881-98 contained in reports of the board of trustees of the state charitable institutions.

Superintendents have been as follows: Dr. C. O. Gause, 1868-71; Dr. C. P. Lee, D 1871-D 1872; Dr. L. W. Jacobs, 1 D 1872-O 1873; Dr. A. H. Knapp, 1 O 1873-1 Mr 1877; N 1878-30 Je 1892; Dr. T. B. West, Mr-O 1877; Dr. A. P. Tenney, O 1877-O 1878; Dr. L. F. Wentworth, 1 Jl 1892-1 Ag 1895; Dr. T. C. Biddle, Ag 1895-15 Ap 1898; Dr. E. W. Hinton, 1898; Dr. T: Kirk, jr., Jl 1898—

Trustees as given in above reports to 1876: Ja. Hanway, D. Underhill, S. L. Adair, Levi Woodard, G: Wyman, J: T. Lanter, Theo. C. Bowles, W. H. Grimes, Jacob Rhodes, T: T. Taylor, W: B. Slosson, J: H. Smith, and Jos. P. Bauserman.

—Rules and regulations for the government of employees at the state insane asylum. 21p. S. Topeka 1885. 362.2

—Legislative Committee to Investigate the Insane Asylum. Report 1876. 187p. O. n. t. p. 328.4-2

—Legislative Committee to Visit or Investigate the Insane Asylum. Report. (Leg. Jours. 1864, '70-'73, '74, '83, '91.) 320.1

——Report of investigation, with other papers. (Ho. Jour. 1877, p. 747, 756-839, 864, 909, 1141; Sen. p. 93, 373.) 328.1

—House of Representatives. Committee on charitable institutions. Report [23 F 1877]. 9p. O. n. t. p. 328.4-2

—Senate. Committee on public institutions. Report. 27+[1] p. O. n. p., n. d. 328.4-2

——Report on public institutions. (Jour. 1881, p. 5.) 328.4-2

—Williams, R. A. Inspection of asylum. (Bd. of Health, 8th an. rep., 1892, p. 225.) 614

—Wilson, W. H. Two years in the Osawatomie insane asylum. 131p. il. O. Kan. City, Mo., c. 1895. 332.2

Insane Asylum, Topeka:

—[Building] Commissioners. Reports, 1st, 1875; 2d, 1876; 3d, 1877-'78. 3 pam. O. Topeka 1876-'78. 362.2

Note.—These reports are also published in the reports of the superintendent of the Osawatomie asylum, 1875-'78.

—Superintendent. Reports, 1-9 biennial, 1879-'98.

Note.—1st report published in pamphlet with the report of the Osawatomie Asylum, 1879-'80; the 2-6 in the reports of the Board of Trustees of the state Charitable institutions, 1881-'98; 8 and 9, '91-'94, in separate pamphlets.

Superintendents have been as follows: Dr. B. D. Eastman, Ap 1879-30 Je 1883; Dr. A. P. Tenney, 1 Jl 1883-Ap 1885; Dr. B. D. Eastman, Ap 1885-1894; J. H. McCasey, 1894; Dr. B. D. Eastman, 14 D 1894-1 Ag 1897; Dr. C. H. Wetmore, 1 Ag 1897-1899; Dr. T. C. Biddle, 1899-

—Catalogue of patients' library. 13 p. S. Topeka 1885. 362.2

Insane Asylum, Topeka—*continued:*

—Circular letter of probate judges, 25 Ag 1892. 1 p. Q. Circular. 365

—[Expenses of] the Topeka Insane Asylum. Circular. 328.4-4

Note.—From the Kansas Medical Journal, 20 F 1897.

—Invitation to attend opening of asylum hall, 11 D 1886. Card. 362.2

—Harvey, Ja. M. Don't make a mistake, [in placing a race from the proposed dam through the Asylum grounds]. 6 p. O. n. t. p. [Topeka 1891.] 362.2

—Legislature. Martin, C. S., Robinson, C., West, R. P., Moser, J., Randall, A. G., joint committee concerning the insane asylum. Report. 11 p. O. n. p., n. d. 362.2

—Sabine, A., and Welch, J. M. Inspection of asylum. (Bd. Health, 8th an. rep., 1892, p. 227.) 614

—See also Kan. State Leg. Doc., v. 1-3, and Journals 1876, '85, '89.

Inspector of Coal-mines:

—Scammon, E. A. Report, 1884, 1st annual. 43 p. O. Topeka 1885. 662

—Braidwood, J: R. Report, 1885, 2d annual. 192 p. O. Topeka 1886. 622

—Findlay, G. W. Report, 1887, 3d annual. 68 p. O. Topeka 1888. 722

—Stewart, J: T. Report, 1890, 4th annual. 115 p. O. Topeka 1891. 622

——Report, 1891, 5th annual. 86 p. O. Topeka 1892. 622

—Gallagher, A. C. Report, 1893, 6th annual. 179 p. O. Topeka 1894. 622

——Mining laws, and laws relating to labor. 76 p. T. Topeka 1893. 662

——Report, 1894, 7th annual. 71 p. O. Topeka 1895. 662

—Brown, Bennett. Report, 1895, 8th annual. 213 p. 1 map, O. Topeka 1896. 622

——Report, 1896, 9th annual. 19 p. O. Topeka 1897. 662

—McGrath, G: T. Report, 1897, 10th annual. 157 p. O. Topeka 1898. 662

——Report, 1898, 11th annual. 51 p. O. Topeka 1899. 662

—Keegan, E: Report, 1899, 12th annual. 174 p. O. Topeka 1900. 662

Inspector of Oils:

—Carpenter, A. H., insp. Report, 1889-'90, 1st annual. 12 p. O. Topeka 1891. 665

—Kelley, M. C. Report, 1891-'92. 10 p. O. Topeka 1893. 665

—*See* oil inspector.

Institution for the Education of the Blind, Wyandotte and Kansas City:

—Reports, annual, 1-5, 7-10; biennial reports, 1-11, 1868-'72, 1874-'98. 12 pam. il. O. Topeka 1869-'98. 371.92

Note.—Annual reports and 1st, 4th and 9th biennial printed in separate pamphlets; 2d biennial bound in the public documents, 1879-'80; 3rd published in reports of the board of trustees of the state charitable institutions, 1881-'98.

Institution for the Blind—*continued:*

Superintendents for above years: H. H. Sawyer, My 1868—Mr 1870; W. W. Updegraff, Mr 1870—N 1871; J. D. Parker, N 1871—10 Je 1875; G: H. Miller, 10 Je 1875—Je 1889; Allen Buckner, Jl 1889—1 Ja 1892; Lapier Williams, 1 Ja 1892—30 Je 1893; W. G. Todd, 30 Je 1893—30 Je 1895; G: W. Miller, 30 Je 1895—1897; W. H. Toothaker, 1897—1899; Lapier Williams, 1899—

Trustees as given in above reports to 1876: F. P. Baker, W: Larimer, F: Speck, S. D. McDonald, W. B. Slosson, Welcome Wells, Stephen M. Wood, David Gordon, W. H. Pilkenton, and R. W. Wright.

—Programs, circulars, etc. 371.92

—Board of Com'rs of Public Institutions. Reports. (Their 1st and 2d annual reports, 1873-'74.) 353

—House of Representatives. [Report of committee on the erection of the asylum.] (Ho. Jour. 1868, p. 125.) 328.1

—Legislature. Report of committee to visit. (Leg. Jours. 1866, '70, '73, '76, '89, '91.) 328.1

—Williams, L., supt. [Sketch.] (Colum. Hist. of Ed., p. 71.) 370.9

—*See also*, Legislature documents, v. 1-3.

Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Olathe:

—Board of Commissioners on Public Institutions. Report. (In their 1st and 2d annual reports, 1873, 1874.) 353

—Catalogue of library, Je 1890. 36p. S. n. p., n. d. 371

—Circulars, programs, cards. 5. 371.92

—Convention of teachers. Minutes of 1st-4th sessions. 1887-1891. 4 pam. O. Olathe 1887-92. 371.92

Note.—The convention was composed of the members of the faculty of the institution who met for the purpose of discussing educational matters relating to the instruction of the deaf.

—Familiar hymns from all denominations, compiled for use in the institution. n. p. S. Olathe 1892. 371

—Historical sketch. (Kansas Star, Olathe, 6 Je 1889.) 371

—Kansas Star, published by the pupils of the Deaf and Dumb institution, v. 2-26, 20 O 1876-D 1899. 24v. F. Olathe 1876-1900. 371.92

—[Prospectus] of Deaf-mute Institute, Baldwin. (Baker Univ. Catalogue, 1862-63, p. 21-24.) 378.1

—Reports, [1], 3-11 annual; 1-11 biennial, 1863, 1867-98. 20 pam. O. Topeka 1864-99. 371.92

Note.—The report published for 1863 was evidently the first issued and is in the Public Documents of that year. The Society's file lacks 1864-67. The reports for 1868-71 are not numbered; that for 1872 is numbered 6th, that for 1873 is numbered 8th. Biennial reports for 1877-98 are also included in the reports of the Board of Trustees of State Charitable Institutions.

Principals and superintendents as shown in above reports: P. A. Emery, 1863; L: H. Jenkins, 1868-14 Je 1876; Theo. C. Bowles, 15 Je 1876-Je 1879; J. W. Parker, 15 Ag 1879-1 Ag 1880; Dr. W. H. Motte, Ag 1880-1882; H. A. Turton, 1883-1884; S. T. Walker, 1885-30 Je 1893; J. D. Carter, 1 Jl 1893-2 Ja 1894; A. A. Stewart, 2 Ja 1894-1 D 1895; 1 Jl 1897-1 Ap 1899; H. C. Hammond, 1 D 1895-1 Jl 1897, 1 Ap 1899—

Trustees as given in above reports to 1876: A. S. Johnson, F. E. Henderson, G. H. Lawrence, Joel K. Goodin, D. L. Lakin, J. B. Bruner, W. B. Craig, T: E. Milhoan, S: T. Durkee, W. H. M. Fishback, J: Francis, Arch. Shaw, E. S. Stover, J. W. Rodgers, W. A. Shannon, and G. C. Lockwood.

—Legislature. Report of visiting committee. (Leg. Jours., 1870-72-73-76-87-89.) 328.1

—Report of committee of investigation, 1871. 4 p. O. [Topeka 1871.] 328.1

—Same 1887. (Leg. Jours. 1887.) 328.1

—Walker, S. T. History of the Kansas institution for the deaf and dumb to 1893. 26 p. il. 3 por. 11 pl. O. Olathe 1893. 371

—Welch, J. M., M. D. Inspection of deaf and dumb institution. (Bd. health, 8th an. rep. 1892, p. 230.) 614

—*See also* leg. doc. v. 1-3.

Insurance Department:

—Legislature. An act to establish an insurance department in the state of Kansas and to regulate the companies doing business therein. 39 p. O. Topeka 1871. (Bound with 4-8 annual reports.) 368.9-3

—Webb, W: C., commissioner. Report, 1871, 1st annual. 56 p. O. Topeka 1872. 368.9

——Report, 1872, 2d annual. 72 p. 1 tab. O. Topeka 1873. 368.9

—Russell, E: Report, 1873, 3d annual. 88 p. O. Topeka 1873. 368.9

——Supplemental 3d annual report. 7 p. O. Topeka 1874. 368.9-1

——Report, 1874, 4th annual. 103 p. O. Topeka 1874. 368.9

—Clarkson, H. Supplemental 4th annual report. 13 p. O. Topeka 1875. 368.9-1

—Welch, Orrin T. Report 1875, 5th annual. 108 p. O. Topeka 1875. 368.9

——The insurance laws of the state of Kansas. 48 p. O. Topeka 1875. 368.9-2

Note.—These laws were originally bound in cloth with the 5th annual report.

——Supplemental 5th annual report. 8 p. O. [Topeka 1876.] 368.9-1

——Report, 1876, 6th annual. 166+76 p. O. Topeka 1876. 368.9

——Communication. (Sen. Jour., 1876, p. 72.) 328.1

——Supplemental 6th annual report. 4 p. O. n. t. p. [Topeka 1877.] 368.9-1

—Senate. Report of investigation of the department, and of the Kansas Fire Insurance Co. (Jour., 1877, p. 594.) 328.1

—Welch, O. T. Report, 1879, 7th annual. 279 p. O. Topeka 1877. 368.9

Insurance Department—*continued:*

— —Report, 1878, 8th annual. 297 p. O. Topeka 1878. 368.9

— —Supplemental 8th annual report. 11 p. O. Topeka 1879. 368.9-1

— —Report, 1879, 9th annual. 272 p. O. Topeka 1879. 368.9

— —Circular relative to co-operative insurance companies. 1 p. O. 368.9

— —Report, 1880, 10th annual. 291 p. O. Topeka 1880. 368.9

— —Report, 1881, 11th annual. 322 p. O. Topeka 1881. 368.9

— —Compilation of the insurance laws of the state of Kansas in force 15 Ap 1881. 45 p. O. Topeka 1881. (With report for 1880.) 368.9

— —Report, 1882, 12th annual. 324 p. O. Topeka 1882. 368.9

— —Report, 1883, 13th annual. 337 p. O. Topeka 1883. 368.9

—Morris, Rob. B. Report, 1884, 14th annual. 338 p. O. Topeka 1884. 368.9

— —Report, 1885, 15th annual. 327 p. O. Topeka 1885. 368.9

— —Insurance laws of Kansas passed in 1885. [24] p. O. [Topeka 1886.] (With report for 1884.) 368.9

— —Report, 1886, 16th annual. 365 p. O. Topeka 1886. 368.9

— —Officers, general and special agents, 1886. 66 p. O. [Topeka 1886.] 368.9-1

— —Insurance laws of Kansas passed in 1886. [8] p. O. [Topeka 1886.] (In report for 1885.) 368.9

— —Report, 1887, 17th annual. 397 p. O. Topeka 1887. 368.9

— —Statement showing the fire insurance business transacted in the state during the year 1886. 1 p. circular. Topeka 1887. 368.9-3

—Wilder, Dan. Webster. Report, 1888, 18th annual. 168 p. O. Topeka 1888. 368.9

— —Officers, general and special agents, 1887. 91 p. O. [Topeka 1887.] 368.9-1

— —Insurance business done in Kansas in 1887. 12 p. O. [Topeka 1888.] 368.9-1

— —Report, 1889, 19th annual. 154 p. O. Topeka 1889. 368-9

— —Secretaries, general and special agents, 1888. 87 p. O. [Topeka 1888.] 368.9-1

— —Insurance business done in Kansas in 1888, [with] list of companies doing business in Kansas in 1889. 9 p. O. [Topeka 1889.] 368.9

— —Report, 1890, 20th annual. 148 p. O. Topeka 1890. 368.9

— —Secretaries, general and special agents, 1889-'90. 88 p. O. [Topeka 1890.] 368.9-1

— —Report, 1891, 21st annual. 112 p. O. Topeka 1891. 368.9

—McBride, W. H. Report, 1892, 22d annual. 71 p. O. Topeka 1892. 368.9

—Snider, S. H. Report, 1893, 24th annual. 10+255 p. O. Topeka 1894. 368.9

Insurance Department—*continued:*

— —Laws governing insurance companies. 76 p. O. Topeka 1893. 368.9

— —Preliminary report, 1893. 14 p. O. Topeka 1894. 368.9

—Anthony, G: T. Advance sheets 25th annual report, 1894. 16 p. O. Topeka 1895. 368.9

— —Report, 1894, 25th annual. 295 p. O. Topeka 1895. 368.9

— —Report, 1895, 26th annual. 25+259 p. O. Topeka 1896. 368.9-2

—McNall, Webb. Circulars relative to his order in the Hillmon case, Mr 1897. 368.9

— —Report, 1896, 27th annual. 285 p. O. Topeka 1897. 368.9-2

— —Report, 1897, 28th annual. 64+445 p. O. Topeka 1898. 368.9

— —Laws governing insurance companies, Ag 1897. 81 p. O. Topeka 1897. 368.9
Note.—Annotated by the commissioner.

— —Advance sheets 28th annual report, 1897. 61 p. O. Topeka 1898. 368.9-2

— —Report, 1898, 28th annual. 63+445 p. O. Topeka 1898. 368.9-2

—Church, W. V. Report, 1899, 29th annual. 287 p. O. Topeka 1899. 368.9-2

— —Insurance laws, D 1899. 135 p. O. Topeka 1899. 368.9
Note.—The annual reports, 1871-'77, are bound in two books; the remainder are bound in separate volumes. There are three volumes of miscellaneous pamphlets published by the Insurance Department. Classification number 368.9-1, 2, 3.

See also Ho. Jour. 1877; Leg. Doc. v. 1-3; Sen. Jour. 1871.

Legislature—*Acts and Laws:*

—General laws passed at the 1st session, Mr 1861. 334p. O. Lawrence 1861. 345.1
Note.—To which are appended the declaration of independence, constitution of the U. S., treaty of cession, organic act, constitution of the state of Kansas, act of admission, lists of state officers, and members and officers of legislature.

—General laws in force at close of the [2d] session, ending 6 Mr 1863. 1116p. O. Topeka 1862. 345.2
Note.—This volume includes session laws of 1862.

—Laws passed at the 3d to 7th sessions, 1863-'67. 5v. O. Lawrence, Topeka, and Leavenworth, 1863-'67. 345.1

—Special laws passed at the 8th session, 1868. 104p. O. Lawrence 1868. 345.1

—General statutes, revised by J: M. Price, S: A. Riggs, and Ja. McCahon, com'rs, and adopted at the regular session, 1868. 1270 p. O. Lawrence 1868. 345.2

—Special laws passed at 8th session, 1868. 104 p. O. Lawrence 1868. 345.1

—Laws passed at 9th to 14th sessions, 1869 to 1874. 6 v. O. Topeka 1869-'74. 345.1

—Laws passed at special session, Sept. 1874. (Laws 1875, p. 247-281.) 345.1

—Session laws and memorials passed at 15th to 18th sessions, 1875-1879. 4 v. O. Topeka 1875-1879. 345.1

Legislature—*continued:*

—Compiled laws, 1879, by C: F: W: Dassler, including the session laws of 1879. 1154 p. O. St. Louis 1879. 345.2

—Laws passed, 19th and 20th sessions, 1881-1883. 2 v. O. Topeka 1881-1883. 345.1

—Laws passed at special session, Mr 1884. 30 p. O. Topeka 1885. (In Laws 1885, back of volume.) 345.1

—Compiled laws, 1885, by C: F: W: Dassler, including session laws of 1885, with references to decisions. 1131 p. O. Topeka 1885. 345.2

—Laws passed at 21st session, 1885. 14+365+1 p. O. Topeka 1885. 345.1

—Laws of special session, 1886. 12+264+1 p. O. Topeka 1886. 345.1

—Laws passed at 22d session, 1887. 18+380 p. O. Topeka 1888. 345.1

—General statutes, 1889, annotated to and including Kansas reports, vol. 40, compiled by Irwin Taylor, including session laws of 1889. 2356 p., in 2 v. O. Topeka 1889. 345.2

—Laws passed at 23-27 sessions, 1889-1897. 5v. O. Topeka 1889-1897. 345.1

—General statutes of Kansas, 1897, containing all laws of a general nature from the admission of the state to the 8th day of May, 1897; compiled and annotated by W: C. Webb. 2v. O. Topeka 1897. 345.2

—Laws of special session, 21 D 1898-9 Ja 1899. 8+134p. O. Topeka 1899. 345.1

—Session laws, 1899. 32+551p. O. 345.1

Note.—The library contains also: Pamphlet laws, mostly privately printed, generally first published in newspapers, 1866, 1869-72, special session 1874, 1877, 1879, 1881, special session 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1889, 1891. 15 pam. O. Topeka 1866-1891. 345.1

—Commissioners for the revision of the statutes, 1868,—J: M. Price, S: A. Riggs, and Ja. McCahon. Report. 15+1021 p. O. n. p., n. d. 345.2

—Senate. Committee to revise and copy all existing laws, etc., appointed under Senate resolution no. 91, F. P. Harkness, T. B. Murdock, C. H. Kimball, M. C. Kelley, Joel Moody. Report. 16+228p. O. Topeka 1890. 328.7 v. 11.

—Robinson, J. W. [Report rel. to copies of territorial laws found at Lecompton.] (Ho. Jour. 1861, p. 311.) 328.1

—Shaffer, J. D. Index to the laws of Kansas, comprising all general, special and private acts contained in the original authorized editions of the laws from the organization of the territory of Kansas in 1855 to the close of the 17th an. session of the state leg. in 1877. 315p. O. Leavenworth 1877. 345.1

—Senate com. to codify the laws, 1890. See K. S. Senate.

Legislature—*Documents:*

—Ho. of Rep. Com. to Investigate the Accounts of the Auditor and Treasurer, Sale of Bonds, etc. Report. 16p. O. n. t. p. [1862.] 328.4

—Legislative documents. Lawrence, Topeka 1862-91. 3v. O. 328.4

Note.—These volumes embrace those documents in the library which were not already bound in substantial form, or were not more useful elsewhere. They are usually printed in the House and Senate Journals also. Besides those documents published by the state, are other papers prepared by constituents in support of measures before the legislature. The Leg. documents are so far unnumbered.

Legislature—*continued:*

VOLUME 1, 1862-75: Ho. of Rep., com. on printing. Report [on state printing for 1861 and 1862]. 8p. O. [1862.]—Ho. of Rep., com. to investigate the accounts of the auditor and treasurer of state, the sale of bonds, etc. (G. S. Hillyer, auditor, H. R. Dutton, treasurer, and Rob. S. Stevens, director of Lawrence bank). Report. 16p. O. 1862.—Report containing letter from G: W. Collamore, Q. M. Gen., dated 22 F 1862. 3p. O. [1862.]—Ho. of Rep., com. appointed to visit the Cherokee neutral lands, 1870. Report. 164p. O. Topeka 1870.—Leg. com. to investigate the affairs and offices of auditor and treasurer (A. Thoman, auditor, G: Graham, treasurer). Report, 40p. O. Topeka 1870.—Leg. com. to investigate all charges of bribery and corruption connected with the senatorial elections of 1867 and 1871, (S. C. Pomeroy, 1867, Alex. Caldwell, 1871). Report. 308p. O. Topeka 1872.—Sen., com. to investigate certain charges against Hon. Jairus Wood, of Doniphan co., 1872. Report. p. 281-308.—Ho. of Rep., com. on public buildings. Report on plan for ventilation of capitol building (as submitted by Louis M. Wood, architect). 3p. O. Topeka 1874.—Ho. of Rep., com. on state affairs. Report on the condition of the state treasury (J. E. Hayes, treasurer,) 21 F 1874. 83p. O. Topeka 1874.—Leg. spec. sess., 1874; commissioners appointed to investigate the condition of Barbour, Comanche and Harper counties. Majority and minority report. 40p. O. Topeka 1874.—Ho. of Rep. com. on retrenchment. Majority and minority report on Senate joint resolution No. 5, 1874; relating to military funds. 22p. O. Topeka 1875.—Leg. com. on insurance. Report of the investigation of the insurance department, made 24 F 1875. 30p. O. Topeka 1875.

VOLUME 2, 1876-'77: Senate com. to investigate school funds. Report. 18 p. O. Topeka 1876.—Ho. of Rep. com. on state affairs. Report upon the permanent school fund, showing the management and investment of the school funds, the condition and value of the bonds held by the state, the amount of interest due and unpaid, etc. (S: Lappin, state treasurer). 239 p. O. Topeka 1876;—Report concerning bonds of school district no. 8, Rice county. 81 p. O. Topeka 1876.—Leg. com. to investigate Osawatomie insane asylum, 1876. Report. 187 p. O. Topeka 1876.—Leg. com. on the necessity and advisability of calling a constitutional convention. Report. 5 p. O. Topeka 1876.—Leg. com. to visit penitentiary. Report. 8 p. O. Topeka 1876.—Leg. com. to visit state agricultural college. Report. 8 p. O. Topeka 1876.—Ho. of Rep. com. on retrenchment and reform. Report. 11 p. D. Topeka 1876.—Ho. of Rep. com. on railroads. Report relative to providing for board of R. R. commissioners, etc. 10 p. O. Topeka 1876.—Ho. of Rep. com. on senate bill no. 118. Report. 27 p. O. Topeka 1876.—Ho. of Rep. com. on charitable institutions. Majority and minority report on blind asylum, deaf and dumb asylum,

Legislature—*continued:*

and insane asylums at Osawatomie and Topeka, 1877. 91 p. O. Topeka 1877.—Sen. com. on public institutions. Report in relation to Osawatomie insane asylum, 1877. 27+[2]p. O. Topeka 1897.—Ho. of Rep. com. on educational institutions. Report on normal department of the Kansas state university. 9 p. O. [Topeka 1877.]—Ho. of Rep. com. on agricultural college, Manhattan. Report of J. J. A. T. Dixon, chairman. 4 p. O. [Topeka 1877.] Report of subcommittee, Edw. Ballaine, chairman. 3 p. O. Topeka 1877.—Sen. com. on accounts. Report relating to school bonds. 6 p. O. Topeka 1877.—Ho. of Rep. com. on judiciary. Minority report on house bill no. 222, an act to compel railroad companies to comply with their charters. 1 p. O. Topeka 1877.—Sen. com. on judiciary. Majority and minority report on power of legislature to apportion the state for representation in the senate. 3 p. O. Topeka 1877.—Ho. of Rep. com. on railroads. Minority report on house bill no. 319, an act providing for board of R. R. commissioners. 2 p. O. Topeka 1877.—Ho. of Rep. com. on revision of law. Report. 2 p. O. Topeka 1877.—W. W. Climenson, A. G. Miller, and others. Memorial to the legislature, state of Kansas, relating to payment of Price-raid scrip. [2]+7 p. D. [1877.]—Sen. com. on claims. Report on senate concurrent resolution no. 9, Price-raid claims. 2 p. O. Topeka 1877.

VOLUME 3, 1879–91: W: Griffenstein and S. M. Tucker, members from Sedgwick county. Statement to the Ho. of Rep. relating to Sedgwick-Harvey [R. R.] bonds. 3 p. O. Topeka 1878.—Ho. of Rep. com. on boundaries of Barton and Pratt counties. Report. 3 p. O. Topeka 1879. Sen. com. on counties and county lines. Minority report on boundaries of Barton and Pratt counties. 3 p. O. Topeka 1879.—Ho. of Rep. com. charged with the investigation of the election of J: J. Ingalls to the U. S. Senate. Report on senatorial election of 1879, together with the testimony. 130+[1] p. O. Topeka 1879.—Sen. com. on public institutions. Report on condition and needs of state charitable institutions, 11 p. O. Topeka 1881.—Sen. com. on judiciary. Majority and minority reports on House concurrent resolution No. 21, requiring that the general offices of the K. P. Ry. Co. should be kept in the state. 11+7 p. O. Topeka 1881.—Ho. of Rep. com. to investigate the charges preferred by J: Foster against J: H. Prescott, judge of the 14th judicial district. Majority and minority reports, 9 p. O. Topeka 1883.—Leg. com. on live-stock commission of 1884. Report, 1 p. O. Topeka 1885.—Leg. com. to investigate the affairs of the state penitentiary, (Ja. C. Pusey). Report, with diagram of penitentiary and coal grounds. 13 p. O. Topeka 1885.—Leg. com. to investigate the sale of normal school lands in Mitchell and Lincoln counties. Report. 3 p. O. Topeka 1885.—Leg. com. on working of live-stock laws of 1884. Minority and majority reports. 5 p. O. Topeka 1886.—Leg. com. on state affairs. Report on repairs of east wing of state house; E. C. Porter, stenographer. 112 p. O. Topeka 1886.—Price raid commission. Report to leg., 1886. 24 p. O. Topeka 1886.—State Board of Health. Preface to 1st annual report, [1885]. 4 p. O. Topeka 1886.—Ho. of Rep. com. on printing. Report regarding the state printing; also, memoradum of state printer. 6 p.

Legislature—*continued:*

O. Topeka 1886.—Ho. of Rep. com. on education. Report on governor's message, relating to school bonds of Comanche, Norton, and Rice counties, and city of Lawrence. 1 p. O. Topeka 1888.—Leg. com. to investigate the deaf and dumb asylum at Olathe. Report. 3 p. O. Topeka 1887.—Leg. com. on silk culture. Report. 4 p. O. Topeka 1887.—Ho. of Rep. com. on hygiene and public health. Report on state board of health. 1 p. O. Topeka 1887.—J. H. Hibbetts, J. M. Johnson, and G: W. Knapp, citizens of Hamilton county. Memorial to the senate on county lines of southwestern Kansas. 12 p. O. Topeka 1887.—Hallowell, J. R., Morgan & Mason, counsel for contestor. Brief in case of C. J. Jones, contestor, vs. H. P. Myton, contestee, before the Ho. of Rep., contested election for representative from 122 dist. 12 p. O. Topeka 1887.—Ho. of Rep. com. on assessment and taxation. Report on memorial of E. L. Worswick and others, county clerks, [on assessment laws]. 2 p. O. Topeka 1889.—Leg. com. to investigate the industrial reformatory at Hutchinson. Report. 11 p. O. Topeka 1889.—Ho. of Rep. sub-com. of ways and means. Report [on] asylum for feeble-minded. 1 p. O. Topeka 1889.—Report [on] forestry station. 1 p. O. Topeka 1889.—Report [on] state university. 8 p. O. Topeka 1889.—Report [on] agricultural college. 4 p. O. Topeka 1889.—Report [on] Topeka insane asylum. 6 p. O. Topeka 1889.—Report [on] institution for deaf and dumb. 2 p. O. Topeka 1889.—Ho. of Rep. com. on charitable institutions. Report [on] soldiers' orphans' home. 2 p. O. Topeka 1889.—Report [on] blind, deaf and dumb, imbecile and insane. 3 p. O. Topeka 1889.—Climenson, W. W., and others. Open letter to the Leg. relating to Price raid scrip. 3 p. Q. Topeka 1889.—Ho. of Rep. com. on Price raid scrip. Report. 2 p. O. Topeka 1889.—Ritter, J: N., Hudson, B., and 42 others, members of the bar of Cherokee and Bourbon counties. Petition asking for formation of a judicial district composed of Cherokee and Crawford counties. 3 p. O. Topeka 1889.—Ho. of Rep. com. on railroads. Schedule of freight rates on U. P. railroad in Kansas. 78 p. O. Topeka 1891.

VOLUME 4, 1867–1899: Crawford, G: A. Anniversary address on the life and character of Abraham Lincoln, 12 F 1867. 31 p. O.—Ho. of Rep. Journal of proceedings of the court of impeachment in the case of Josiah E. Hayes, state treasurer. 95 p. O. Topeka 1874.—Standing committees, 1881. 6 p. T, folder. Topeka 1881.—Moody, Joel. The last roll [poem]. [6] p. S. Topeka 1883.—Turner, L. L., railroad commissioner. Grain rates. 7 p. O. 1885.—Ho. of Rep., committee to investigate the status of Wallace county. Report. 3 p. O. Topeka 1887.—Wood, S. N., and Mackey, , attorneys for citizens of Stevens county. "Ought the legislature to interfere with a suit pending in the supreme court?" 6 p. O. 1887.—Legislative excursion to Wichita, 18 F 1887. 3 p. O.—Limerick, A. H. Roll of ex-soldiers of the house of 1889. 5 p. ob. F. Topeka 1889.—Legislature. Standing committees, 1889. 7 p. D.—Medical examiners' bill. 4 p. D.—Hilton, H. R. The money power. 5 p. O.—Ware, E. F. Suggestions as to the control of corporations, legislature of 1892. 1893.—Ho. of Rep. [Dunsmore house], committee on railroads. Information relating to Kansas freight rates, 12 F 1893.

Legislature—*continued:*

32 p. O. Topeka 1893.—Ho. of Rep., State-house investigating committee. Minority report of E. D. York. 7 p. O. 1893.—King, L. P. In memory of the Kansas senate of 1893. O. circular.—Ho. of Rep. Committees 1892-'93. 2 pam. O. Topeka 1893.—Sen. Con. Resolution, to open the Cherokee strip. Circular, 1893.—State printer; is he paid too much for the work he does? What union men have to say, 15 F 1895. 8 p. O.—State printing by E. H. Snow, 1895. 3 p. O.—Legislature. 42 cards of members, or candidates for offices, etc. 1895.—Hubbard, H. R. Sketches of ex-soldiers of the Kansas house of representatives, legislature of 1887. 29 p. O. Topeka 1887.—Outline map of Kansas, showing population by counties, 1890 and 1895.—First biennial banquet of the house of 1893, 15 F 1895; menu and toasts. 4 p.—Supreme Court. Opinion of Chief Justice Horton, concurred in by Mr. Justice Johnston, 11 Mr 1893, on the constitutionality of the Ho. of Rep. of the state of Kansas known as the Douglass House, the case of *In re* Gunn, proceedings in *habeas corpus.* [18] p. O. St. Paul. (*Note.*—From Pacific Reporter, v. 32, p. 471-488.)—Woman's relief corps. Circular letter in favor of legislation for soldiers' home, Dodge City, 7 F 1895.—Bowman, Mrs. T. E. and six other members of the Topeka kindergarten association. Letter, favoring the incorporation of kindergartens into the public school system. 1897.—Circular favoring the use of Garfield university building for a state normal school. 4 p. 1897.—Clark, J. T. Circular to legislature of 1897, rel. to the work of the Kansas Children's Home Finding Society.—Comparative statement showing amount of work to be done by county officers in Sedgwick, Wyandotte, Shawnee, Leavenworth and Cherokee counties. 1897.—Crane & Co. The school-book question, 3 F 1879, 12 p. O.—The Harris railroad bill, a history of its rejection by the senate committee on railroads and the full text of the bill, by Grant W. Harrington, secretary of railroad committee. 33 p. O. 1897.—Historical Society. To the legislature, 26 F 1897. 3 p. O.—Initiative and Referendum League. The initiative and referendum, circular. 1897.—Johnson, W. L. Letter, Atchison, 6 F 1897, relative to state uniformity of school books. 3 p.—The law prescribing the limitations and restrictions as to legislative power in fixing maximum rates. 31 p. O. [1897].—Kansas Academy of Science. Letter, 2 Mr 1895, to the legislature.—W. H. Sears, I. H. Hettinger, W. S. Metcalf, C. J. Garver, and H. M. Phillips. Letter, 10 F 1897, favoring certain legislation for the Kansas national guard.—Life-insurance men of Kansas. Letter addressed to the legislature of 1897 rel. to insurance legislation. 4 p. Q.—Map showing location of state institutions and proposed normal schools, favoring Ness City as a site. 1897.—A plea for the state institutions [agricultural college]. Circular. 1897.—Postal favoring H. B. no. 675, S. B. no. 440, relating to normal schools, 1 Mr 1897.—Senate committee to inspect the Garfield university building. Report, 12 F 1897, by W. B. Helm, B. F. Wallack, and W. H. Ryan, com., with inventory of Garfield library and furniture, together with estimate of value of building, and cost of completing the unfinished portion of the university, by J. C. Holland. 9 p. O.—Senate. Report on financial condition of the cities of Anthony and Cimarron, 1897 2 p. Circular.—Snow, F. H. Circular letter and slips urging more liberal salaries for university staff, 23 F 1897.—State normals and hard times [favoring Garfield university]. 1897.—To the Kansas state legislature and citizens and tax-payers of Kansas City, Kan., relating to the separation of Armourdale from Kansas City. Circular. 1897.—The valued-policy law. 14 p. D. 1897.—Yates, G. W. W. Circular addressed to the legislature of 1897 rel. to insurance co. bill of Mr. Jaquins. 3 p. Q. circular. n. t. p.—A. T. & S. F. Rly. Co. Memorial to the legislature of the state of Kansas. 16 p. O. 1899.—Ho. com. on state affairs. Report on municipalities whose bonds are now held by permanent school fund and other state funds upon which interest is not being paid, etc. 4 p. O. 1899.—Children's Home Finding Society. A good measure which should become a law. 4 p. O. 1899.—Culver, W. W., chief grain inspector. Letter to L. Cortelyon, president Kansas State Grain Dealers' Assoc. 4 p. nar. Q. 1899.—Circular favoring Chanute as location of insane asylum, with map and statistics. 1899.—Court paper bill. 2 circulars.—Medical legislation. 2 circulars. 1899.—Court reporting in other states. 3 p. Q. 1899.—Guthrie, W. F. Letters to the legislature, 28 F and 1 Mr 1889, rel. to bill to prevent mayors and councilman from acting as attorneys adverse to cities. 2 pam. O. Q.—National Dairy Union. Letter to the leg., 11 F 1899, about oleomargarine.—Kansas State Dairy Assoc. Letter, 22 F 1899, to leg., favoring the Burkholder bill, Ho. B. no. 668.—Kansas State Ag. College. 3 circulars rel. to legislation wanted. 1899. 328.4-4

VOLUME 5, 1893: Clemens, G. C. Points for populists as to organizing the House of Representatives. 11 p. O. n. t. p. 1893.—Gleed, C: S. A bird's-eye view of the political situation in Kansas, with especial reference to the people's party. 23 p. O. Topeka 1893.—Gray, I. J. [Rhymes on the populist house of 1893.]—[Hoch, E. W. and Troutman, Ja. A.] The last war, a bloodless battle for constitutional government, the facts, the law, and the equity. 121 p. 1 diag. O. Topeka 1893.—Hudson, Jos. K. Letters to Governor Lewelling. 223 p. D. Topeka 1893.—Kent, W. H. A historical review of the causes and issues that led to the overthrow of the republican party in Kansas in 1892, including a history of the exciting events of the legislative embroglio and its final settlement, in which bloodshed and internecine war were narrowly averted. 80 p. O. Topeka 1893.—Lang, G: B.; Kansas trouble, the facts in the case. 98 p. 7 por. O. [Des Moines] 1893. (Iowa Tribune Quarterly, no. 8, O 1893.)—People's party; a peck of trouble for the republican party, an account of the legislative compromise and the Douglass house surrender to G: R. Peck. 7 p. O. Topeka 1893.—Republican election methods in Kansas; general election of 1892, and legislative investigations, session of 1893, including a history of the election of United States senator and state printer, the Gunn habeas corpus case, and other matters of public interest. 101 p. O. Topeka 1893.

Note.—Ed. S. Waterbury and W. C. Webb wrote a greater part of this pamphlet under the direction of A. H. Lupfer, chairman of the elections committee of the Dunsmore house.—[Supposed] speech to the dual house. [Anon.] Broadside.

Legislature—*continued:*

1893.—The revolution, the indisputable facts as given by all parties. [Ja 1893]. Broadside.—Waterbury, E. S. The legislative conspiracy in Kansas, court vs. constitution, who are the anarchists. ed. 2. 89 p. il. O. Topeka 1893. (Aurora Library, v. 1, No. 1, Ag 1893.)
See also vol. 4.

VOLUME 6. Hand-books, 1877–95: Martin, G: W. Directory of the state government of Kansas, with sketches of senators, congressmen, and members of the legislature, 1877–78. 85 p. il. D. Topeka 1877.—Stacey, A. G., Sec. Directory, 1889, [with biographical sketch of each member and officer of the senate.] 51 p. S. Topeka 1889.—Crane, G: W. Hand-book of the Kansas legislature for 1889–95. 4 pam. S. T. Topeka 1889–94.—Advance sheets of 1890. 24 p. T. Topeka 1890.—Supplement to 1895. 22 p. S. Topeka 1895. 328.4–4.

VOL. 7. Leg. rosters, committees, etc. Portfolio. 1861–95: Leg. rosters, 1861, '65, '79, '81, '85, '87. 5 broadsides.—House committees, 1891, '95, '99. 3 pam. O. n. t. p.—Rolls, 1865, '70, '79, '85, '93, '95. 7 broadsides.—Rosters, 1874, '77, '85, '85–6, '87–8, '89. 6 broadsides.—Senate.—Committee rooms, 1893. Broadside;—Diagram senate chamber, 1885. Broadside;—Roll of the senate, 1875, '81, '85, '95. 4 broadsides;—Standing committees, 1893, '95. Broadside. 328.4–7

—Root, G: A. Plat of the Ho. of Rep., 1897. Ms. 328.4–7

VOLUME 8, Hand-books, 1897–'99: Advanced sheets, hand-book of Kansas legislature, 1897. 38 p. S. Topeka 1897.—Hand-book, 1897. 124 p. S. Topeka 1897.—Supplement to the hand-book, 1897. 29 p. S. Topeka 1897.—Crane, G: W. & Co. Advanced sheets, hand-book, 1899. 44 p. S. Topeka 1898.—Hand-book of the Kansas legislature for 1899. 160 p. T. Topeka 1899.—Supplement [of hand-book, 1899], 40 p. S. Topeka 1899. 328.4–8

Legislature:

—Proceedings in the cases of the impeachment of C: Robinson, governor, J: W. Robinson, secretary of state, G: S. Hillyer, auditor, of state of Kansas. 425+[2] p. O. Lawrence 1862. 328.4
Note.—The officers named were charged with having authorized the sale of certain state bonds below the lawful price.

—House of Rep. Journal of proceedings of the court of impeachment in the case of J. E. Hayes, treasurer of state. 95p. O. Topeka 1874. 328.4

—Senate. Journal of proceeding of the court of impeachment in the case of Josiah E. Hayes, treasurer of state. 352p. O. Topeka 1874. 328.4

—Senate. Trial of Theodosius Botkin, judge of the 32d judicial district, on impeachment by the Ho. of Rep. for misdemeanors in office, April 1891. 2 v. 1426p. O. Topeka 1891. 328.4

—Joint committee to investigate charges of corruption and bribery against S: C. Pomeroy and members of the legislature. Reports together with the testimony; reported phonographically by M. J. Dutton. 185p. O. Topeka 1873. 328.4

—Joint Committee on Insurance. Report under a resolution ordering an investigation of the charges made against the insurance department by the Auditor of State in his official report for 1874. [Reprint.] 28p. O. Topeka 1875. (In Ormsbee, T. Pro Bono Publico.) 368.9

—Joint Committee to Investigate the Management of the Kansas State Penitentiary, 1889. Report and testimony. 865p. Ms. 2 v. Ob. O. 328.4
Note.—The report is a clipping from the Topeka Capital-Commonwealth, of 26 F 1889. The testimony is typewritten.

—Committee to Investigate the Explosion Which Occurred at Coffeyville, 18 O 1888. Proceedings. 647+1 p. O. Topeka 1891. 328.4

—Rules of the senate and house of representatives, 1860, '61, '62–'64, '65, '68, '70, '72, '74–'91. 19 pam. T. O. Lawrence, Topeka 1860–91. 328.5
Note.—Title pages are various; standing committees are generally given; sometimes rosters of officers and members; 1891 is incomplete. The rules are generally printed in the journals. 1861 contains post-office address, place of birth, age, avocation and politics of the members, senators, and officers.
See also, K. S. Ho. and Sen. rules.

—Guthrie, J: Recollections of the Kansas legislature of 1868. (In Agora, v. 2, 1892–93.) 050

—Parker, J. W., O'Bryan, E:, and Semple, R. H. The legislature of 1895. (In Agora, v. 4, Ap 1895.) 050

—Admire, W: W. Political and legislative hand-book for Kansas, 1891, with maps. 10+459+71 p. O. Topeka 1891. 328.4

—Reno, W. W., and Hopkins, R. J. The Kansas blue book, containing the portraits and biographical sketches of the members of the leg. of 1897. 92 p. il. O. Topeka 1897. 328.4

—Ruggles, R. M., Sessions, C: H., and Ury, I. N. The Kansas blue book, including biographies of members of the legislature of 1899. 230 p. por. O. Topeka 1899. 328.4

Library:

—Swallow, J. R. Report, 1866. (Auditor, report, 1866.) 353.3
Note.—In this report Mr. Swallow says: "A catalogue of miscellaneous works was given in my last report." The report referred to is not contained in the Society's copy of the auditor's report for 1865.

—Dickinson, D: Report [1st] annual 1870. 6 p. O. Topeka 1870. 027–1

——Catalogue, 1871. 50+[1] p. O. Topeka 1871. 027–1

——Report, 2d annual, 1871. 21 p. O. Topeka 1871. 027–1

——Report, 3d annual, 1872. 19 p. O. Topeka 1872. 027–1

——Report, 4th annual, 1873. 15 p. O. n. t. p. 027–1

——Report, 5th annual, 1874. 15 p. O. Topeka 1874. 027–1

——Report, 6th annual, 1875. 16 p. O. Topeka 1875. 027–1

——Catalogue of the law books in K. S. L. 46 p. O. Topeka 1876. 027–1

——Report, 7th annual, 1876. 19 p. O. Topeka 1877. 027–1

Library—*continued:*

——Report, 1st biennial, 1877-'78. 20 p. O. Topeka 1878. 027-1

—Dennis, H. J. Report, 3d biennial, 1881-'82. 34 p. O. Topeka 1882. 027-1

——Report, 4th biennial, 1882-'84. 52 p. O. Topeka 1884. 027-1

——Report, 5th biennial, 1884-'86. 65 p. O. Topeka 1886. 027-1

——Report, 6th biennial, 1886-'88. 51 p. O. Topeka, 1888. 027-1

——Report, 7th biennial, 1888-'90. 59 p. O. Topeka 1890. 027-1

——Report, 8th biennial, 1890-'92. 85 p. O. Topeka 1892. 027-1

——Report, 9th biennial, 1892-'94. 102 p. O. Topeka 1894. 027.1

Note.—2d biennial report, 1879-'80, was not published.

—House of representatives. Report of committee on library. (Jour. 1877, p. 483.) 328.1

—Legislature. Report of committee on books. (Sen. Jour., 1863, p. 108.) 328.1

——Report on transfer of miscellaneous books from the state library to the library of the historical society. (Jour., 1883, p. 400; Sen. p. 674.) 328.1

——Report on state library. (Ho. Jour. 1870, p. 658.) 328.1

—King, Ja. L. Report, 10th biennial, 1894-'96. 58p. O. Topeka 1896. 027.1

—Diggs, Mrs. Annie L. Report, 11th biennial, 1897-'98. O. Topeka 1899. 027.1

——Kansas State Federation of Clubs. A short history of the traveling library work in Kansas, 1898-'00, as given in three reports [by Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston and Mrs. D. W. Nellis]. 23 p. T. Topeka 1900. 027.1

Live Stock Sanitary Commission, and State Veterinarian:

—Annual reports, 1-3, 1884-'86; 1, 2 biennial reports, 1887-'90; report 1895, '96, '97, '98. 7pam. O. Topeka 1895-'98. 619

Note.—State Veterinarians: A. A. Holcombe, 1884-'88; W. H. Going, 1889-'93; G: C. Pritchard, 1893-'96. Inspectors: Alb. Dean, 1895-'96; Taylor Riddle, 1897-1900; Fred Cowley, 1900-02.

—Holcombe, A. A., state veterinarian. Texas fever and pleuropneumonia; symptoms and treatment. 10p. O. Topeka 1884. 619

—*See* Leg. Jour. 1885, 1886. Leg. Docs.

Normal School, Concordia:

—Reports for the years 1874, 1875. (In Supt. Pub. Inst. reports for the years 1874, 1875.) 370.7

Note.—The school was organized 16 S 1874, under act of Mr 1870. An appropriation was made in Mr 1875 for its maintenance from 16 S 1874 until 30 N 1875, and again in Mr 1876 to 1 Mr of same year, when the school was discontinued as a state institution.

Principal, 1874, E. F. Robinson. President, 1875, H. D. McCarty. H. E. Smith, president, and W. E. Reid, secretary of the board.

Normal School, Concordia—*continued:*

—The new Normal School. (Kansas School Journal, Topeka, Ag 1874. Clipping from Concordia Empire.) 370.7

Normal School, Emporia:

—Report of commissioners appointed to locate; with accompanying papers, [1863.] 6 p. O. n. p., n. d. 370.7-NB

—Reports, 1st to 12th annual, 1st to 11th biennial, 1865-'98. 14 pam. O. Topeka 1868-'98. 370.7-NB

Note.—Reports for 1865 to 1868 in reports of Supt Pub. Inst'n for those years; 1869, 73-76, are cut from the reports of the superintendent; 2d and 3d biennial reports, 1879-'82, are in the Pub. Docs. and reports of the Supt. Pub. Inst.

—Special report, D 28 1885; H. D. Dickson, sec. Bd. of Regents. 5 p. O. [Topeka 1886.] 370.7-NB

—Same. (Leg. Jours., 1886.) 328.1

Note.—The School was located at Emporia by the act of March 3d, 1863. and and endowed with the 30,380 acres of salt land given the state under the organic act. Appropriations have been regularly made for its support since the first, 29 F 1864, with the exception of the years 1876 to Je 1883. The school was opened F 15 1865.

Presidents: L. B. Kellogg, F 1865 to 30 Je 1871; G: W. Hoss, S 1871 to 25 D 1873; C. R. Pomeroy, Ja 1874 to 6 Ag 1879; R. B. Welch, 20 Ag 1879 to Je 1882; Albert R. Taylor, Je 1882 to —

—House of Representatives. Report on normal school. (Jour., 1869, p. 659.) 328.1

—Kansas State legislature. Report of committee on needs of normal school. (Ho. Jour., 1872, 1873.) 328.1

——Salt lands. *See* Leg. Jours., 1885; Sen. Jour. 1869.

History.

—The class of 1883, commencement exercises. (In Emporia D. Republican, 12 Je 1883.) 370.7-NE

—A history of the state normal school of Kansas, for the first twenty-five years [edited by Alb. R. Taylor]. 169+85 p. il. 20 por. O. Emporia, Topeka 1889. 370.7-NE

Contents: General sketch, lands, buildings, board of regents, laws organizing, register, and officers, sketches by Prof. J. N. Wilkinson. Faculty register. Sketches of faculty, by Miss M. P. Spencer. Library. Periodicals. Societies, by Miss V. V. Price. The alumni association. Prize contests. The quarter-centennial celebration. The original "eighteen," by Mrs. George Plumb. Some reminiscences, by Prof. J. H. Hill. Board of visitors. Financial statement, by Prof. M. A. Bailey. Summary of attendance, etc. Annual addresses. Bric-a-brac. Register of the undergraduates. Portraits of L. B. Kellogg, G: W. Hoss, C. R. Pomeroy, R. B. Welch, A. R. Taylor, H. B. Norton, J. H. Hill, T. H. Dinsmore, jr., G. B. Penny, D. S. Kelly, J. N. Wilkinson, M. A. Bailey, Viola V. Price, Emilie Kuhlman, May L. Clifford, Martha P. Spencer, Minnie E. Curtiss, Lizzie J. Stephenson, C. V. Eskridge, Rev. G. C. Morse. Six engravings of normal school building. Part 2, catalog for 1888-'89, with alumni record.

Normal School, Emporia—*continued:*

—[Sketch.] Anon. (Colum. Hist. of Educ., 1893, p. 52.) 370.9

—History of normal school work in Kansas. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 6, 1900, p. 114.) 906

Catalogs.

—Catalogs, 1868–'70, '71–'73, '79–'80, '81–'99. 23 pam. O. Emporia, Topeka 1869–'99. 370.7–NG

Note.—A record of the alumni is given in the later catalogs.

Handbooks, Information.

—Announcement of opening of 1st term. 15 p. 1865. (Kansas Educational Journal, v. 2, p. 47.) 370.9

—[Circular of information], Jl 1892. 4p. Q. 370.7–NI

—[Circular relative to supplying teachers to public schools], My 14, 1892. 1p. Q. 370.7–NI

—General circular, 1887. 24+[4]p. il. O. Topeka 1887. 370.7–NI

—Maps, showing the counties represented at the state normal school, 1886–'87. 2 maps. 370.7–NI

—Students' handbook, 1899. 50 p. O. Topeka 1899. 370.7–NI

Addresses.

—Brewer, D. J. The new profession; an address delivered at Emporia, 28 Je 1865, at close of first term. (Emporia News, 8 Jl 1865.) 370.7–NK

—Thomas, Elisha S. Intellectual demand for God, after the method of Hegel, baccalaureate, Emporia, 12 Je 1887. 26p. O. n. p., n. d. 370.7–NK

Programs, Tickets, etc.

—Programs, circulars, announcements, blanks, etc., 1867–'95. 370.7–NL

—General directions for pupil teachers in the training department. 17p. O. Topeka 1895. 370.7–NM

Normal Annuals.

—The Kodak; published by the senior class, 1898. 212p., 18 por., 42 gr. of por. ill., ob. O. St. Louis 1898. 370.7–NP

Periodicals.

—The Normal Cabinet, a monthly journal, devoted to the interests of the Kansas state normal school; published by the students and faculty, v. 1, no. 1–4, 9–11, v. 2, no. 1, 2, 7, Mr–Je 1882, Ja–Mr, Je, Jl, D 1883. O. Q. Emporia 1882–'83. 370.7–NQ

Note.—The editors have been: Arth. P. Davis, G: B. Gallagher, A. W. Stubbs, L. A. Wright.

—The State Normal School Quarterly; published under the supervision of the faculty of the state normal school; editor, A. R. Taylor. v. 1–6, Ap 1889 to Je 1894, 6 v. F. Emporia 1889–'94. 370.7–NQ

Note.—Called the Normal Quarterly from Ap 1889 to O 1890.

—The State Normal Monthly; published under the supervision of the faculty of the state normal school, v. 7–12, O 1894 to Je 1900. 6 v. Q. Emporia 1894–'00. 970.9–NQ

—The Oven, a semimonthly paper, devoted to the interests of the students of the Kansas state normal; published by the Literati society publishing co. v. 1, no. 9–v. 3, no. 17; 20 My 1898–19 My 1900. 2 v. Q. Emporia 1898–'00. 970.7–NQ

—*See also,* Legislative documents.

Normal School, Leavenworth:

—Catalogue, 1872, '73. 2 pam. O. Leavenworth 1872, '73. 370.7

Note.—The school was organized under the normal school law of Mr 1870, and was opened, 7 S 1870, in the upper rooms of the Morris school building of Leavenworth, the use of which was given the state so long as the school continued. Yearly appropriations were made by the state to cover current expenses, from 7 S 1870 to 1 Mr 1876, when the school was discontinued as a state institution.

Principals: P. J. Williams, J: A. Banfield, J: Wherrell.

Board of Directors: J. L. Wever, A. G. Speer, T. A. Hurd, M. S. Grant, W. H. Coolidge, H. L. Newman, W. E. Chamberlin, W. O. Gould, T. C. Dick, J. L. Chapman, A. B. Havens, D. Donovan, C. B. Brace, Ja. F. Legate, Levi Houston, J: H. Brown; R. K. McCartney, W. L. Challis, T: Moonlight, G: A. Eddy, Levi Wilson.

—Official reports, 1–6 an., 1870–75. 1 pam. O. Topeka 1870. 370.7

Note.—1871 to '75, published in the reports of the Supt. of Pub. Inst. for same years.

—House of Rep. Report of com. to visit. (Jours., 1873; 1877.) 328.1

Colored Normal School, Quindaro:

—Reports, 1872, 1873. (In Supt. Pub. Inst. reports, 1872, 1873.) 370.7

Note.—The school was opened 11 S 1872, in a building and with apparatus furnished by the Freedmen's university, of Quindaro. An appropriation of $2,500 was made by act of March, 1872, for the current expenses of the school, and the second and last, of $1,100, was made in March, 1873.

Principals: C: Langston, Eben Blachly, Sherman, and Mrs. J. F. Blachly.

Board of directors: Jesse Cooper, Fielding Johnson, C: Robinson, Byron Judd, E. F. Heisler, Eben Blachly, Col. Pritchard, and W. J. Huffaker.

—Kansas Educational Journal. Report of first term. (V. 9, 1873, p. 310.)

Paymaster and Inspector General:

—C: Chadwick was appointed paymaster general on 6 My 1864 by Governor Carney, and was succeeded by J: K. Rankin. Under date of 23 Ag 1892, in a letter to the secretary of the Historical Society, he says: "I went through the counties of Johnson, Miami, Anderson, Bourbon, and Douglas, and paid out several thousands of dollars to the state militia. The pay rolls were returned to the treasurer with the amounts paid indorsed thereon. I received Mr. Spriggs's receipt for the amount paid and the return of the rolls. No other report was made that I know of."

—Rankin, J: K. Report, 1865. 10p. O. n. t. p. (Adj. Gen. rep. v. 1.) 353.5

—Senate. Report of committee to examine the accounts of the board of commissioners appointed to audit certain military claims, and the accounts of the paymaster general. (Sen. Jour., 1865, p. 157.) 328.1

Penitentiary:

—Board of Com'rs on Pub. Inst'ns. [Reports relative to the penitentiary.] (Their 1st and 2d annual reports, 1873, 1874.) 353

—Catalog and rules of the library, 1877. 100p. T. Leavenworth 1877. 017

—Same, 1884. 177p. S. Topeka 1884. 017

—Same, 1888. 212p. T. Topeka 1888. 017

—Same, 1898. 216p. S. n. p., n. d. 017

— —Appendix no. 1, to library catalog, 1 My 1900. 11p. T. [1900.] 017
Note.—Contain also rules of the prison.

—Circulars, 3. 365

—Coal mine rules. 8p. T. n. t. p. 365

—Commissioners. Report, 1861, '62. (In Pub. Docs. 1861, '62.) 365-1
Note.—Names commissioners 1861, '62, M. S. Adams, C. S. Lambdin, and C: Starns.

—Directors and Warden. Annual reports, 1863, '64, 1866-76, biennial reports 1-11, 1877-98. 22 pam. 1 mss. O. Lawrence, Leavenworth, Topeka 1863-98. 365-1, 2
Note.—The report for 1864 is in the original manuscript; 1879-'80 is in Pub. Docs. Names of Directors, as given in the above reports: W: Dunlap, J: Wilson, S. S. Ludlum, M. R. Dutton, Theo. C. Sears, A. Low, Harrison Kelley, E. Hensley, R. W. Jenkins, A. J. Angell, H. C. Learned, O. J. Grover, H. W. Gillett, S: J. Crawford, H. D. Mackay, W: Martindale, H. E. Richter, W. W. Guthrie, J. S. Waters, H. H. Lourey, J. C. Watts, Alb. Perry, O. S. Hiatt, Arch. Shaw, J. S. McDowell, W. H. McBride, H. V. Rice, J: S. Gilmore, W. J. Hurd, T. H. Butler, G. W. Hollenback, T. W. Eckert, M. M. Beck, Lair Dean, A. A. Newman, M. L. Drake and C. E. Allison.
Wardens as given in the above reports: G: H. Keller, Mr 1867-Ap 1868; J: L. Philbrick, Mr or Ap 1868-Mr 1870; H: Hopkins, Ap 1870-9 Ap 1883; W. C. Jones, 10 Ap 1883-Mr 1885; J: H. Smith, 7 Mr 1885-Ap 1889; G: H. Case, My 1889-My 1893; S. W. Chase, 1 My 1893-Je 1895; J. B. Lynch, 21 Je 1895-1 F 1897; H. S. Landis, 1 Ap 1897-Jl 1899; Jos. B. Tomlinson, 1 Jl 1899, for four years.

—General rules and regulations. 50 p. S. Lansing 1895. 365

—The prison trusty, a weekly publication issued from the Kansas state penitentiary. v. 1, no. 1-v. 3, no. 23, 26 My 1892-1 N 1894. 3 v. F. Lansing 1892-94. 050

—[Report on] penitentiary coal shaft, 19 Ja 1881. 14 p. O. n. t. p. 365

—Rules to be observed by prisoners. (In catalog and rules of the library, 1884, p. 4-10; 1888, p. 7-14.) 365

—Special report, 1 Ja 1886. 13 p. O. n. t. p. 365

—Same. (In legislative journals, 1886.) 328.1

—Supplemental report of penitentiary coal mine, 1 Ja 1883. [3] p. D. n. p., n. d.

—Supplementary report, 19 Ja 1881, on the coal product. (Sen. Journal, p. 112; House, p. 109, 179.) 328.1

—Blackmar, Fk. W. Penology in Kansas [with plates]. (Univ. Quar., v. 1, no. 4, Ap 1893.) 378-UJ

Penitentiary—*continued:*

—Crawford, S: J. Gov. Communication to legislature of 1868 relative to defects in the law of 1867 regulating the state penitentiary, dated 23 Ja. (Ho. Jour. 1868, p. 192-195.) 328.1

—Holcomb, W. L. Contract convict labor and prison reform, advance chapter of 10th an. rep. Kan. Bureau of Labor and Industry, 1894. 104 p. O. Topeka 1894. 365

—Ho. of Rep. Report on penitentiary coal-shaft. (Sen. Jour., 1891, p. 557.) 328.1

—Leg. Com. to visit penitentiary. Report, [1876.] 8 p. O. n. p., n. d. 328.4-2

— —Report, 1864, 1873, '76. (Leg. Jours.) 328.1

— —Com. to investigate the affairs of the State Penitentiary. Report, [23 F 1885.] 13 p. 1 map, O. n. p., n. d. 328.4-3

— —Same, 1868, '79, '85. (Leg. Jours.)

— —Com. to investigate the affairs of the State Penitentiary. Report, together with testimony, 1889. 865 p. F. mss. in 2 v. 328.4
Note.—The report is pasted in the front of the volume, as printed in the Topeka Capital-Commonwealth of 26 F 1889. The report was also printed in a pamphlet of 15 pages, which is bound in Leg. Docs., v. 3. See K. S. S. Jour. 1889, p. 829.

—Lawrence, W. W. H. [Comm. 17 F 1864, enclosing contract for building certain parts of the penitentiary, together with specifications of E. T. Carr.] (Sen. Jour., 1864, p. 267.) 328.1

—Reynolds, J: N. A Kansas Hell, or Life in the Kansas Penitentiary. 255 p. D. Atchison 1889. 365

—The twin hells, a thrilling narrative of life in the Kansas and Missouri penitentiaries. 331 p. D. Chicago [1890].

—Sexton, Mrs. Lydia, chaplain, 1870-'71. Report, 1870. (In her autobiography, 1885.) 920

—Welch, J. M., and Sabine, A. Inspection of penitentiary. (S. Bd. of Health, 8th an. rep., 1892, p. 223.) 614
See also Kan. Ty.; Master of Convicts; Kan. S. Leg. Docs.; Ho. and Sen. Journals, 1862; Sexton, Mrs. Lydia; Weston, W., Guide to K. P. Ry., 1872.

Police Commissioners:

—Committee on investigation of the metropolitan police. Report, 10 Mr 1891. (Ho. Jour., p. 1050-1062. 328.9

Quartermaster General:

—Collamore, G: W. Statement in relation to state arms, 11 My 1861. (Sen. Jour. 1861, p. 229). 328.1

— —Report, 1862. (Fr. Pub. doc. 1862, p. 156-167.) 353.5

—Ballard, D: E. Report, 1865. 9 p. 3 tab. O. n. p. n. d. 353.5
Note.—In General Ballard's report for D 1865, he mentions a report prepared by him in Je 1865. No copy of this report has been secured by the Society.

—Haskell, J: G. Report, 1867. (Adj. Gen. report, 1867, p. 13-16.) 353.6

—See also Kansas state adjutant general.

Reform School [for Boys], Topeka:

—Trustees State Charitable Institutions. Report. 20 p. O. Topeka 1881. 364.1

—Purposes, rules, and regulations. 19 p. O. Topeka 1881. 364.1

—Reports, 1-9, biennial, 1882-98. 8 pam. O. Topeka 1882-99. 364.1
Note.—Reports 4-9, contained in reports of trustees of state charitable institutions. The legislature of 1879 provided for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building. The school was opened 1 Jl 1881. The superintendents have been J. G. Eckles, 1 Je 1881-1 Mr 1882; J. F. Buck to 30 Je 1891; W. E. Fagan to My 1893; E. C. Hitchcock, My 1893-My 1895; W. H. Howell, 15 My 1895-1 Je 1897; J. M. Hart, 1 Je 1897-1 My 1899; W. S. Hancock, 1 My 1899.

—[Sketch.] (Colum. Hist. of Educ., 1893, p. 68.) 370.9

Relief:

—House of Representatives. Resolutions relating to relief for drought sufferers. (Jour., 1861, p. 133, 164, 171.) 328

—Kansas Central Relief Committee, Arny, W. F. M., agent. Report, 24 Mr 1861. (Ho. Jour., 1861, p. 141, 171.) 328.1

—State relief agent, Wright, J. K. Report of distribution of wheat, act of 1869. (Ho. Jour., 1870, p. 303.) 328.1

—Report. (Adj. Gen. Report, 1872, p. 3.) 353.6

—*See also*, Board of Railroad Commissioners.—Governor. Osborn, T: A.

School Text-book Commission:

—Proceedings of regular session, 3 My 1897, and special sessions following. 27 p. O. Topeka 1897. 379.15
Note.—No session was held in 1898.

—Proceedings of regular session, 1 My 1899, and special session following. 76 p. O. Topeka 1899. 379.15

—Proceedings of special session, 29 Ag 1899. 23 p. O. Topeka 1900. 379.15
Note.—The commission was created by the legislature of 1897, and consists of eight members appointed by the governor, with the state supt. of pub. inst. as chairman. Thus far the members have been: W. J. Hurd, S. W. Black, A. V. Jewett, S. I. Hale, D. O. McCray, N. McDonald, S. M. Nees, A. H. Lupfer, J. W. Spindler, F. P. Smith, and State Superintendents Stryker and Nelson.

Secretary of State:

—Robinson, J: Winter. Report, 1861, 1st [annual.] (Pub. doc. 1861, p. 11-25.) 353.1

—Legislature. Proceedings in the cases of the impeachment of C: Robinson, J: W. Robinson, and G: S. Hillyer. 425 p. O. Lawrence 1862. 328.4

— —*See also*, Jours. 1862.

—Shepherd, Sanders Rufus. Report, 1862, 2d annual. (Fr. Pub doc. 1862, p. 76-90.) 353.1

—Lawrence, W: Wirt H: Report, 1863, 4th [3d] annual. 22 p. O. n. p., n. d. 353.1

— —Report, 1864, 5th [4th] annual. 29 p. 1 tab. O. n. t. p. 353.1

Secretary of State—*continued:*

—Barker, Rinaldo Allen. Report, 1865, 6th [5th] annual. 16 p. 1 tab. O. 353.1

— —Report, 1866, 6th annual. 14 p. 1 tab. O. Lawrence 1866. 353.1

— —Report, 1867, 7th annual. 14 p. O. n. p., n. d. 353.1

— —Report, 1868, 8th annual. 20 p. O. Topeka, n. d. 353.1

—Moonlight, T: Report, 1869, 9th annual. 20 p. O. Topeka p. O. 353.1

— —Report, 1870, 10th annual. 16 p. 1 tab. O. Topeka 1870. 353.1

— —Smallwood, W: Hillary. Report, 1871, 11th annual. 52 p. O. Topeka 1871. 353.1

— —Report, 1872, 12th annual. 30 p. 3 tab. O. Topeka 1872. 353.1

— —Report, 1873, 13th annual. 17 p. O. Topeka 1873. 353.1

— —Report, 1874, 14th annual. 57 p. O. Topeka 1874. (In an. rep. v. 1.) 353.1

— —See Ho. Jour. 1875.

—Cavanaugh, T: H. Report, 1875, 15th annual. 74 p. O. Topeka 1875. 353.1

— —Report, 1876, 16th annual. 166 p. O. Topeka 1876. 353.1

— —Report, 1877-'78, 1st biennial. 114+72 p. O. Topeka 1878. 353.1

—Smith, Ja. Report, 1879-'80, 2d biennial. 142 p. O. Topeka 1880. 353.1

— —Report, 1881-'82, 3d biennial. 108 p. O. Topeka 1882. 353.1

— —Report, 1883-'84, 4th biennial. 110 p. O. Topeka 1885. 353.1

— —Caution. Card.

—Allen, Edw. Bird. Report, 1885-'86, 5th biennial. 140 p. O. Topeka 1886. 353.1

— —Report, 1887-'88, 6th biennial. 135 p. O. Topeka 1888. 353.1

— —Publication of constitutional amendment voted on, 6 N 1888. 2 p. circular. 353.1

—Higgins, W: Report, 1889-'90, 7th biennial. 109+(2) p. O. Topeka 1890. 353.1

— —Report, 1891-'92, 8th biennial. 145 p. O. Topeka 1892. 353.1

—Osborn, Russell Scott. Report, 1893-'94, 9th biennial. 8+74 p. O. Topeka 1894. 353.1

— —Kansas election law. 15 p. O. [Topeka 1893.] 324.73

—Edwards, W: C. Report, 1895-'96, 10th biennial. 116 p. O. Topeka 1896. 353.1

—Bush, W: Eben. Report, 1897-'98, 11th biennial. 8+96 p. O. Topeka 1898. 353.1
Note.—The reports of the secretary of state contain tables of expenditures for public printing, population, rosters of state and county officers, election returns, etc.

Census.

—First census state of Kansas, instructions issued by R. A. Barker, secretary of state. 24 p. O. Topeka 1865. 312.1

Secretary of State—*continued:*

—Barker, R. A. Population of Kansas by counties and races, My 1865. (Sen. Jour. 1866, p. 103.) 328.1

—Abstract statement of the population of Kansas by townships, as shown from the census returns, 1870, [by W. H. Smallwood, secretary of state.] 18 p. O. Topeka 1871. 312.1

——Same. (Rep. for 1871.) 353.1

—Census, 1860, 1870, 1880. (Secretary of state. Reports, 1879–'80.) 353.1

—Gray, Alfred, sec. bd. of ag. Census and other statistical exhibits. (Bd. of Ag. Report, 1875, p. 438–644.) 630.06

Note.—The legislature of 1875 provided that the census returns should be made to the state Board of Agriculture, and published as part of the annual report of the board.

—Sims, W:, sec. bd. ag. Tables showing the population of Kansas for 1885, by counties, cities, and townships, compiled from the enumeration of inhabitants taken by assessors, 1 Mr 1885. 16 p. O. Topeka 1885. 312–1

—Coburn, F. D., sec. bd. ag. Decennial census, 1895. (Bd. of Ag. Report, D 1895, p. 1–77.) 630.06

Directories.

—Cavanaugh, T: H. Officers and judges, and members of the legislature for the year 1877. 4p. O. [Topeka 1877.] 351.2

——Roster of state government, 1877. 7p. O. Topeka 1877. 351.2

—Smith, Ja. List of organized counties, with county-seats, officers, etc., 1884. Circular. 351.2

——List of county officers, state of Kansas, Ja 1886. 16p. O. [Topeka 1886.] 351.2

—Orner, S: O., comp. State of Kansas, official roster showing state and county officers and U. S. court officers. 65p. D. Topeka 1888. 351.2

—Higgins, W: Official directory state of Kansas, 1 Jl 1891. 39p. il. D. Topeka 1891. 351.2

——State officers of Kansas from 1861–1890. 351.1

—Osborn, R. S. Kansas blue book, an official state directory and handbook, Jl 1893. 102p. il. O. Topeka 1893. 351.2

—*See also* Leg. Docs.

—Public documents for the years 1861–64, 68–98. 28v. O. Lawrence, Topeka, 1862–1899. 353.9

Note.—These volumes contain the Governor's annual and biennial messages, and the annual and biennial reports of the Secretary of State, Auditor of State, Treasurer of State, Attorney General and Superintendent of Public Instruction, with some exceptions. They also contain, in part, the reports of the following officers and institutions: Adjutant General, Board of Commissioners on Public Institutions, Board of Silk Commissioners, Board of State House Commissioners, Board of Trustees of the State Charitable Institutions, Commissioner of Forestry, Institution for the Education of the Blind, Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Live Stock Sanitary Commission and State Veterinarian, Quartermaster General, State Agent, State Asylum for Idiotic and Imbecile Youth, State Board of Pharmacy, State Fish Commissioner, State Historical Society, State Industrial Reformatory, State Insane Asylum (Osawatomie), State Insane Asylum (Topeka), State Inspector of Coal Mines, State Librarian, State Normal School, State Penitentiary, State Reform School, State University, Soldiers' Orphans' Home, Soldiers' Home, Dental Examiners and Bank Commissioners. See also, for sets of these documents, entries under the headings of the respective officers and institutions.

Senate:

—Bills, 1879, 1883–99. 13 v. ob. O. and O. n. t. p. 328.6

—Calendars, 1879, 1885–99. 10 v. Q. n. t. p. 328.7

—Journal, 1861–99. 32 v. O. Lawrence, Topeka, Leavenworth 1861–99. 328.1

Note.—House and senate, 1861, bound in one; special session, 1874, bound in back of 1875; special session, 1884, bound in front of 1885. There were also special sessions for 1886, and 1898–99. For contents of senate journals see house journals.

—Daily edition of journal, 1893–99. 5 v. O. n. t. p. Topeka 1893–99. 328.1

—Committee to revise and codify all existing laws, etc., F. P. Harkness, T. B. Murdock, C. H. Kimball, M. C. Kelley, and Joel Moody, members. Report. 228 p. O. Topeka 1890. 328.4

—Rules of the senate, [1889], '93–99. 5 pam. O. n. t. p. Topeka [1889–99]. 328.5

See also Legislature for former rules.

—Riddle, A. P. Historical address relative to the Kan. state senate. (Jour., 1886, p. 6.) 328.1

See also Legislative documents.

Silk Commissioner:

—Report, 1st, 2d biennial, 1887–90, annual, Je 1892. 3 pam. O. Topeka 1888–93. 638

Note.—Commissioners: J. S. Codding, C: Williamson, J. H. C. Brewer, 1887–88; L. A. Buck, 1889–92. The biennial reports of the commissioners were also published in the quarterly reports of the State Board of Agriculture, D 1889 and Mr 1891.

—Kansas silk station, Peabody, 12 Ap 1887. 14 p. S. 638

Soldiers' Home, Fort Dodge:

—Sweeney, D. L. Biennial report, 2d, 1891–92. 39 p. O. Topeka, 1893. 362.8

—Moody, C: H. Biennial report, 3d, 1893 94. 42 p. O. Topeka 1894. 362.8

—Cunningham, C. M. Biennial report, 1895–96. 49 + 20 p. O. Topeka 1896. 362.8

—Breese, A. M. Biennial report, 1897–98. 37 p. O. Topeka 1899. 362.8

—By-laws, regulations, and rules. 13 p. S. Topeka 1889. 362.8

—Sabine, A. Inspection of Home. (In Kansas State Board of Health, 8th annual report, 1892, p. 227.) 614

—*See* S. Journal, 1891, 1893.

Soldiers' Orphans' Home, Atchison:

—Biennial reports, 1-6, 1887-98. 6 pam. O. Topeka 1888-[98]. 362.7

Note.—Also printed in the reports of the board of trustees of state charitable institutions.

The institution was opened 24 Je 1887. The superintendents have been J: Pierson, Je 1887-1 Ag 1888; C: E. Faulkner, 1 Ag 1888-30 Je 1897; C. A. Woodworth, 1 Jl 1897-1 Ap 1899; W. H. H. Young, 1 Ap-1 Ag 1899; E. L. Hillis, 1 Ag 1899.

—Manual of law and rules for the government of the home. 14 p. O. Topeka 1891. 362.7

—Johnson, G. H. T. Inspection of home. (Board of Health Report. 8th annual, 1892, p. 219.) 614

—*See also* Leg. docs.; Leg. Jours. 1867, 1868.

State Agent:

—Crawford, S: J. Briefs filed in application to the commissioner of the General Land Office, and other United States government officers, for the readjustment of accounts between the United States and the state of Kansas, and in the prosecution of other claims of the state, together with reports to the governor, from 1877-1888. 40 pam. 2 v. O. Topeka, Washington, D. C., 1877-'88. 336

VOLUME 1. Agricultural college, appointment of attorney, p. 138. Agricultural college lands, p. 127, 139. 157. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. Co., excess of lands certified to, p. 323, 349. Cherokee Indians, eastern band, lands of, p. 203, 239. Five per cent. of net proceeds of sales of public lands, p. 33, 45, 57, 81. Kansas Pacific railroad grant, p. 281. Money expended for the United States, war of the rebellion and Indian hostilities, p. 1. Report to the governor, 1882, p. 193. School lands on Indian reservations, p. 93, 115, 119.

VOLUME 2. Agricultural college lands, p. 237. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe land grant, p. 51, 83, 103, 115, 249. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R., Baxter, vs., p. 83. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. through Rice county, p. 103. Turner vs. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. Co., p. 91. Five per cent. account Indian lands and reservations, p. 1, 345, 401, 421. Kansas Pacific land grant, p. 281. Lykins brothers and the Peoria tribe of Indians, p. 431. Railroad companies, lands unlawfully certified to, p. 301, 315. Railroads in Kansas, land grants to aid in construction of, 135. Railroad land grants, p. 187, 301, 315, 331, 381. Report to the governor, 1884-'86-'88, p. 207, 361, 439. School lands in Indian reservations, p. 11. Tax, direct, liability of the state of Kansas for, p. 31.

—Report, 1892. 11 p. O. Topeka 1892. 336

—*See also* Ho. Jour., 1879; 1883, p. 242.

State Printer:

—Brewer, D: J. Opinion, S: A. Kingman and D. A. Valentine concurring therein, [in the case of] Prouty, S. S., vs. Stover, E. S., lieutenant governor, in the supreme court. Original proceedings in mandamus [to compel E. S. Stover, as lieutenant governor, and Josiah Kellogg, as speaker of the house of representatives, to furnish Mr. Prouty with a certificate

State Printer—*continued:*

of his election as state printer]. (Supreme court. Report, v. 11, Ja 1873.) 345.42

Note.—The case was decided in favor of the election of G: W. Martin to the office of state printer.

—Thacher, T. D. Memorandum. (Ho. Jour. 1887, p. 723.) 328.1

—Legislature. Act making appropriation and regulating the expenditure thereof, for state printer, from session laws, 1891. O. cir. 353.1

—Snow, E. H., plaintiff, vs. Hudson, J. K., defendant. Brief of G. C. Clemens and D: Overmyer for plaintiff. 40p. O. n. p. [1895.] 655

—Snow, E. H., plaintiff, vs. Edwards, W: C., as secretary of state, and Hudson, J. K., defendants. Brief of G. C. Clemens and D: Overmyer for plaintiff. 12p. O. n. p. [1895.] 655

—Snow, E. H., plaintiff, vs. Hudson, J. K., defendant. Brief of Waggener, Horton & Orr, for the defendant. 77 p. O. Topeka [1895]. 655

—Snow, E. H., plaintiff, vs. Hudson, J. K., defendant, and Snow, E. H., plaintiff, vs. Edwards, W. C., *et al*, defendants. Additional brief of Troutman, McKeever & Stone, for defendants. 36 p. O. Topeka [1895]. 655

——Reply brief and argument by D: Overmyer, of counsel for plaintiff. 76 p. O. n. p. [1895]. 655.

—Snow, E. H., plaintiff, vs. Hudson, J. K., defendant. Plaintiff's brief in reply, [by] G. C. Clemens. 8 p. O. n. p. [1895]. 655.

—Snow, E. H., plaintiff, vs. Hudson, J. K., defendant, and Snow, E. H., plaintiff, vs. Edwards, W. C., *et al*, defendants. Supplemental answer to the reply briefs, by Waggener, Horton & Orr, and Troutman, McKeever & Stone, attorneys for defendants. 38 p. O. Topeka [1895]. 655

—Snow, E. H., plaintiff, vs. Hamilton and others, defendants. Argument of G. C. Clemens, for plaintiff. 28 p. O. n. p. [1895]. 655.

—Kansas Supreme Court. Decision in the above entitled cases was handed down Saturday, 11 Ja 1896. 16 p. O. [Topeka 1896.] 655

—Topeka Unions. The state printer, is he paid too much for the work he does; what union men have to say, 15 F 1895, to the legislature. 8 p. O. [Topeka 1895.] 328.4

—*See also* House Journals.

State House Commissioners, etc.:

—Reports, 1868, 1869, 1873, 1874, 1882, 1883-84, 1885, 1886, 1887 88. 7 pam. O. Topeka [1870-89]. 690

Note.—Report Ja 1868 is published in house journal 1868, p. 98; for Ja 1869 in house journal, p. 110; Sen. Jour., p. 91.

—Special report. [31 D 1885]. 6 p. O. n. t. p. 690

—Holliday, C. K. Communication offering, on the part of the city of Topeka, a block of twenty acres for the site of the state capitol. (Ho. Jour., 1862, p. 49, 81; Sen. p. 30.) 328.1

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—Lawrence, W. W. H., secretary of state. [Report on temporary capitol building.] (Sen. Jour., 1864, p. 45.) 328.1

—Legislature. Election of committees. (Ho. Jour., 1867, p. 840.) 328.1

— —[Report of committee on capitol buildings, 2 F 1867.] (Sen. Jour., 1867, p. 332.) 328.1

—House of Representatives. Proclamation relating to construction of state house. (Jour., 1867, p. 312, 355.) 328.1

— —[Report of committee on state house, 19 F 1868.] (Ho. Jour., 1868, p. 600.) 328.1

—Legislature. Report of committee on the state house. (Sen. Jour., 1868, p. 424.) 328.1

—Senate. Report on construction and expenditures on state house. (Sen. Jour., 1869, p. 359, 608.) 328.1

—Legislature. Report of investigation of state house. (Journs., 1870.) 328.1

—Thoman, A., state auditor. Capitol grounds. [Report, 1870, p. 10.] 352

—Haskell, J: G. Estimate of cost of east portico capitol. (Ho. Jour., 1872, p. 154.) 328.1

—Legislature. Report of state house grounds. (Jours., 1873.) 328.1

—Wood, L. M. Plan for ventilation of capitol. (Ho. Jour. 1877, p. 215.) 328.1

—Senate report of committee on appropriation for west wing. (Jour. 1879, p. 413.) 328.1

—Carr, E. T., architect. Specifications west wing of capitol. 7 p. O. Topeka, n. d. 690

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—Martin, J: A. Message relative to selection of plans for main building. (Ho. Jour. 1887, p. 106, 1081; Sen. p. 721.) 328.1

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—Ives, J: N. Communication on investigation of expenditures in the building of the state house. (Ho. Jour. 1891, p. 950). 328.1

—House of representatives. Resolution relative to frauds in construction of capitol. (Jour. 1891, p. 390; Sen. p. 482, 736.) 328.1

—Senate. Resolution to remove capitol from Topeka. (Jour. 1893, p. 369, 499.) 328.1

—*See also* Leg. docs., Sen. Jour. 1863.

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—Kellogg, G: F. Annual report, 1889–92. (Board of Agric. Report, D 1889, Mr, D 1891, Mr 1893.) 630.6

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—Griffith, W: Riley. [Commun. relative to schools, 16 Ap 1861.] (Ho. Jour., 1861, p. 170.) 328.1

— —Report, 1861 [1st annual]. (Pub. doc., 1861, p. 27–34.) 379

—Thorp, Simeon Montgomery. Report, 1862 [2d annual]. (Fr. Pub. Doc., 1862, p. 149–155.) 379

—Goodnow, I: T. Laws and forms relating to common schools in the state of Kansas, with list of school books. 61 p. O. Lawrence 1863. 379

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— —Report, 1864. 4th annual. 70+2 p. 1 tab. O. Topeka 1865. 379

— —Report, 1865 [5th annual]. 64+1 p. 1 tab. O. Lawrence 1866. 379

— —Amendments to school laws. 8 p. O. n. t. p. [1866] 379

— —Report, 1866, 6th annual. 72 p. 2 tab. O. Leavenworth 1867. 379

— —[Report, 17 F 1866, on sale of school lands.] (Ho. Jour., p. 498.) 328.1

— —Barker, R. A., secretary of state. [Letter, 7 F 1867, relating to sale of school lands.] (Sen. Jour., p. 353.) 328.1

—McVicar, P: Laws and forms relating to common schools, with list of school books, 1867. 86+2 p. O. Leavenworth 1867. 379

— —Report, 1867, 7th annual. 98 p. 4 tab. O. Topeka 1868. 379

— —School laws, 1868. 59+1 p. O. Topeka 1868. 379

— —School laws proposed by a committee consisting of P: McVicar, state superintendent; J. W. Horner, J. S. Chapman, and B. L. Baldridge, appointed by a state convention of county superintendents, and revised by the codifying commissioners, and reported to the legislature for action. 43 p. O. n. p. [1868.] 379

— —Report, 1868, 8th annual. 180+1 p. 1 tab. O. n. p., n. d. 379

— —Amendments to school laws, session of 1869. 14 p. O. n. p., n. d. 379

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— —Report, 1869, 9th annual. 163 p. O. Topeka 1870. 379

— —School laws of cities of the second class. 10 p. O. Topeka 1870. 379

— —Report, 1870. 10th annual. 213+1 p. O. Topeka 1870. 379

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— —Report on school lands, 18 F 1868. (Sen. Journ., p. 364.) 328.1

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— —Report, 1873. 13th annual. 278 p. O. Topeka 1873. 379

— —Amendments to school laws, 1874. 15 p. O. n. p., n. d. 379

— —Report, 1874, 14th annual. 182 p. O. Topeka 1874. 379

—Fraser, J: Report, 1875, 15th annual. 229 p. O. Topeka 1876. 379

— —An act for the regulation and support of common schools, approved 4 Mr 1876. 57 p. O. Topeka 1876. 379

— —Laws for the regulation and support of common schools, 1876. 108 p. O. Topeka 1876. 379

— —Report, 1876, 16th annual. 215 p. O. Topeka 1877. 379

—Cavanaugh, T: H. Board of commissioners of the permanent school fund. (Secretary of state. Rep., 1876, p. 137.) 353.1

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—Lemmon, Allen Borsley. Laws for the regulation and support of common schools, 1877. 109 p. O. Topeka 1877. 379

— —Report, 1877–'78, [1st biennial]. 431 p. O. Topeka 1879. 379

— —Laws for the regulation and support of common schools, 1879. 94 p. O. Topeka 1879. 379

— —List of county normal institutes, 1880. Circular. (County Normal Institutes, v. 1.) 379

— —Report, 1879–'80, [2d biennial]. 451+1 p. O. Topeka 1881. 379

— —[Public school system of Kansas.] (U. S. Bureau of Edu. An. rep., 1876, p. 126–135.) GL 379

— —Report in relation to $5000 school bonds of which no record can be found. (Sen. Jour. 1877, p. 707.) 328.1

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— —Report, 1881–'82, 3d biennial. 152 p. O. Topeka 1882. 379

— —School laws, 1883. 107 p. O. Topeka 1883. 379

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— —Examinations for state certificates and diplomas. 4 p. T. n. t. p. 1883. 379

— —Manual and course of study for the common schools of Kansas, recommended by the state superintendent at the request of the convention of county superintendents. Topeka 1883. 46+[2] p. O. Topeka 1884. 379.7

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— —Report, 1883–'84, 4th biennial. 144 p. O. Topeka 1885. 379

—Lawhead, Jos. Hadden. Laws for the regulation and support of the common schools, 1885. 103 p. O. Topeka 1885. 379

— —Acts relating to schools [1885]. 12 p. O. n. t. p. (Pasted in School Laws, 1885.) 379

— —List of county superintendents of public instruction, 1885–'86. Circular. (In annual rep. v. 1.) 379

— —Report, 1885–'86, 5th biennial. 148+1 p. O. Topeka 1886. 379

— —School laws, 1887. 113 p. O. Topeka 1887. 379

— —Report, 1887–'88, 6th biennial. 158+1 p. O. Topeka 1888. 379

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— —Report, 1889–'90, 7th biennial 178+1 p. O. Topeka 1890. 379

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— —and Ives, J. N., attorney general. Communication relating to certain worthless bonds belonging to the permanent school fund. (Ho. Jour., 1891, p. 511.) 328.1

—Gaines, H: Newton. Examinations for state certificates and diplomas. 4 p. S. Topeka [1893]. 379

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— —Circular No. 14, blank for report of textbooks for school districts, 1897. 379

— —Circular No. 22. The rural-school problem, 1897. 379

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— — County superintendents, 1889-1900. 379

— —Report, 1897-'98, 11th biennial. 185 p. O. Topeka 1898. 379

—Nelson, Fk. Laws, 1899. 180 p. O. Topeka 1899. 379.14

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— —Kansas normal institutes, 1900. Circular. 379

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—Banks, Elliott V. Reports of cases, Ja 1862-Ja 1870. v. 1-5. 5 v. O. Lawrence, Topeka 1864-1871. 345.42

—Webb, W: C. Reports of cases, Ja 1870 to Jl 1878. v. 6-20. 15 v. O. Topeka 1872-'78. 345.42

—Randolph, A. M. F. Reports of cases, Jl 1878 to Ja 1896. v. 21-56. 36 v. O. Topeka 1879-'96. 345.42

—Clemens, G. C. Reports of cases, Je 1896-N 1898. v. 57, 58, 59. 3 v. O. Topeka 1898-'99. 345.42

—Dewey, T: Emmet. Reports of cases, D 1898-O 1899. v. 60. Topeka 1899. 345.42

Chief Justices: T: Ewing, jr., 29 Ja 1861-28 N 1862; Nelson Cobb, 28 N 1862-5 J 1864; Rob. Crozier, 5 J 1864-14 J 1867; S: A. Kingman, 14 J 1867-30 D 1876; A. H. Horton, 30 D 1876-1 My 1895; D. Martin, 1 My 1895-11 Ja 1897; Frank Doster, 11 Ja 1897 to date.

Associate Justices: S: A. Kingman, 29 Ja 1861-9 Ja 1865; L. D. Bailey, 29 Ja 1861-11 Ja 1869; Jacob Safford, 9 Ja 1865-9 Ja 1871; Dan. M. Valentine, 11 Ja 1869-11 Ja 1893; D: J. Brewer, 9 Ja 1871-9 Ap 1884; Theo. A. Hurd, 12 Ap-1 D 1884; W. A. Johnston, 1 D 1884 to date; Ste. H. Allen, 11 Ja 1893-9 Ja 1899; W: R. Smith, 9 Ja 1899 to date.

Clerks: And. Stark, 27 S 1861-Jl 1868; E. B. Fowler, Je 1868-Jl 1870; Ab. Hammatt, Jl 1870-30 Jl 1879; C. J. Brown, 1 Jl 1879-1 Jl 1897; J: Martin, 1 Jl 1897-1 N 1899; Del A. Valentine, 1 N 1899—

Reporters: P. B. Plumb, r. O 1862; L: Carpenter, Ja-21 Ag 1863; Elliott V. Banks, 1 S 1863-31 Mr 1871; W: C. Webb, 1 Ap 1871-14 Ap 1879; A. M. F. Randolph, 11 Ap 1879-20 N 1896; G. C. Clemens, 1 Mr 1899; T: Emmet Dewey, 20 N 1896—

—Inman, H: The supreme court of Kansas, with portraits of T: Ewing, N. Cobb, R. Crozier, S: A. Kingman, A. H. Horton, D. M. Valentine, W: A. Johnston, J. C. Strang, G: S. Green, B: F. Simpson. (In Green Bag, v. 4, no. 7, Jl 1892.) 347.99

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—Glick, G: W., Frost, J: E., Smith, A. W., Lambe, A. C., and Greef, A. H. Report. 99p. il. O. n. p., n. d. 310

Kansas State Treasurer:

—Dutton, H. R. Report, 1861, [1st annual]. (Pub. doc. 1861, p. 26.) 353.3

— —[Statement money received and disbursed, 1 Ja, 28 F 1862.] (Ho. Jour. 1862, p. 400.) 328.1

—House of Representatives. Committee to investigate the accounts of the auditor and treasurer, the sale of bonds of the state, etc., 30 Ja 1862. Report. 16 p. O. n. p., n. d. 328.4-1

— —Committee to investigate the auditor and treasurer. Report. 3 p. O. n. t. p. [1862.] 328.4-1

—Spriggs, W: Report, 1861-'62, 1-2 annual. 23 p. D. Topeka 1885.

Note.—State Treasurer H. R. Dutton made no report for the year 1862. Under resolution of the legislature, 1863, State Treasurer W: Spriggs made a report for the years 1861-'62, which was printed in the Topeka State Record only. State Treasurer S: T. Howe in 1885 republished this report, together with documents copied from the legislative journals relative to the affairs of the state treasury for the years 1861-'62 in the above pamphlet.

— —Report, 1863, 3d annual. 8 p. O. (Pub. doc. 1863.) 353.3

— —Report, 1864, 4th annual. 6 p. O. n. t. p. Topeka 1865. 353.2

— —Report. 1865, 5th annual. 12 p. O. Topeka 1865. 353.2

— —Report, 1866, 6th annual. 18 p. O. Lawrence 1866. 353.2

— —*See also* Senate Journal 1863, p. 195; House Journal 1860, p. 112; and 1867.

—Legislative Committee. Report on condition of state treasury, 24 F 1866. (Sen. Jour., p. 462; Ho., p. 609.) 328.1

—Anderson, Mt. Report, 1867, [7th annual]. 12 p. O. [Topeka] n. d. 353.2

— —Report, 1868, 8th annual. 17 p. O. [Topeka] n. d. 353.2

— —Report, 4 F 1868, on receipts for sales of public lands. (Ho. Jour., p. 367.) 328.1

—Graham, G: Report, 1869, 9th annual. 19 p. O. [Topeka 1870.] 353.2

—Report, 1870, 10th annual. 16 p. O. Topeka 1870. 353.2

—Legislature. Report of investigation of affairs of auditor and treasurer. (Senate Jour. 1870, p. 525-560; Ho. Jour. p. 319, 341, 1068, 1422.) 328.1

— —Committee to investigate the affairs and offices of the auditor and treasurer. Report. 40p. O. Topeka 1870. 328.4-1

—Hayes, J. E. Report, 1871, 11th annual. 18p. O. Topeka 1871. 353.2

— —Report, 1872, 12th annual. 19p. O. Topeka 1873. 353.2

— —Report, 1873, 13th annual. 12p. O. Topeka 1873. 353.2

— —Statement, 2d Mr 1871, relative to the collection of drafts, etc., through certain banks. (Ho. Jour. p. 953.) 328.1

—Legislature. Committee on state affairs. Report on the condition of the state treasury. 83p. O. Topeka 1874. 328.4-1

Kansas State Treasurer—*continued:*

—Senate. Impeachment proceedings of Mr. Hayes. (Jour. 1874.) 328.1

—Secretary of State. Correspondence relative to the examinations of the state treasury. (Rep. 1874, p. 11.) 353.1

—House of Representatives. Resolutions relative to official acts of Treasurer Hayes. (Jour. 1875, p. 125.) 328.1

—Francis, J: Report, 1874, 14th annual. 58p. O. Topeka 1874. 353.2

—Lappin, S: Report, 1875, 15th annual. 62p. O. Topeka 1875. 353.2

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—Senate. Committee to investigate the school funds. Report. 18p. O. n. t. p. [1876.] 328.4-2

—House of Representatives. Committee on state affairs. Report upon the permanent school fund. 239p. O. Topeka 1876. 328.4-2

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——Committee on state affairs. Report concerning bonds of School District 8, Rice county. 81p. O. n. t. p. [1876.] 328.4-2

—Senate. Committee on accounts. Report relating to school bonds. 6p. O. n. t. p. [1877.] 328.4-2

—Davis, W., attorney general. Statement of losses sustained during the administration of S: Lappin. (Sen. Jour. 1867, p. 586.) 328.1

—Francis, J: Supplemental report, 10 Ja 1876. (An. report, 1875, p. 63-64.) 353.2

——Report, 1876, 16th annual. 83 p. O. Topeka 1877. 353.2

——State bonds, statement of [Ja 30, 1877]. 3 p. O. n. t. p. [Topeka 1877.] 353.2

——Report, 1877-'78, 1st biennial. 134 p. O. Topeka 1878. 353.2

——Statement to legislature 14 F 1879. 3 p. O. n. t. p. [Topeka 1879.] 353.2

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——Report, 1879-'80, 2d biennial. 185 p. O. Topeka 1880. 353.2

——Report, 1881-'82, 3d biennial. 214 p. O. Topeka 1882. 353.2

——*See also* Senate Journals, 1876, 1877.

—Howe, S: T. Report, 1883-'84, 4th biennial. 260 p. O. Topeka 1884. 353.2

——Report, 1885-'86, 5th biennial. 103 p. O. Topeka 1886. 353.2

——Supplemental report, 1 Ja 1887. 3 p. O. n. t. p. Topeka 1887. 353.2

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—Hamilton, J. W: Report, 1887-'88, 6th biennial. 78 p. O. Topeka 1888. 353.2

—Sims, W: Report, 1889-'90, 7th biennial. 82 p. O. Topeka 1890. 353.2

—Stover, S. G. Report, 1891-'92, 8th biennial. 86 p. O. Topeka 1892. 353.2

—Biddle, W. H. Report, 1893-'94, 9th biennial. 42+1 p. O. Topeka 1894. 353.2

——Monthly report of operations of the State Treasurer's office, July, 1893-D 1894. 18 pam. O. Topeka 1893-'94. 353.2

Kansas State Treasurer—*continued:*

—Atherton, Otis L. Report, 1895-'96, 10th biennial. 43 p. O. Topeka 1896. 353.2

——Not Paid for Want of Funds, Facts and figures taken from the treasurer's and auditor's books. 7 p. O. (1897.)

——Mo. rep. of operations of the State Treasurer's office, F 1895—Jl 1896. 16 pam. O. Topeka 1895-'96. 353.2

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—Heflebower, D: H. Report, 1897-'98, 11th biennial. 44 p. O. Topeka 1898. 353.2

—Grimes, Fk. E. Laws governing the Kansas state treasury, and defining the official duties of its chief officer; compiled by J: S. Dawson. 81 p. O. Topeka 1899. 353.2

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—Report of commissioners appointed to locate permanently; with accompanying papers, 1863. 10. p. O. n. p., n. d. 378-UB

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Chancellors: Rev. R. W. Oliver, 21 Mr 1865 to 1867; John Fraser, 1867 to 1875; Rev. James Marvin, 1875 to 1883: Rev. J. A. Lippincott, 1883 to 1889; Francis H. Snow, 1 Jl 1890 to ——.

—Oliver, R. W., Chancellor. Rep. Ja 1867. (Ho. Jour., p. 243.) 328.1

—Special report, [1886]. 3 p. O. n. t. p. [Topeka 1886.] 378-UB

—Same. (Leg. Jours. 1886.) 328.1

—House of Representatives. Report of committee on normal department of the university. 9 p. O. n. t. p. [1877.] 378-UB

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—Wilson, V. P. List of university lands in Anderson, Woodson, Coffey, Allen, Lyon and Wabaunsee counties. Circular. n. d. 378-UD

—Memorial in support of senate bill no. 2677. 22 p. O. Lawrence 1897. 378-UD

Note.—A memorial of the university, as assignee of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, praying indemnification for the destruction of the free state hotel at Lawrence, 21 My 1856, by officers of the United States.

—Snow, Fs. H. Letter to the Legislature, 23 F 1897, with other papers, relative to appropriations for the university. 4 circulars. 328.4-4

—Lawrence University bonds. See Ho. Jour., 1891. 328.1

History.

—[Columbian souvenir] University of Kansas, 1893. [30] p. 1 por. 2 gr. of por. 15 il. ob. T. Topeka [1893]. 378-UE

—Commencement proceedings, Je 13-16 1875. (From Western Home Journal, Lawrence, Je 17 1875.) 378-UE

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—Snow, Fs. H. The beginnings of the University of Kansas. (Hist. Soc. Col., v. 6, 1900, p. 70.) 906

—Historical sketch. (Lawrence Journal, 25 D 1890.) 978.1

—Organization, 6 D 1865. (Kan. Educational Jour., v. 2, p. 331.) 370.5

—Plan of State University building. 3 p. il. Q. n. p., n. d. 378–UE

—Quarter-centennial of the opening of the University, Je 1891, programs. 7 circulars. 378–UE

—[Sketch.] Anon. (Colum. Hist. of Educ., 1893, p. 48.) 370.9

—Some statistics; the University of Kansas compared with other institutions. 4 p. Q. n. t. p. 378–UE

—Sterling, Wilson, ed. Quarter-centennial history of the University of Kansas, 1866–1891; with portraits of chancellors. 198 p. D. Topeka 1891. 378–UE

—Harrington, Grant W. The University of Kansas. (The Delta of Sigma Nu, Ap 1892.) 371.85

Catalogs.

—Catalogs, 1866-1901. 1st to 34th annual. 34 pam. il. O. Lawrence and Topeka 1866–1900. 378–UH

—Catalog, supplemental, 1889–'90. 32 p. il. O. Topeka 1890. 378–UH

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—[Announcements], 1888–'89. 7 p. O. n. t. p. 378–UI

—Announcement of graduate studies, 1894–'95. 23 p. O. Topeka 1894. 378–UI

—Circular touching the requirements in English for admission to the University of Kansas. 55 p. O. Lawrence 1895. 378–UI

—Supplementary circular. Courses in English required for admission to the University of Kansas, by E. M. Hopkins. 3 p. O. Lawrence 1898. 378–UI

—Suggestions to superintendents and principals of high schools concerning the requirements in English for admission to the Latin-English, or to the general language course, 1891. 5 p. O. n. p. 378–UI

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—The University of Kansas, what it is and what it does, facts of general interest to the people. 2 pam. il. O. Topeka 1884–'85. 378–UI

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—University bulletins, Nos. 1–7; 1887–'88. 7 pam. O. (In catalogues, 1886–'87.) 378–UJ

—Department of Entomology: Common injurious insects of Kansas, by V. L. Kellogg. 8+126 p. il. O. Topeka 1892. 378–UJ

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——Two grain insects, bulletin, F 1892. 10 p. 1 pl. O. Lawrence 1892. 378–UJ

——The horn fly of cattle, My 1893. 7 p. O. Lawrence [1893]. 378–UJ

—Annual bulletin on mineral resources of Kansas for 1897, 1898, by Erasmus Haworth. 2 pam., il., maps, pl. O. Topeka 1898–99. 557

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Note.—Beginning with v. 6, the Quarterly appears in two series: "A," science and mathematics; "B," philology and history.

—Seminary notes, published monthly by the seminary of historical and political science; editors, Ja. H. Canfield, Fk. W. Blackmar, Fk. H. Hodder, and Ephraim D. Adams. v. 1, 2, My 1891, My 1893. 2 v. O. Lawrence 1891–93. 378–UJ

—Kansas City Review of Science and Industry. Kansas University scientific notes. (v. 4, 1881.) GL 505

—Bulletin, the more destructive grasshoppers of Kansas, O 1897, F. H. Snow and S. J. Hunter. 11 p. O. Topeka 1897. 378–U J

——Bulletin, scale insects injurious to orchards, Ja 1898, by S. J. Hunter. 62 p. il. O. Topeka 1898. 378–U J

——Alfalfa, grasshoppers, bees: their relationship; a report of the field-work, summer of 1898, by S. J. Hunter. 9+102 p. il. O. Topeka 1899. Contribution from entomological laboratory No. 65. 378–U J

——Bulletin, the honey-bee and its food-plants, with special reference to alfalfa, by S. J. Hunter. 85 p. il. O. Topeka 1899. 378–U J

——Experiment station, F. H. Snow, director. 1st–3d annual report, 1891–93, contagious diseases of the chinch-bug. 3 pam. il. O. Topeka 1892–'94. 378–U J

——[Directions for using infected chinch-bugs.] [4] p. O. n. t. p. 378–U J

—University geological survey of Kansas; conducted under the authority of the board of regents: Vol. I, [report on the stratigraphy of the carboniferous of Kansas and allied subjects] by Erasmus Haworth and assistants. 12+320 p. 31 pl. Q. Topeka 1896. 557

——Vol. II, [report on the stratigraphy and general geology of western Kansas, including the upper Permian, the Cretaceous, and the Tertiary,] by Erasmus Haworth and assistants. 11+318 p. il. 48 pl. Q. Topeka 1897. 557.

——Vol. III, special report on Kansas coal, by Erasmus Haworth, assisted by W. R. Crane. 347 p. il. 30 pl. Q. Topeka 1898. 557

——Vol. IV, paleontology, Pt. I, Upper Cretaceous, by S. W. Williston, paleontologist. 594 p. il. 1 por. 120 pl. Q. Topeka 1898. 557

——Vol. V, special report on gypsum and gypsum cement plasters, by G. P. Grimsley and E. H. S. Bailey, under the direc-

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tion and with the assistance of Erasmus Haworth. 183 p. il. 30 pl. Q. Topeka 1899. 557

Addresses. Inaugurals, etc.

—Anthony, G: T. An address at the commencement, Je 10 1874. 378-UK

—Bascom, J: What the members of the state univ. owe to the state; address, com. week, 1884. (Kan. C. Rev. of Sci. & Ind., v. 8, nos. 2-3, Je, Jl 1884.) GL 505

—Cordley, R: The student's capital, purpose, and aim. 13 p. O. Lawrence 1896. 378-UK

—Gleed, C: S., Snow, F. H., McCook, J: J. Addresses concerning the chancellorship, the university, higher education; commencement, Je 1890. 71 p. O. Topeka 1890. 378-UK

Note.—The first two were delivered at the inauguration of Chancellor Snow.

—Kellogg, L. B. Does the university pay? an. opening address, 9 S 1892. 27 p. O. Topeka 1892. 378-UK

—Lippincott, Josh. Allen. The state university, its work, and its place in the public school system, inaugural address, 26 S 1883. 17 p. O. Topeka 1883. 378-UK

—McFarland, N. C. Address at the installation of Dr. Ja Marvin as chancellor, 16 Je 1875. (From Western Home Journal, Lawrence, 17 Je 1875.) 378-UK

—Martin, J: A. Dedication of Snow Hall, State Univ., 16 N 1886. (In his addresses, p. 207.) 815

—Marvin, Ja. Inaugural address of chancellor, 16 Je 1875. (From Western Home Journal, Lawrence, 17 Je 1875.) 378-UK

—Moody, Jl. The university and the student, annual opening address, Lawrence, 13 S 1889. 20 p. O. Topeka 1889. 378-UK

—Peck, G: R. Higher education; its aims and its results, annual opening address, Lawrence, 7 S 1888. 19 p. O. Topeka 1888. 378-UK

—Reynolds, Milton W. An oration before the literary societies of the University of Kansas, 13 Je 1876. 8 p. O. Parsons 1876. 378-UK

—Vail, T: Hubbard, D. D. Baccalaureate sermon, 13 Je 1875. (From Western Home Journal, Lawrence, 17 Je 1875.) 378-UK

—Ware, E. F. Success in life, annual opening address, 7 S 1894. 32 p. O. Lawrence 1894. 378-UK

—Wilder, Dan. W. The best books, annual opening address, Lawrence, 12 S 1890. 20 p. O. Topeka 1890. 378-UK

Programs, etc.

—Programs, circulars, cards, etc. 2 Q. 378-UL

Lectures, Class Manuals.

—Account of the required and optional studies in English, 1889-'90. 15 p. O. Topeka 1889. 378-UN

—Bailey, E. H. S. Qualitative analysis, 1887, a laboratory guide. 87 leaves, O. Topeka 1887. 378-UN

—Blackmar, Fk. W. How to prepare a paper in history and sociology. 4 p. O. n. t. p. 378-UN

University—*continued:*

——The study of history and sociology. 1890. 378-UN

—Adams, E. D. Program of historical and sociological courses, 1893-'94. 4 p. O. n. t. p. 378-UN

—Canfield, Ja. H. Course of study in history. Circular. 1881. 378-UN

—Circular concerning preparatory work required for admission to the Latin-English, or to the general language course, 1891. 4 p. O. n. p., n. d. 378-UN

—Courses of study. 15+[1] p. T. Lawrence [1876]. 378-UN

—Miller, E. Outline of mathematical work required to enter the freshman class, 1886. 378-UN

——And Newson, H. B. Same. 18 p. O. Topeka 1891. 378-U

——Treatise on plane and spherical trigonometry. 6+114 p. O. Boston and N. Y. [1891]. 378-UN

—Nichols, E. L. Experiments upon superheated liquids and upon the supersaturation of vapors. Statistics of color blindness in the University of Kansas. [1885.] 378-UN

Note.—Reprinted from Kansas Academy of Science, 1883-84.

—Opportunities for the study of Greek in the University. 3 p. O. n. t. p. 378-UN

—Outline of the work in Latin, required to enter the freshman class, 1886. 8 p. O. n. t. p. 378-UN

—Robinson, D. H. Latin grammar of pharmacy and medicine; with introduction by L. E. Sayre. 271 p. O. Phil. 1890. 378-UN

Student Theses, Orations, Essays.

—Marshall, Fk. A. Ja. Fennimore Cooper; an essay read before the junior class in American literature, 1886. 378-UO

University Annuals.

—The Hierophantes; for 1873-74. 32+8 p. il. O. Lawrence 1874. 378-UP

—The Kansas Kikkabe, published annually by the Kansas Kickkabe Co., 1882. 110 p. il. O. Lawrence 1882. 378-UP

Contains: Photo portraits of the faculty, 1882.

—The Kansas Cyclone; published annually by E. F. Caldwell, 1883. 128p. il. O. Lawrence 1883. 378-UP

Contains: Photo portraits of the class of 1883.

—The Cicala; published annually by the secret societies, 1884. 130p. il. O. Lawrence 1884. 378-UP

Note.—Accompanied by photo group of class of 1884.

—The Helianthus Annus; published from the State University of Kansas, 1889. 103+35+[4]p. il. O. Lawrence 1889. 378-UP

Contains: Engravings of university buildings, and interior views of museums.

—Quivira; class of '93, board of publication: R. R. Whitman, pres., Alberta Corbin, sec., R. D. O'Leary, H. R. Linville, Ja. Owen. 176p. il., 6 gr. of por, 53 por, 36 pl. Q. Topeka 1893. 378-UP

University—*continued:*

——Indian Education. [189-.] Am. Acad. Political and Social Science. Pub no. 59. 378-UN

—Annus Mirabilis, an il. almanac, compiled by the class of '95; 1894-'95. 52p. il. O. Topeka 1895. 378-UP
Contains: Brief biog. sketches of the members of the class of 1895.

—Kansas State Univ. Oread, 1899; board of publication, class of 1899. 180+20p. il. 10 pl. 18 groups por., 11 groups, 35 por. Q. n. p., n. d. 378-UP

—The Galaxy, class of 1900; board of publication: Gertrude Hill, editor-in-chief, Edna Everett, Ph. Aherne, jr., C. C. Wick, F. L. Wemple, associates; A. S. Buzzi, managing editor. 134p. il. 20 por. 22 gr. Q. Topeka [1900]. 378-UP

—The Shingle, 1900; publieshed by the senior class of the University law school, publication board: Rob. E. Everett, editor-in-chief, R. E. Trosper, business manager, C. C. Hoge, auditor, W: L. Burdick, treasurer. 79p. il. gr. 141 por. Q. n. p., n. d. [1900.] 378-UP

Student Periodicals.

—The Kansas Collegiate; monthly, [C: S: Gleed, editor, 26 O 1875, 27 F 1878; W. H. Carruth, editor, 22 My 1878, 10 Je 1879,] v. 1-6, 26 O 1875-10 Je 1879. 5 v. Q. Lawrence 1875-79. 378-UQ
Note.—Volume 3 was omitted in numbering, volumes 2 and 4 having continuous dates. Mr, Ap 1878 wanting. Volume 5 consists of but two numbers, My and Je.

—The University Courier; a monthly publication devoted to the interests of the K. S. U. Editors, H. C. Burnett, Colin Timmons, Ralph W. Twitchell. V. 1, no. 1-8, v. 2, no. 1, 2; 10 O 1878-3 N 1879. 1 v. Q. Lawrence 1878-'79. 378-UQ

—The University Courier; weekly, published by students of the University. V. 1, 2; 6 S 1882-23 My 1884. Q. O. Lawrence 1882-'84. 378-UQ

—The Weekly University Courier [published by the students]. V. 3, no. 9—v. 11, no. 18; 7 N 1884-28 F 1895. 1 v. F.Q. Lawrence 1884-95. 378-UQ

—The Kansas Review; monthly, v. 1-5, N 1879-My 1884. 5 v. O. Lawrence 1879-'84. 378-UQ

—The University Review, v. 6-17, Je 1884-Je 1896. 12 v. O. Lawrence 1884-'96. 378-UQ
Note.—The Kansas Review was succeeded by the University Review, the second volume of which assumed the old volume and number. From O to D 1894, called Courier-Review. A number of the earlier issues wanting.

—The Courier-Review; weekly, v. 1, no. 1-11, 11 O-21 D 1894. 1 v. Q. Lawrence 1894. 378-UQ
Note.—Consolidation of the Courier and Review. The publication was continued in the Review.

—University Times; published for and by the students of the K. S. U. Editors in chief, L. A. Stebbins, Edgar Martindale, F. E. Reed. v. 1, no. 1-36; 5 O 1888-26 Jl 1889. 1 v. F. Lawrence 1888-89. 378-UQ

—University Kansan; [published weekly by the students of the K. S. U.] Editors-in-chief: J. Fk. Craig, H. F. Roberts, H. S. Hadley, Russell R. Whitman. v. 1, no. 1-vol. 2, no. 2; 13 S 1889-19 S '90. 1 v. F. Lawrence 1889-90. 378-UQ
Note.—The paper was consolidated with the University Courier.

—The Kansas University Weekly; v. 1-8. 3 Je 1895-Je 1900. 8 v. Q. F. Lawrence 1895-1900. 378-UQ

—Kansas University Lawyer, published biweekly and monthly by students and faculty of university law school. v. 1, 2, 21 Mr 1895-25 My 1896. 2 v. Q. Lawrence 1895-96. 378-UQ

—The Kansas Lawyer, published monthly by students, alumni and faculty of law school. v. 3-6, Ag 1896-My 1900. 4 v. Q. Lawrence 1896-1900. 378-UQ
Note.—The Kansas Lawyer is a continuation of the Kansas University Lawyer.

Student Societies.

—The Shield of Phi Kappa Psi; published monthly for Phi Kappa Psi fraternity, by Kansas Alpha chapter. E. C. Little, editor-in-chief; Fk. D. Hutchings, exchange editor; Cyrus Crane, chapter editor; W. C. Spangler, business manager. v. 6, 7, My 1885-Ap 1886. 2 v. O. Lawrence 1885-86. 378-UP

—The Sigma Nu Delta; published bimonthly for the Sigma Nu fraternity, by Kansas University chapter. Grant W. Harrington, managing editor; P. R. Bennett, Fk. A. Marshall and Alb. C. Markley, associate editors. v. 4, no. 1-v. 5, no. 3; S 1886-Mr 1888. 2 v. il. O. Lawrence 1886-88. 378-UP
Note.—Mr. Harrington continued the publication of the magazine at Hiawatha for some years.

Alumni.

—Alumni catalogue, first, of the academic departments; compiled by Wilson Sterling. 33p. O. Topeka 1890. 378-UT

—The Oread, published monthly for the alumni of Kansas university and the public; v. 1, no. 1-3, Mr-My 1900. Lawrence 1900. 378-UT

Schools.

—An outline of requirements for admission to the various schools, with special reference to the languages. 17p. O. n. p. 1893. 378-UZ

—Department of English. An account of the required and optional studies in English for the academic year 1887-88. 15p. O. Topeka 1887. 378-UZ
Note.—Bound with catalogues, 1886-87.

——Bulletin, 1895-1901; Jl 1895, Jl 1897, S 1899. 3 pam. O. Lawrence 1895-1899. 378-UZ

——Suggestions for the teaching of English classics in the high schools, by Edwin M. Hopkins. 28 p. chart O. Lawrence 1897. 378-UZ

—Department of history and sociology. [Announcement], 1891. [3] p. O. n. t. p. 378-UZ

—Department of Latin. Outline of work. 12 p. O. n. t. p. 1897. 378-UZ

—Department of mathematics and astronomy. Bulletin, required and optional studies, 1891. 8 p. O. n. p., n. d. 378-UZ

University—*continued:*

——Bulletin, 1896–'97. 7 p. O. Lawrence, My 1896. 378–UZ

—Department of music and painting. Catalog, 1885–'86, 1886–'87, 1891–'93. 4 pam. il. O. Topeka 1886–'93. 378–UZ

—Music and fine arts. [Announcement] 1890–'91. 15 p. il. O. Topeka 1890. 378–UZ

—School of fine arts. Catalog, 1895–1900. 4 pam. il. O. Lawrence 1895–'99. 378–UZ

—Graduate school. (Circular of information.) 3 p. O. [1897.] 378–UZ

—School of engineering. Special announcement of course in electrical engineering. Je 1887. 7 p. O. n. p., n. d. 378–UZ
Note.—Bound in catalog, 1886–'87.

——[Announcement], 1891. 4 p. O. n. t. p. 378–UZ

—School of law. Catalogs, 1884–'85, 1886–'87, 1890–'93, 1894–'95, 1896–'97, and announcements for 1892–'93. 6 pam. il. O. Topeka 1885–'97. 378—UZ

—School of pharmacy. [Announcement], 1885. 13 p. il. O. Topeka 1885. 378–UZ

University—*continued:*

—School of medicine. Annual announcement, session 1899–1900. 18 p. O. Lawrence 1899. 378–UZ

——Class of 1898. [Annual.] 14 p. il. O. n. p., n. d. 378–UZ

——The K. U. Spatula, 1900, by the senior class. 56 p. il. por. ob. T. [Lawrence] 1900. 378–UZ

——Catalog, 1886–'88, '89–'90, '91–'92, '94–'99. 9 pam. il. O. Topeka, Lawrence 1888–'99. 378–UZ
Note.—1886–'87 bound with catalogs, 1886–'87.

—University extension lecture course. Prospectus, 1891–'92. 22 p. O. Topeka 1891. 378–UZ

——List of lectures offered to Kansas communities, 1892–'93, '97–'98. 3 circulars. 378–UZ

——Bulletin, 1894–'95, '96–'97. 2 pam. O. Topeka 1894–'96. 378–UZ

——Program of lectures, by Prof. G. B. Penny, on the art of pianoforte playing. n. t. p. 378–UZ

APPENDIX.*

THE REAL QUIVIRA.

Written by W. E. RICHEY, of Harveyville, Wabaunsee county, Kansas, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

IN arriving at my conclusion as to the location of the real Quivira I have pursued largely an independent line of study and have been but little influenced by the opinions of others.

I shall refer mainly to the Spanish accounts of the explorers themselves, as they appear in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

Tales of gold, silver and great cities north of Mexico had reached that country at various times since its conquest by the Spaniards. Mexican Indians who had gone northward with feathers to trade had brought back gold and silver. These reports were confirmed by Cabeca de Vaca and his two companions, the remnant of the ill-fated expedition which Narvaez led into Florida. These unfortunate adventurers, suffering incredible hardships, had made their way from Florida to Mexico, arriving there in 1536, and giving to the viceroy an account of "some large and powerful villages" in the mysterious country north of Mexico. Peru and Mexico had yielded immense quantities of the precious metals to their ruthless Spanish conquerors. Consequently the imagination and avarice of the Spaniards in Mexico were greatly excited, and Mendoca, the viceroy of Mexico, raised an army for the exploration and conquest of the "seven cities of Cibola," and the unknown regions to the north.

Francisco Vasquez de Coronado was appointed commander of this army. It consisted of about 300 Spaniards, well armed and mounted, and nearly a thousand friendly Indians and servants. Artillery, ammunition, and subsistence, consisting in part of droves of cattle and sheep, were supplied in abundance and taken along with the army for its use.

On February 23, 1540, the army left Compostella and, proceeding northward through the Pacific coast region of Mexico, occupied the Zuni Indian villages, explored the grand canon of the Colorado, Tiguex, Cicuye, and the edge of the great buffalo plains to the east. Winter quarters were established at Tiguex, on the Rio Grande, near the site of Santa Fe.

The Spaniards were sorely disappointed. They had seen some pueblo villages, the habitations of certain tribes; but no great cities had been discovered, no gold nor silver found. They had plundered the villages and encountered the hostility of the astonished natives, who heartily wished their troublesome visitors away. To get rid of them, they shrewdly persuaded one of their prisoners, a Quivira Indian, whom the Spaniards called "the Turk," to represent Quivira as a land of fabulous wealth. The design seems to have been to get the Spaniards on the great plains, with the hope that they would get lost, die of hunger, and never return.

In April, 1541, Coronado and his army, guided by the Turk, left the Tiguex

*This article was in preparation but not completed in time to occupy its proper place among the miscellaneous papers in this volume.

country for Quivira. Entering the great plains, on which roamed immense herds of buffalo, they met some Indians, called Querechos, among the buffalo. Pursuing their journey in the unknown land, they found another plains tribe, called the Teyas, who said that Quivira was far to the north. With the army was another Indian from Harahey, a neighboring tribe of the Quiviras, who was returning to his country. This Indian, named Isopete, had maintained that the Turk was lying. The army was getting short of provisions, and at a council of the officers it was decided that the main part of the army should return to the Rio Grande, and that Coronado, with thirty picked men, should proceed northward to Quivira. Captain Jaramillo was one of the thirty. Isopete had stoutly maintained that the Turk was leading the army too much toward the east. He was now believed and was taken with Coronado as guide. The Turk was taken along in chains and afterward strangled.

It seems proper to here describe briefly the manner of living of the plains Indians as they were found by the Spaniards more than 350 years ago. The very existence of these Indians depended on the buffalo. They lived among these animals and roamed with them. They killed them with their arrows. Their flesh served as food; their hides as clothing, blankets, shoes, ropes, and tents: their bones as needles: their dung as fuel: their wool as strings: their stomachs and larger entrails as water vessels; their horns as cups: and their sinews as thread, with which to sew the clothing, shoes, and tents. Some sticks drawn together and fastened at the top, their lower parts sloping outward, the lower ends resting on the ground, and the framework covered with hides, constituted their tents. Of flint they made implements, and with it they struck fire. When they moved they carried their belongings on sticks, one end of these sticks being fastened to the sides of their "dogs," the other ends dragging along on the ground. These animals described by the Spaniards as dogs were undoubtedly tamed wolves. Deer, wolves and rabbits shared the plains with the buffalo.

General Simpson and some other writers state that the point where Coronado separated from the main army was not south of the Canadian river. Mr. F. W. Hodge, of the bureau of ethnology, in his able and admirable article "Culiacan to Quivira," in Hon. J. V. Brower's masterly work "Harahey," inclines to the belief that the point of separation was as far south as the upper waters of the Colorado or even the Nueces. A close study of the direction pursued from Tiguex, the country described, and the time consumed by Coronado on his northward tour, leads me to believe that Mr. Hodge's view is the correct one.

Jaramillo (page 589) says: "We pursued our way, the direction all the time after this being north for more than thirty days' march, although not long marches. . . . So that on St. Peter and Paul's day we reached a river which we found to be there below Quivira. When we reached the said river, the Indian recognized it and said that was it, and that it was below the settlements. We crossed it there, and went up the other side, on the north, the direction turning toward the northeast, and after marching three days we found some Indians who were going hunting, killing the cows (buffaloes) to take their meat to their village, which was about three or four days still farther away from us."

The "Relacion del Suceso" (page 577), speaking of Coronado's northward journey, says: "Francisco Vasquez set out across these plains in search of Quivira, . . . and, after proceeding many days by the needle (*i. e.*, to the north), it pleased God that after thirty days' march we found the river Quivira, which is thirty leagues below the settlement. While going up the valley we found people who were going hunting who were natives of Quivira."

The Santa Fe trail is a prehistoric route, and the place where it crossed the

Arkansas river was a landmark widely known. That this was where Coronado and his companions crossed, and that this was the Arkansas river, is shown by the northeast direction of the route along the north side of the river pursued after crossing; and also by the statements of one of the officers that, on the return journey they traveled over a road—a good road—on both sides of the same crossing of the St. Peter and Paul's river. This good road was the Santa Fe trail. I shall refer to it hereafter.

When Isopete started to guide Coronado and his detachment to Quivira, his first objective point was the place where the Santa Fe trail crossed the river. A trail from the south led the guide and the Spaniards to this crossing. When they reached the river the guide "recognized" not only it, but the crossing and the Santa Fe trail, by which he identified the place and said "that was it," meaning that the Santa Fe trail crossing, his first objective point, had been reached. No other place of crossing the river was sought for. They "crossed it there." The Arkansas is the only river along which the Spaniards could have marched the distance named in a northeast direction. East of Fort Dodge this river bends towards the northeast and flows in this direction to Great Bend, about eighty miles or thirty leagues, the distance given by the "Relacion del Suceso." As the Santa Fe trail crossed the Arkansas near the bend from which the river flowed toward the northeast, and as the distance from the crossing to the settlements was eighty miles, the first Quivira villages seen by the Spaniards must have been near the site of Great Bend.

What direction did the Spaniards pursue from the vicinity of Great Bend, or from where the river ceases to flow toward the northeast?

A correct answer to this question will solve the problem of the location of Quivira.

I shall cite some statements from the chronicles of the expedition, which, combined with known facts I will present, have not been mentioned by other writers, that I am aware of.

Jaramillo is particular in naming directions. Even in speaking of a single day's march, made after the northward journey was decided on and before it commenced, he says, "we all went *forward* one day." (Page 589.) Before meeting the hunting party, "who were natives of Quivira," he speaks of going toward the northeast along the river, after leaving the crossing of the St. Peter and Paul's. There can be no doubt about the direction pursued, because it is established by both his statement and the course of the river. With this direction still in mind, and naming no other, he says: "So the Indians went to their houses, which were at the distance mentioned, *and we also proceeded* at our rate of marching until we reached the settlements" (page 590): that is, they, and also the Indians, *went forward* in the same general direction, toward the northeast. To proceed (*pro*, forward, and *cedo*, to move) is to move forward. That this was the direction pursued is evident from the fact that, had he gone north, east, or southeast, he would have found no "very large river," nor any section of country such as he and Coronado described. Some of the descriptions might have applied, but not all of them. No other direction is mentioned of the return journey until the same crossing of the St. Peter and Paul's was reached.

On page 591 Jaramillo says of the return march: "Thus they brought us back by the *same road* as far as where I said before that we came to a river called St. Peter and Paul's, and here we left that by which we had come (that is, from the south), and, taking the right hand, they led us along by watering places and among cows (buffaloes), and by a *good road*, although there are none either one way or the other except those of the cows, as I have said."

It will be seen that Jaramillo gives the direction of the trail leading to the crossing: of the one leading from it toward Quivira and back again to the crossing; and of the one leading thence by "taking the right hand." Here are four different directions of travel described. The Spanish historians of the expedition aimed to point out the way to Quivira, and is it not probable, is it not *more* than probable, that, had there been any considerable divergence from the northeast direction, the only one named, the change of direction would have been mentioned: especially so, as other changes of direction were so clearly described, as I have shown?

The "road" which the party traveled on along the river and back again was the Santa Fe trail; the road which was described as the one "by which we had come" was the trail leading to the crossing from the south: and the "good road" leading from the crossing in the direction indicated by "the right hand" was the Santa Fe trail, over which the Spaniards returned to the Rio Grande.

Here were trails from three different directions converging at the crossing. There were probably others, but these are surely sufficient to show that this was the landmark to and from which Coronado and his men marched after the beginning of their northward exploring tour. No point on the whole route of the Coronado expedition seems more definitely identified than that where the old, prehistoric Santa Fe trail crossed the Arkansas river: and, this point established, the location of Quivira, long a mystery, can be no longer in doubt.

On page 590 Jaramillo says the Quivira settlements were found "*along* good river bottoms," and "good streams which flow into another, larger than the one I have mentioned"—that is, the St. Peter and Paul's. Had the explorers gone north and crossed the Smoky Hill and other streams of considerable size, as the Saline and Solomon, would this language have been used and the fact of their crossing been omitted? The descriptions certainly imply that, for a part of the distance at least, they went down the Smoky Hill and visited the streams which flow into it from the south. Jaramillo also says the rivers were "without much water." This would likely be true of the Smoky Hill; and the plums, mulberries, grapes and nuts of which Coronado and Jaramillo speak were very probably on the lower Smoky Hill and upper Kansas rivers. In addition to this, these two writers made statements which seem to have never been fully interpreted. On page 582 Coronado says of Quivira that it is "very well watered by the rivulets and *springs* and rivers": and Jaramillo, adding to this description, says, on page 591, "It is not a very rough country, but is made up of hillocks and plains and very fine-appearing streams and rivers"; and again he says, on page 590, in speaking of the "end" of Quivira, "here there was a river with more water and more inhabitants than the others."

These descriptions certainly apply more aptly to the country along the south side of the lower Smoky Hill and upper Kansas than any other. Castaneda, on page 528, says, "Quivira is to the west of those ravines." There are no tributaries of the Kansas on its south side below Humboldt and McDowell's creeks to which the term *ravines* can be more fitly applied than to the heads of those streams.

On page 590 Jaramillo further states: "We reached what they said was the end of Quivira, to which they took us, saying that the things there were of great importance." This allusion to things of "great importance" was evidently lost on the Spaniards, because they viewed it from their own standpoint, and not from the standpoint of the Indians. Let us consider it from the position of the latter, and try to determine what the Quiviras meant by things of "great importance."

The country drained by Humboldt and McDowell's creeks is a land of gushing springs, of noble streams, of "good bottoms," of timber belts and "hillocks." Here, too, is chert, easily accessible and of good quality, from which the prehistoric inhabitants for ages fashioned their rude implements, as much of a necessity to them as firearms and agricultural implements were to their white brethren. Were not all these things "of great importance" to these children of nature?

There is nowhere else in Kansas a section of country of equal area that combined as many advantages and supplied as many and as varied wants as this. Why should the Quiviras prefer a less favored location rather than this? Is it surprising that its superior resources caused it to be widely known, as far, even, as the remote Teyas?

On page 577 the "Relacion del Suceso" says: "Francisco Vasquez went twenty-five leagues through these settlements, to where he obained an account of what was beyond, and they said that the plains come to an end, and that down the river there are people who do not plant, but live wholly by hunting."

Coronado (page 582) says, speaking of the Quiviras and this same river, "They are settled . . . on a very large river."

This river was the Kansas. No mention is made of large bodies of timber. As hillocks, ravines and plains are all spoken of together, it seems probable that the word *plains* was used to describe the grassy country, the prairies generally. On page 580 Coronado says: "I reached some plains so vast that I did not find their limit anywhere that I went"; that is, he saw the prairies everywhere. The general appearance of the country seemed level, comparatively so at least, to those who had been used to mountains; yet there were hillocks and ravines. The word *plains* may have also been used to describe the grassy bottoms of the Kansas river.

The place where this "great river" was seen was in the "plains," and "down the river" where "the plains come to an end" the timbered country began, and the land not being cleared, there were people there who did not "plant," but lived "wholly by hunting."

This "very great river," this "river with more water and more inhabitants than the others," into which the ones "without much water" and the other "good streams" flowed, and which ran down to where "the plains come to an end," could have been no other river than the Kansas. It is much more probable that the explorers reached it by going down the south side of the Smoky Hill than the north side of that stream, which would have been a roundabout way. With high anticipations, and being anxious to reach the supposed goal the nearer they approached it, they would naturally go on the shortest route, the one down the south side of the Smoky Hill, where, as I have said, the descriptions of the country apply most aptly.

The goal to which the expectant explorers were led was the "end of Quivira," the Indians "saying that the things there were of great importance." I have mentioned these "things of great importance," as the Indians understood them. Here, at "the end of Quivira," was seen the great river, the Kansas, which has been so fully described.

This river could not have been the Missouri. The high river bluffs, the broad timber belts along that stream, and the forests that would have been visible beyond it, would have contrasted so greatly with the country seen before, that the features I have named would have been mentioned, if not described. Here would have been the limit of the plains; yet Coronado says (page 580) he never reached their limit. Whatever the narrators may have meant by the word *plains*,

it cannot correctly be said of the Missouri that down the river the plains come to an end.

When Castaneda says "Quivira is to the west of those ravines," he evidently establishes the eastern limit of Quivira by the ravines of which he speaks.

In the same sentence (page 528) he says, "The country is level as far as Quivira, and there they began to see some mountain-chains." These were the high hills along the Smoky Hill river, which marked the limit of the level country, over which the explorers marched after leaving the crossing of the St. Peter and Paul's. Considering the established point of crossing and the direction pursued from it, what other hills could they have been?

These hills marked what the author of the statement conceived to be the western limit of Quivira.

On page 591, Jaramillo, speaking of the beginning of the return from the "end of Quivira," says: "We turned *back* it may have been two or three days, where we provided ourselves with picked fruit and dried corn for our return. The general raised a cross at this place, at the foot of which he made some letters with a chisel, which said that Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, general of that army, had arrived there."

This was an important point on the return journey. Isopete was left here, and the final return, for which "picked fruit and dried corn" were there provided, was made from there. After some study and investigation, I feel confident that this place was near the Smoky Hill, on the route back to the site of Great Bend, where that route diverged from the line of the Smoky Hill. That it was on the Smoky Hill or a tributary there can be no doubt. When the explorers went *back* to this place, in what direction did they travel and what did they go back *from?*

The answer to this question is a very significant one, and solves the problem of the location and identity of Quivira. They went back from the "end of Quivira." They went back from a point on the great river below where the other rivers and streams flowed into it; from a point where it had "more water and more inhabitants than the others." They went back from "those ravines" of which Castaneda speaks when he says "Quivira is west of those ravines." As "those ravines" were at the east side of Quivira, and as the explorers went *back* from them toward the crossing on the St. Peter and Paul's, they evidently went *back* toward the southwest.

Let us take the point on the great river I have described as a starting-point. As they went *back* from it toward the St. Peter and Paul's crossing to the place where the fruit and corn were provided for the return, they surely went toward the southwest; and they continued traveling in that direction until they reached that crossing; for a little further on in his narrative Jaramillo says, on the same page (591): "*Thus* they brought us *back* by the *same road* as far as where I said before that we came to a river called St. Peter and St. Paul's."

Here is a line of travel established from the point where the Santa Fe trail crossed the Arkansas river to a point on the Kansas below where the other streams described flow into it, and this point is at the "end of Quivira." This line runs through a section of country exactly described by the narratives of the explorers themselves. The point where the Santa Fe trail crossed the Arkansas is the first landmark on this line of travel.

The point three days' march from this crossing toward the northeast, on the Santa Fe trail, and on the north side of the Arkansas, where the Quivira hunting party was found, was another landmark on this line. (Jaramillo, page 589.)

The present site of the town of Great Bend, where the course of the Arkansas river changed from the northeast, is another landmark on this line.

The point where the explorers first saw the high hills along the Smoky Hill river, by which Castaneda marked the western or rather southwestern limit of Quivira, is another landmark on this line.

The place where the cross was erected and where fruit and corn were provided for the return was another landmark on this line.

"Those ravines" at the east side of Quivira constituted another landmark on this line.

The "end of Quivira," where the Indians described the things as of "great importance," was another landmark on this line.

The point, below its described tributaries, where was seen the great river which flowed "down" to where "the plains come to an end," is the last landmark on this line.

The points at the two ends of this line are certainly fixed by the narratives of the explorers, and the intermediate points can be identified, at least approximately.

I claim that the points described, which are fixed by the narratives themselves, establish the line of travel pursued by Coronado and his exploring party from the crossing to the "end of Quivira": and that this line, twice passed over, viewed in connection with all the statements and description given by the chronicles, and the natural features along and at the terminal points of the line, locates and identifies the long-lost land of Quivira.

It will be observed that I have not chosen a location for Quivira in advance, and interpreted the narratives so as to bring the Spaniards to it. I have been forced to my conclusion, rather than inclined toward it. I have not said a word about the many thousand implements found in the favored region I have described. Here are the flint knives and "razors" described by the narratives, arrow-points, spear-heads, axes, and agricultural implements, showing that agriculture was practiced, agreeably to what the narratives say of the Quiviras. These implements are rude and rough, indicating people of a very low grade of culture. Such are the descriptions given of the Quiviras. I had known of these implements, but did not consider them in evidence until the Spaniards were traced to them. When to the evidences I have given I add the testimony of these silent but unerring witnesses, it seems absolutely conclusive that here was the real Quivira.

When I received the report of the bureau of ethnology containing the narratives I could not find any river corresponding to St. Peter and Paul's except the Arkansas, and assumed that the Spaniards crossed at crossing of Santa Fe trail, as indicated by Jaramillo. I could find no river corresponding to the "very great river" mentioned by Coronado except the Kansas. I drew a line from the Santa Fe trail crossing on the Arkansas to a point on the Kansas below the Blue. This line seemed to fit the intermediate points and the descriptions like the capstone to an arch.

My conclusion is that Quivira extended from "those ravines" formed by the upper courses of Deep, Mill, Humboldt and McDowell's creeks, and from a point on the Kansas river north of them toward the southwest as far as Great Bend. To the landmarks already cited, Reckon Springs and Hickory Springs might, almost with certainty, be added.

The Quiviras dwelt on the smaller streams rather than on the larger ones. In my collection of flint implements of the Quiviras I have axes, hoes, picking implements, hammers, knives, drills, scrapers, arrow-points, spear-heads, sledges,

and other things. These are all rough and differ from the implements of the neighboring tribe, Harahey, those of the latter tribe being shaped and finished in a better manner.

The Quivira implements are found along streams from McDowell's creek to Great Bend, and are easily distinguished from implements of other tribes.

Coronado says there was no timber except along the gullies and rivers, which were few. (Page 582.) This shows that he did not go far enough east to see heavy bodies of timber. After joining his main force on the Rio Grande, the army returned thence to Mexico, the expedition being a complete failure.

While Mr. Brower's book "Harahey" was in preparation, I had the honor of contributing an article to the work. He and Mr. Hodge deserve great credit for the light they have thrown on the subject. It is a matter of much gratification to me that my views coincide so nearly with theirs. Mr. Hodge has indisputably shown that the Quiviras were the ancestors of the Wichitas and the Haraheys of the Pawnees.

The patient and intelligent researches of the late L. R. Elliott, of Manhattan, and of Judge J. T. Keagy, of Alma, are worthy of the highest commendation.

All the gentlemen named have been worthy colaborers, and to them the credit which is their due is freely accorded.

Coronado was in Quivira twenty-five days, and the country must have been pretty well explored, for he says, in his letter to the king, that he "sent captains and men in many directions." The late Colonel Phillips, of Salina, once told me that he had seen the Spanish flag cut on a rock on Big creek, in Ellis county: that, although there was some defacement from the effects of the weather, the flag could be made out. Professor Williston, of the state university, informs me that an ancient house has been discovered in Scott county. A sword bearing a Spanish inscription has been found on the Walnut, thirty-eight miles southeast of this ruin. Some of these may throw further light on the wanderings of Coronado's men.

Some students of the expedition who have read the narratives in connection with contemporaneous history seem to have become confused, and despair of reaching a solution. This should not be. If this course was always followed no conclusion would be reached in anything perplexing. The narratives of the explorers should take precedence over everything else. If we accept these as a guide we cannot ignore the northward journey of Coronado's detachment; of his coming to a river on St. Peter and Paul's day; of his crossing it "there"; of his marching toward the northeast along the river, after crossing it; of the high hills seen afterward, and the great river seen at the "end of Quivira." We must admit that the existence of the best quality of flint on McDowell's and Humboldt creeks, the "springs," "rivulets," "fine appearing streams," the plums, grapes, mulberries, and nuts, attracted the Quiviras to the region described, which "is not a very rough country, but is made up of hillocks and plains."

We must also admit that the existence, in much greater numbers than elsewhere, of the flint implements found in this section proves that here was a considerable Indian population: that the great similarity of these implements in material and manufacture shows that they were made by one tribe: and that these implements indicate the practice of agriculture, the planting of corn. Finally, we cannot escape the fact that the course of Coronado's detachment was directed to the seat of such an Indian population.

It is hardly necessary to mention other evidences, less important, except to state that they confirm the ones already given.

That the Santa Fe trail is a prehistoric route seems generally admitted, and I regard its Arkansas crossing as an important key to the solution of the problem.

After crossing the river the Spaniards marched down the stream, but the narratives say they "went up." We should remember that "the country is level as far as Quivira, and there they began to see some mountain-chains." The attention of the explorers was directed toward Quivira more than to the direction the water ran, and, as they approached these high hills from the level ground, it seems they were impressed as going *up*. The other river, the Kansas, is correctly described as running "down" to where "there are people who do not plant, but live wholly by hunting."

Coronado, in his letter to the king (page 582), says that the place where he reached Quivira was in the fortieth degree. Mr. Hodge has shown that, according to the manner in which the Spaniards then reckoned latitude, the fortieth degree was near Great Bend, where the first Quivira settlements were seen.

That there are some perplexing features connected with the study of the narratives is admitted; but that the great weight of authority and evidence is in favor of the views herein set forth seems undeniable. At the instance of Mr. Hodge, I sent that gentleman some manuscript giving my views on the subject. He did me the honor to send the following letter, which explains itself:

"SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 31, 1900.

"*Mr. W. E. Richey, Harveyville, Kan.:*

"MY DEAR SIR—I have delayed answering your recent note until an opportunity was afforded for having a copy made of your letter of March 1, regarding the location of Quivira. The copy has now been made, but, of course, it will not be used until your own publication appears. I would urgently recommend that your views be published, after such elaboration as you may deem fit, for I regard your exposition of the narratives one of the most common-sense views ever made on the subject. * * *

"Unless you have other plans in mind, I would suggest that you publish your Quivira paper as soon as practicable, since it is only proper that you should have all the credit due. I have no doubt that the Kansas Historical Society would be glad to publish the paper in its transactions. Yours very truly,

F. W. HODGE."

In the haste with which this article has been prepared it has been impossible to present all the points desired. Enough, however, it is hoped, has been written to show that the positions assumed are warranted by the narratives of the expedition and the natural features of the country described.

Aware that a certain school of critics seem disposed to dispute every point on which there appears to be any doubt, I have endeavored to draw all the meaning obtainable from the accounts of the explorers, and, with the aid of my associates, to make the views held by them and me so clear and reasonable that the correctness of these views will be generally admitted by those who have given the subject careful study.

Feeling justified by the approval of the eminent authority given, and hoping that this article will cause further investigation and study, I respectfully submit these pages to an impartial public.

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